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THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
REVIEW

VOLUME V.

1910

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THE  
MODERN LANGUAGE  
REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY  
OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE  
AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY  
J. G. ROBERTSON  
G. C. MACAULAY  
AND  
H. OELSNER

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## THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN.'

THE controversy as to the authorship of the different versions of *Piers Plowman* was opened by Prof. Manly in a short but most important article (*Modern Philology*, Jan. 1906). Prof. Manly stated his conviction 'that the three versions were not the work of one and the same man, but each the work of a separate and distinct author.' Whilst reserving the full proof of these and of his other theses, he drew attention to certain incoherencies in the A-text. These, he argued, were due, not to carelessness on the part of the author, but to the loss of two leaves from the original MS., now lost, from which all extant MSS. of the A-text are derived. It followed that the B-reviser, who accepted this incoherent arrangement, and even added some lines with the object of making it more intelligible, could hardly be identical with the poet of the original A-version.

Three months later, Dr Henry Bradley in a letter to the *Athenæum*<sup>1</sup> accepted the view that these incoherencies of the A-text were due, not to the poet himself, but to a transcriber. He suggested however that the source of the derangement was to be sought 'not in a MS. written on parchment arranged in quires or gatherings, but in the "copy" (to use the word in the modern printer's sense) handed by the author to the first transcriber. This would no doubt be written on loose leaves of paper.' This modification allowed of a conjectural arrangement of the original text different from that of Prof. Manly, but of course left untouched his argument drawn from 'B's acceptance of the present defective text.'

Some two years later, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Prof. Manly stated more at length, though still all too briefly, his views as to the independent authorship of the A- B- and C-texts. This article was subsequently issued as a separate pamphlet to members of the Early

<sup>1</sup> April 21, 1906.

English Text Society. The case against unity of authorship has thus been widely circulated in England: and there has been a tendency to accept views put forward with so much conviction and with the support of such high authorities. Prof. Manly's arguments have since been examined by M. Jusserand in *Modern Philology*, and Prof. Manly has replied to these criticisms. It is to be wished that M. Jusserand's defence of William Langland could be reprinted and circulated in England, since, for one English student who has access to the American periodical in which it is to be found, twenty read, in the *Cambridge History*, the case against the traditional view.

M. Jusserand however labours under the difficulty that he accepts the theory of the lost or misplaced leaf, whilst denying the consequence drawn from it by Prof. Manly. He is thus in a disadvantageous position. For, if we once accept the view that passages have been misplaced or lost, Prof. Manly's deductions seem to follow naturally. It is not merely that B accepted what, in that case, we must admit to be a defective text of A. This he might conceivably have done had he been A. But B also attempted to remedy the defect. Hence the parallel instances which have been quoted, of authors who, in revising their work, have failed to notice blemishes, are hardly to the point. B *did* notice an incoherency, and he remedied it, but in a way which shows that no suspicion that a leaf had been lost or shifted ever crossed his mind.

The defects found in the present A-text, and accepted by the B-reviser, are three.

(1) The confession of Robert the Robber comes at the end of the seven deadly sins, following Sloth, although, according to the mediæval classification, Robbery is a branch of Covetousness. (Dr Bradley.)

(2) The concluding lines of the confession of Sloth are, it is claimed, more appropriate to Covetousness, and should really be placed under that sin. (Dr Bradley's modification of Prof. Manly's view.)

(3) Certain lines mentioning Piers' wife and children seem incoherent, and have, it is claimed, been misplaced. (Prof. Manly.)

That there is something crude in these passages as they stand in both the A- and the B-text may be admitted. But that this incoherency is so gross that it must be due, not to A himself, but to a scrivener, is a statement which needs some examination.

## I. ROBERT THE ROBBER.

In any systematic treatise on the Sins, the proper place for an act of theft is indisputably under Covetousness, from which it springs. But does it therefore follow that the placing of Robert the Robber under Sloth, as found in all MSS. of the A-text, is so impossible that it cannot have been the intention of the original writer?

Robert's name shows that he represents a class, the 'Robert's Men,' professional vagabonds and thieves. This was pointed out by Skeat in his notes<sup>1</sup>, but its importance, as bearing upon the *shifted leaf* controversy has, so far as I know, been overlooked.

Besides this passage in the Confession of Sloth, there are three important references in the A-text to these 'Robert's Men' or 'Wastours'—for that the two names are synonymous is clear from a Statute of Edward III, in which they are mentioned together<sup>2</sup>.

In A Pro. 43 it is said of 'bidders and beggars'<sup>3</sup>

In glotonye, god wot, go þei to bedde,  
And risen vp wiþ ribaudrie, as<sup>4</sup> Robertis knaues;  
Slep *and* sleupe sewiþ hem euere.

Here, then, at the outset of the poem, we have Ribaldry, Gluttony and Sloth (not Covetousness) mentioned as the besetting sins of 'Robert's Men.'

In A vii, 140—172 we have a full length portrait of Wastour:

Þanne gan Wastour<sup>5</sup> arise *and* wolde haue yfouȝte,  
To Peris þe Plouȝman he profride his gloue....  
Wilt þou, nilt þou, we wile haue oure wil of þi<sup>6</sup> flour,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon Press Edit. 1886, ii, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Item come en lestatut fait a Wyncestre, en temps meisme le Roi lael, soit contenuz, *que* si nul estraunge passe par pais de nuyt, de q̃i homme eit suspecion, soit maintenant arestu & liuere au visconte, & demoerge en gard tant qil soit duement deliueres; et diverses roberies, homicides, & felonies, ont este faitz einz ces heures par gentz q̃i sont appelez Roberdesmen, Wastours & Draghlauche; si est accorde et establi *que* si homme eit suspecion de mal de nuls tielx, soit il de jour, soit il de nuyt, *que* maintenant soient arestuz par les conestables des villes; et sils soient arestuz en fraunchises, soient liuieres as baillifs des fraunchises (Statutes of the Realm, 1810, i, 268, 5<sup>o</sup> Edwardi III, Cap. XIV).

<sup>3</sup> The quotations are given from T, the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge (R. 3. 14), which on the whole seems to be the best A-text extant. The most obvious blunders of this MS. are corrected from a collation of the twelve other A-MSS. Such corrections are marked, and further details given in the footnotes. Variants in other cases are not recorded, nor is the usage of the MS. followed with regard to capitals and small letters. The MSS. collated are R (Rawlinson 137), U (Univ. Coll., Oxford), E (Trin. Coll., Dub.), I (Ingilby), H<sub>2</sub> (Harl. 6041), D (Douce 323), Dg (Digby 145), W (Westminster), L (Lincoln's Inn), As (Ashmole 1468), V (Vernon), H (Harl. 875).

For many collations of and references to MSS., used throughout this article, I am indebted to Mr J. H. G. Grattan.

<sup>4</sup> tho, pese, etc. H<sub>2</sub>LVH.

<sup>5</sup> þe wastour T; þe wastores R; a wastour I; H<sub>2</sub> is wanting here. The other MSS. omit the article.

<sup>6</sup> þi, þy RUEIAsVHDgWL; þis TH<sub>2</sub>D.

And þi flesh fecche awey whanne vs likeþ,  
 And make vs merye þer wiþ maugre þi chekis.  
 Panne Peris þe Plouȝman pleynede hym to þe kniȝt,  
 To kepen hym as couenaunt was fro curside shrewis,  
 Fro wastours þat waite wyinneres to shende.  
 Curteisliche þe kniȝt panne, as his kynde wolde,  
 Warnide<sup>1</sup> Wastour and wisside hym betere:  
 'Or þou shalt abigge be þe lawe be þe ordre þat I bere.'  
 'I was not wonid to werche,' quap Wastour, 'now wile I not begynne.'  
 And let list of þe lawe, and lesse of þe kniȝt,  
 And countide Peris at a pese and his plouȝ boȝe,  
 And manacide hym and his men, whanne þey<sup>2</sup> next metten.

Now when Wastour proposed to raid Piers Plowman's barn he was giving way, a theologian would have said, to the sin of coveting other men's goods. Yet, taking the picture as a whole, Wastour would not be inappropriately placed under Sloth, and indeed it is as an example of idleness that the poet introduces him.

In VII, 66 Robyn or Robert 'the ribaudour' is mentioned with other typical scamps.

To our author<sup>3</sup> then, a *Robert's man* or a *Wastour* would seem to convey the notion of vagabondage, leading to ribaldry, gluttony and theft.

Would the confession of a Robert—for it must be noted that in this passage Robert is used almost as a common-noun<sup>4</sup>—who has not even been an industrious robber, seeing he has amassed nothing, be an unfit sequel to the Confession of Sloth?

And, turning to Robert's own confession, does it bear marks of having been written to illustrate Robert as having given way to the sin of Covetousness, or of Sloth?

It would have been easy to make a confession for Robbery which would show how Robbery springs from Covetousness. 'The author of the B-text' has done so when he makes his Avarice confess to having risen by night and robbed his companions' baggage. But Robert's confession shows nothing of this. It is not quite the case, as Dr Bradley says, that he 'bewails his crimes, and vows from henceforth to lead an honest life<sup>5</sup>.' He says nothing about his crimes, beyond an admission that he has done ill: nor does he promise to lead an honest life. On

<sup>1</sup> þe inserted after warnide in TDgW; H<sub>2</sub> wanting here.

<sup>2</sup> þey] he T, all other MSS. þey, þai &c.; H<sub>2</sub> wanting here.

<sup>3</sup> I have intentionally omitted B's reference to Robert Renne-aboute (B. vi 150) who is mentioned as a typical idler, much as Robert the Ribaudour is in the earlier passage in A.

<sup>4</sup> We should read 'So rewe on this Robert' not 'So rewe on me, Robert' which is a corruption of the VH family of MSS. (found also in Dg.).

<sup>5</sup> *Athenæum*, April 21, 1906.



the contrary, he points out the difficulties which will beset him should he attempt to do so, and pleads guilty to thriftlessness and ignorance of any craft. He has nothing with which to make restitution; he

on reddite lokide,  
Ac for þere was nouȝt where-with he wepte swiþe sore.

He is at his wits' end, for he knows no trade which will enable him to earn an honest living:

So rewe on þis Robert, þat red non ne hauiþ,  
Ne neuere weniþ to wynne wiþ craft þat he knowiþ.

(A, v, 251-2.)

Dr Bradley explains this 'as he knows no trade he cannot hope ever to earn the means of restoring what he has stolen'. But Robert's plight is even worse than this. He has no rede, and never weens, by any trade that he knows, to win, i.e., to work for his living<sup>2</sup>. And this is a confession more likely to have been written for a 'Robert' if he were intended to come under Sloth, than if he were intended to come under Avarice.

We may imagine our Robert as an idle apprentice, who from idleness has fallen into Wanhope; he has become an avowed outcast from society, a *felon*, as A calls him. Robert consoles himself by calling to memory the case of the penitent thief. Now Skeat pointed out long ago that the right place for the penitent thief is under Sloth, under the sub-heading Wanhope, which always belongs to Accidie.

We have, then, in the received A-text:

- (1) l. 222. Introduction of Sleuthe.
- (2) l. 225. 'War the for Wanhope.'
- (3) ll. 242—259 the case of Robert the Robber, a *felon*, who, though he has no reed, and never hopes to earn an honest livelihood, yet
- (4) ll. 246—248 comforts himself by the example of the Penitent Thief.

Exactly so, in Chaucer's Parson's Tale:

- (1) Under the main heading Accidie, we have
- (2) Wanhope.
- (3) 'This horrible sinne is so perilous, that he that is despeired ther nis no *felonye* ne no sinne that he douteth for to do; as shewed wel by Iudas.'
- (4) Yet the example of the Penitent Thief is given, to show that men should never despair.

<sup>1</sup> *The Nation* (New York), April 29, 1909, p. 437.

<sup>2</sup> For *win* see note on p. 6.

If the Parson's Tale places the thief and traitor Judas under Sloth-Wanhope rather than under Covetousness, there is surely no reason why Robert the Robber should not go under that head also. And the fact that elsewhere the poet associates Robert's men with Sloth, not with Covetousness, and that he makes Robert confess to being unemployable, rather than grasping, is strong indication that he intended him to go where all the MSS. put him.

True, Robert's lapses into highway robbery, or house-breaking, must have called for great, if intermittent, exertions. But this does not deprive him of his claim to a place under Sloth or Accidie, which is a neglect of God's grace and of honest industry. *Sinful* exertion rather qualifies than disqualifies. Wyclif<sup>1</sup> emphasises this: if a man is not doing good, he will be doing evil, 'for sumwhat mot a man do.' So in the *Ancren Riwle*<sup>2</sup> it is made clear that Sloth does not exclude evil works, but that, on the contrary, the idle are the more prompt to do the Devil's bidding.

There would seem then to be no ground for disturbing the order of the MSS., in so far as Robert the Robber is concerned.

## II. SLOTH'S WICKED WINNINGS.

A more serious difficulty remains, if we are to defend the order of the MSS. of A. Sloth, in his vow, after promising for the future to be regular in his religious exercises, continues:

And ȝet wile I ȝelde aȝen, ȝif I so muchel haue,  
 Al þat I wykkydly wan siȝen I wyt hadde.  
 And<sup>3</sup> þeiȝ my liflode lakke, leten I nille  
 Ðat iche<sup>4</sup> man shal haue his er I hennis wende;  
 And wiþ þe residue and þe remenaunt, be þe roode of Chestre,  
 I wile seke Treupe er I se<sup>5</sup> Rome.

'Wicked winnings' seem inappropriate to Sloth. But does 'win' in the language of *Piers Plowman* necessarily convey any idea of great gain? It may mean simply working for one's daily bread<sup>6</sup>, indeed, *to labour* is the primary meaning of 'win' (cf. O.E. *winnan* to work, toil).

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Arnold iii, 142.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Morton, 212, 213.

<sup>3</sup> And *om.* TH<sub>2</sub>DA<sub>s</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> iche a man T.

<sup>5</sup> seke TH<sub>2</sub>: W corrupt: other MSS. se, see.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., A i, 153

For þauȝ ȝe be trewe of ȝoure tunge and troweliche wynne,

And ek as chast as a child þat in chirche wepiþ. [TRH<sub>2</sub>D have For þi be (beþ).]

B vi, 322 Ac I warne ȝow, werkemen, wynneth while ȝe mowe.

In C i 222 hand labourers are called 'wynners with handen As taylours and tanners.' Prof. Skeat, to whom I am indebted for a most interesting letter on the subject says 'surely, to win is to earn simply; and winner is worker. If not, there's no point in the title of the poem *Winner and Waster*.'

Now Accidie being the neglect of honest industry, it follows that the slothful, above every man, wins wickedly. He and the covetous man are the only 'wicked winners' among the followers of the seven sins; but the slothful the most of the two. For the covetous man<sup>1</sup> may earn an honest living; his wicked winnings are the excess of his gains over what is justly his due. But a man, in so far as he is idle, cannot 'truly win' at all. He must live either by begging, or by receiving wages for services never rendered, like the 'dikers and delvers that do their deeds ill,' or by negligently withholding what is due to others. In each case he 'wins wickedly.'

The opening of Sloth's confession, with its promise of regular attendance at religious services, is strictly according to precedent: for the remedy against Sloth begins nearly always with a regular attendance at shrift and mass. But something further is, almost invariably, enjoined in all treatises: variously called *dedbote*<sup>2</sup>, *satisfaction*<sup>2</sup>, *besinesse*, *magnanimity*, *magnificence*. Could there be a better form of *satisfaction* or *besinesse* than for Sloth to make amends to all whom he has wronged through his slackness? This, at least, is how B understood the passage, and he has made the sense clearer by inserting lines above (B v, 429—435) showing how Sloth had failed to pay for that which he had borrowed.

Now it is argued that this is so far-fetched and muddle-headed an explanation that it is incredible that B, who certainly understood the passage so, can be identical with A, whose treatment shows 'firmness and mastery of structure.' I submit that it is by no means an impossible interpretation.

Perhaps technically it is wrong to place the withholding of wages and of things borrowed under Sloth rather than Avarice. But the distinction is one which it is difficult to draw, and where it is exceedingly easy to go wrong. In the *Ancren Riwele*<sup>3</sup>, whilst the withholding of wages is equated with robbery and placed under Avarice, carelessness with regard to pledges is put under Sloth. Surely the intention must count. Deliberate appropriation of others' goods would proceed from Covetousness: unintentional misappropriation from Sloth.

<sup>1</sup> Unless he spend his time in practising *usury*, in which case he is as much a burden to the commonweal as the slothful man. For usury is 'unkind,' unnatural and unproductive. Cf *Piers Plowman* B v, 276, Dante, *Inf.* xi, 94—111.

<sup>2</sup> These, of course, need mean no more than penance or perhaps even penitence.

<sup>3</sup> þe þet ne warneð oðer of his vuel oðer of his lure nis hit slouh jemeleste oðer attri onde? Misiteoðeget, etholden cwide, oðer fundles, oðer lone, nis hit jiscunge oðer þeofte? Etholden oðres hure ouer his rihte terme nis hit strong reflac? þet is under jiscunge. Oðer ȝif me jemeð wurse ei þing ileaned oðer biteih to witene þen he wene þet hit ouh, nis hit tricherie oðer jemeleaste of slouhðe? Ed. Morton, 1853, p. 208.

But, after all, the author of the A-text must be judged by his own usage, not by that of the *Ancren Riwele*. Can we find any passage in which A associates any definite act with 'wicked winning' or its antithesis 'true winning'?

Piers Plowman in making his will (A VII, 89—94) says:

My wyf shal haue of þat I wan wiþ treuþe *and* namore,  
And dele among my frendis *and* my dere children.  
For þeiȝ I deise to day my dettis ben quyt,  
I bar hom þat I borewide er I to bedde ȝede.  
And wiþ þe residue *and* þe remenaunt, be þe rode of Chestre,  
I wile worsshipe þere wiþ Treuþe in my lyue.

Here is a passage which, from the way in which it re-echoes the same phrases, seems to have been written with deliberate reference to the 'Sloth' passage under consideration, and in it our author associates prompt repayment with 'true winning.' Yet it is asserted to be incredible that by 'wicked winning' he can have meant slackness in repayment of debt.

It may be objected that, though this would be an adequate explanation if we were dealing with the text of the B-reviser, who often misses out a stage in his argument, and is guilty of incoherency and want of discrimination, such incoherency would have been quite impossible with 'so careful an artist as A, who in no single instance assigns to any character either words or actions not clearly and strictly appropriate.'

But, on the showing of his treatment of the other Deadly Sins, was A the 'careful artist' which the advocates of multiple authorship make him? Here is the complete confession of one of the Sins:

...seide allas, *and* on<sup>1</sup> oure lady criede  
To make *mercy* for his mysdede betwyn god *and* hym;  
Wiþ þat he shulde<sup>2</sup> þe satirday seue ȝer þer aftir  
Drinke but wiþ þe doke *and* dyne but ones.

Ask any person, unfamiliar with the text, what sin this represents, and he will assuredly say 'Gluttony.' But our 'careful artist, who in no single instance assigns to any character either words or actions not clearly and strictly appropriate,' meant it to represent Lust. It is easy to gloss the text by explaining that the eating of two or more dinners *per diem*, which Lecchour abjures, tends towards Lust (though I should rather have thought it tended towards indigestion) whilst abstinence leads to continence. But I understand the claim for A to be that he is so coherent that he needs no gloss, and therefore cannot be B, who

<sup>1</sup> on RUEDDgWLL, to TH<sub>2</sub>V, H *corrupt*.

<sup>2</sup> shulde *misplaced* in TH<sub>2</sub>.



often does. Once admit A capable of incoherency, and there is no longer any necessity to assume that the incoherency of his Sloth must of necessity be due to a shifted or missing leaf.

And A's other 'Sins' are almost equally incoherent. A's Pride shows signs of Envy, and perhaps of other sins. A's Envy shows as many traits of Wrath as of Envy. No one reading A's Gluttony could tell whether it was the confession of Gluttony or of Accidie. It begins with neglect of shrift and ends with sleeping all Sunday. And note that, whilst it is Gluttony who is kept away from Church by lingering over his ale, it is Sloth who vows never to do so again. Here also it may be urged that the Glutton and the Slothful man are hardly distinguishable, and that therefore it does not much matter if what strictly belongs to the one is mentioned under the heading of the other: but equally, I think, were the robber and the sturdy beggar indistinguishable on the ill-policed roads of the fourteenth century. If A is capable of confusing the one pair, he might well have confused the other.

But indeed the incoherencies of A have been so ably pointed out by M. Jusserand that it is waste of time to urge the matter further. It need only be added here that the scribes themselves were puzzled by A's want of clearness. One scribe, most excusably, glosses *Envy* as *Wrath*: another, feeling the inadequacy of the confession of Lust, adds the following lines, so as to make the sin agree with the name:

And chastite to seke as a chyld clene,  
The lust of his likam to leten for euere,  
And fle fro felyschipe there foly may arise,  
For that makith many man mysdo ful ofte.

These lines cannot possibly be genuine: they are found only in one inferior MS., of one class: but their addition serves to show that there were readers in the fifteenth century who felt the inadequacy of A's description of the Sins.

Can it then be regarded as proved that (1) A's Sloth is anything worse than incoherent or that (2) A was incapable of incoherency?

### III. PIERS' WIFE AND CHILDREN.

The last instance where the B reviser is stated to have passed over a palpable dislocation of A's text is in the speech of Piers in Passus VII.

And who so helpiþ me to eren or any þing swynke  
Shal haue, be oure lord, þe more here in heruist,  
And make hym mery wiþ þe corn, who so it begrucchip.

And alle kyne crafty men þat conne lyue in treuþe  
 I shal fynde hem foode þat feiþfulliche libbeþ;  
 Saue Iakke þe Iugelour, and Ionete of þe stewis,  
 And Robyn þe ribaudour for hise rusty woordis.  
 Treuþe tolde me ones and bad me telle it forþ  
*Deleantur de libro* I shulde<sup>1</sup> not dele wiþ hem;  
 For holy chirche is holden of hem no tipes to asken  
*Et cum iustis non scribantur.*  
 Ðei be<sup>2</sup> askapid good auntir, now god hem amende.  
 Dame Werche whanne tyme is Piers wyf hatte,  
 His douzter hattip Do riȝt so<sup>3</sup> or þi damne shal þe bete,  
 His sone hattip Suffre þi souereynes to hauen here wille  
 And deme hem nouȝt for ȝif þou dost þou shalt it dere abiggen.  
 Let god worþe wiþ al for so his woord techip.  
 For now<sup>4</sup> I am old and hor and haue of myn owene  
 To penaunce and to pilgrimage wile I passe with opere.  
 For þi I wile er I wende do wryte<sup>5</sup> my bequest.

Accordingly the Testament follows, with mention (VII, 89, 90) of Piers' wife and children.

Professor Manly regards the five lines beginning 'Dame Werche whanne tyme is' as having been placed by an error in their present position: and the view that the text has been deranged has been accepted by Dr Furnivall and M. Jusserand. Professor Manly argues 'The names of the wife and children of Piers, originally written in the margin opposite ll. 89—90 by some scribe, have been absurdly introduced into the text, to the interruption and confusion of the remarks of Piers in regard to his preparations for his journey.'

But these names do *not* interrupt Piers' remarks about preparations for his journey. Piers' last allusion to his journey was in l. 59, twelve lines before the mention of his wife and children. The lines immediately preceding the names are an admonition to work. And this admonition is then emphasised and summarised in the names of Piers' family 'Dame-Work-when-time-is' and 'Do-right-so-or-thy-dame-shall-thee-beat.' There is nothing wrong with the text here; for this introduction of remarks about persons and things, which seem quite irrelevant, until we scrutinize their *names*, is a favourite trick of our author's. We may regard it as an ungainly trick; but that is not the point, for we can easily parallel it in the A-text. In Passus IV Reason has been admonishing the King that no wrong should go unpunished:

For *nullum malum* the mon mette<sup>6</sup> with *Inpunitum*  
 And bad *nullum bonum* be<sup>7</sup> *irremuneratum*. (IV, 126-7.)

<sup>1</sup> ne shulde T. H<sub>2</sub>As wanting for all this passage, E for part.

<sup>2</sup> arn T, other MSS. be, ben, bep.

<sup>3</sup> so omitted TDE, found in all other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> now omitted TD, found in all other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> wyte T: W corrupt: other MSS. write.

<sup>6</sup> the mon mette] he may mete TH<sub>2</sub>D.

<sup>7</sup> bonum be] malum T.

What have *Nullum Malum*, his meeting with *Inpunitum* and his remarks to *Nullum Bonum* to do with Reason's sermon? Nothing: but putting together the names of these characters we have a sentence which has every bearing upon Reason's foregoing words. Similarly, *Piers' wife* has nothing to do with his preceding remarks: but the *name of Piers' wife* has everything.

#### IV. THE REARRANGED TEXT COMPARED WITH THE TEXT GIVEN IN THE MSS.

Hitherto I have tried to show that, in the passages where the text is supposed to have been proved to be deranged, the order given in the MSS. is not impossible: and that therefore the evidence for the shifted leaf is not of that overwhelmingly strong character which is necessary, if it is to carry the weight of the argument which has been built upon it.

It should be enough if the MS. order has been shown to be possible: it is unreasonable to call upon an author, under pain of being divided into five, to prove that his arrangement of his matter cannot be improved. Yet I think that it can further be shown that the MS. order actually offers fewer objections than do the proposed rearrangements.

First with regard to the lines as to *Piers' wife* and children. *Piers' family*, in virtue of their names, are linked to the admonitions preceding: and the mention of wife and family brings us naturally to the Testament. These lines then conclude the admonition and introduce the will, linking the one to the other, albeit clumsily. Remove them, and we have a crude transition. And where are we to place them? Professor Manly would dismiss them as an expansion of a marginal gloss—a device which has served the turn of innumerable critics. But the names cannot have been the marginal glosses of a scribe, *for they alliterate*. It is certain that whoever invented the names of wife *Work*, daughter *Do*, and son *Suffer* meant them to take their place in an alliterative text. Therefore the lines, if removed at all, must be placed elsewhere. But to insert them after ll. 89, 90, in the will, is to cause an interruption. A man does not name himself in the third person in his will.

It is not denied that the passage, as it stands, is clumsy, though not more so than many other passages in A. The point is that the removal

of the five lines does not make the passage less clumsy; whilst their insertion into the will is not so much clumsy as impossible.

And in a somewhat similar way, but on a much larger scale, the rearrangement of A's text proposed by Dr Bradley, whilst smoothing away an incoherency of the kind to which A is peculiarly prone, interferes with and disturbs the actual succession of his thought, as it develops itself in the vision of the Seven Deadly Sins, of the Pilgrimage to St Truth, and of Piers the Guide.

The poet's object in these visions is not to give a theologically accurate picture of the Seven Sins, carefully discriminating and differentiating. So long as we look for this we shall naturally fail fully to appreciate him, just as those who look in the Utopia for its author's picture of a perfect state fail to appreciate Sir Thomas More. More did not wish to draw a complete political chart of a perfect republic, nor did the A-poet wish to draw a complete theological chart of the seven deadly sins. The object of both is the same: in the language of Erasmus concerning More 'to show the dangers which threatened the Commonwealth of England<sup>1</sup>.' The evils from which the Commonwealth was suffering in the opinion of our poet were especially the rapacity of its upper classes and the laziness of its lower classes. So much we can gather from the prologue, where most of the people censured could be placed in the one class or the other. 'Do the duty of your calling, whatever it may be, and flee from covetousness' is again the gist of Passus I. Passus II—IV are then devoted more particularly to the corruption of the official classes. In Passus V—VII we return to idleness, more particularly that of the poor. Here appears Piers Plowman, who has had no part to play in the earlier vision. For Piers, as is shown by his very name, and that of his wife, is the antithesis of idleness. Piers is here by no means an ideal saint. He jangles with the ribald priest, 'in pure tene,' he even rends the precious charter sent by Truth Himself. Piers knows the way to Truth, not because he is impeccable, but because he has worked honestly<sup>2</sup>.

Clene consience *and* wyt kende me to his place,  
And dede me to sure hym to *serue* hym for eue;

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Ulrich von Hutten, ccccxlvii.

<sup>2</sup> This is well brought out in Gascoigne's *Steel Glass*, where all the faults of the ploughman are described in full:

I see you Peerce, my glasse was lately scowrde.  
But for they feed with frutes of their gret paines  
Both king and knight and priests in cloyster pent,  
Therefore I say that sooner some of them  
Shall scale the walles which leade us up to heaven, etc.



Boþe to sowen and to setten<sup>1</sup> while I swynke miȝte.  
 I haue ben his folewere al þis fourty wynter,  
 Boþe sowen his seed *and* sewide hise bestis,  
 And kepide his corn *and* cariede it to house,  
 Dyken *and* deluen *and* do what he hiȝte,  
 Wiþinne *and* wiþoute waytide his profit.

(A VI, 30.)

For the way to Truth, on which Piers can guide the pilgrims, is the way of honest labour. Piers' guidance of the pilgrims actually consists in setting them all to work, and with Hunger's help in reducing even Waster to submission (Passus VII). Then Truth gives his pardon to all who have laboured in their vocation (Passus VIII).

Hence it is not so strange that the A poet should have given no description of Lust; it is quite possible that he never even pretended to give a description of Wrath. This would indeed be 'a degree either of thoughtlessness or of stupidity not easily conceivable'<sup>2</sup> if our poet's end had been to describe the Seven Sins. But it is only his means towards an end; the end is a statement of the economic and social problems of his day. On these Lust or Wrath<sup>3</sup> have little bearing. Avarice is more to the point, for it affords a picture of the regrater: Gluttony gives an opening to describe workmen 'doing their deeds ill' and driving forth the long day in the tavern. Finally comes Sloth, and it is appropriate that Sloth should be the sinner who vows to seek Truth; for the seeking of Truth, we have seen, is the way of work. Robert, too, will polish his pike and go on his pilgrimage, and a thousand of men throng together and cry for grace to seek Truth. The palmer, a representative of the class of 'lubbbers loth to work,' cannot tell the way to Truth.

Then after these four idlers, of different types, Gluttony, Sloth, Robert and the Palmer, Piers is introduced. He has laboured, and so he knows the way without needing any man to guide him. In doing his ordinary work 'setting and sowing' these forty winters, he has all the time been serving Truth.

Piers is the antithesis of the loafers who precede him: and when he says:

To penaunce *and* to pilgrimage wile I passe *with* opere.  
 For þi I wile, er I wende, do wryte my bequest,

<sup>1</sup> (to) sowen and (to) setten, from V: also in EIDgWDLAsH. TH<sub>2</sub> have sowe his seed: RU nowe and siþe.

<sup>2</sup> Bradley in the *Athenæum*, April 21, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> B, of course, adds a Confession of Wrath. In accordance with the practice of both A and B, this is no mere account of an individual wrathful man. It is a protest against the hatred shown by members of the religious orders towards one another: and more particularly against that great scandal of the fourteenth century, the feud of the friar with other orders of the clergy.

we might expect that his Testament would be a contrast to the confessions of those who have slacked, whilst he has worked. And in fact we do find an exact parallelism between the confession of Sloth, and the Testament of Piers. Sloth has failed in his service to God, and vows amendment: Piers has paid his church dues and can claim his reward. Sloth has 'won wickedly': Piers has 'won truly.' Sloth will make good 'though his livelihood lacks' 'ere he wends hence': but as for Piers 'though he die to-night' *his* debts are quit, he paid 'ere he went to bed.'

And wiþ þe residue *and* þe remenaunt, be þe roode of Chestre,  
I wile seke Treuþe er I se Rome!<sup>1</sup>

says Sloth: and Piers echoes the words

And wiþ þe residue *and* þe remenaunt, be þe rode of Chestre,  
I wile worsshipe þere wiþ Treuþe in my lyue.

Dr Bradley's rearrangement, on the other hand, separates the vow to seek Truth by nearly one hundred lines from the thronging crowds who cry for grace to seek him: it adds to the Confession of Avarice lines which, as has been urged by Professor Brown and Mr Knott<sup>2</sup>, are not only unnecessary there, but actually inconsistent.

Finally, it must be remembered that evidence which might be sufficient to show a probability of interpolations, or of lost or shifted leaves, in a one MS. text, is insufficient in the case of a text preserved in thirteen MSS., which seem to have remarkably few *common* errors, and the archetype of which, if not actually the author's holograph, was probably not far removed therefrom. When Prof. Manly suggests that ll. 71-4 of Passus VII are a scribe's gloss, which has been absurdly introduced into the text in a wrong position, it must be remembered that such a corruption postulates time and a succession of copyists. This difficulty is avoided by Dr Bradley's theory as to the origin of the 'Sloth' confusion; that the mistake was made by the shifting of a page of the author's rough notes before they were transcribed by the scrivener into a formal book. But are we justified in assuming that the poem, when it received its author's final inspection, was still in the form of notes on odd sheets of paper or parchment? The *Commedia* made Dante lean for many years<sup>3</sup>: *Troilus* did not produce this effect on

<sup>1</sup> Dr Bradley has suggested that these lines may be spurious. But there seems nothing to support this supposition. Spurious lines do not appear to be very common in the A-text: they seem to be confined almost invariably to one MS. or class of MSS., and the reason for their insertion is generally obvious.

<sup>2</sup> *The Nation* (New York), March 25, 1909; May 13, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* xxv, 3.

Chaucer, yet he spent many a day in correcting his scrivener's errors: Caxton, till age made him less industrious and more prone to mechanical devices, seems to have regarded it as naturally his business himself to transcribe his own works<sup>1</sup>. Yet Dante, Chaucer, and Caxton were all busy men of affairs. Are we justified in taking for granted that an obscure and probably poor writer, like the A-poet, employed the luxurious methods of modern journalism, left the publication of his poem entirely to the scrivener, and never then or in later years read it through again? For, had he done so, then *ex hypothesi* he would have noticed the mistake and had it put right. Though some erroneous transcripts might have got about, the corrected copies would also have been multiplied, and it is hardly likely that our very large collection of A-text MSS. would have failed to include some descendants of the corrected copies.

Of course it is *possible* that our author sent his work in loose sheets to the scrivener, and never looked at it again: it is stated that Dr Johnson sent *Rasselas* to the printer sheet by sheet, as it was finished, and never re-read it. But in *Rasselas* Dr Johnson, writing for money under extreme pressure, put into a certain form thoughts which he would probably have preferred to express through another medium. In *Piers Plowman* we have a book which can only have been written because its author loved to write it; a book which we should guess had 'made its author lean,' stamped to an extraordinary degree with his character and mode of thought. That that mode of thought was not perfectly orderly and coherent I have tried briefly to show. Is an explanation quite satisfactory, which, in order to excuse our poet of neglect of strict order and coherency in one passage, necessarily accuses him of neglect of his whole poem? Of the two possibilities is not this last neglect the more improbable?

It must be remembered that the question is not whether, on the whole, the text would make better sense if rearranged. Where MS. evidence is equally divided we can, of course, only choose the most plausible arrangement. But here there is no particle of MS. evidence in favour of a rearrangement of the received text. The proposed rearrangements are pure conjecture. Unless the advantage to be gained by the rearrangement is very great indeed a cautious editor would not, under these circumstances, accept it; still less found a theory upon it.

Only (1) if the MS. reading absolutely refuses to make sense, and

<sup>1</sup> *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, sub fin.*

(2) if the proposed rearrangement of the text is so convincing that it has only to be stated to be at once recognized as right, do we get that certainty which is necessary, before we can build argument as to authorship upon conjectural emendation.

I have tried to prove that the first of these conditions is not the case: that the second is not the case is proved by the fact that those who are most convinced that some confusion has taken place are quite unable to agree wherein the error exactly consists. Three rearrangements are suggested: that of Prof. Manly, followed by Mr Knott; that of Dr Bradley, followed by Dr Furnivall and M. Jusserand; and that arrived at independently by Prof. Brown and Mr Hall. And each critic finds serious difficulties in the rearrangements suggested by the others.

Even Prof. Manly's supporters must, I think, allow that the element of certainty, which is necessary before we can use the 'shifted leaf' theory as a basis on which to build other theories, is wanting. We must therefore turn to the other arguments brought forward by Prof. Manly.

#### V. B'S MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF A.

Many instances are alleged by Prof. Manly, in the *Cambridge History*, in which B has misunderstood A, and C has misunderstood B. These cases have been examined by M. Jusserand in Sections v and vii of his reply. Jusserand *here* does not accept Manly's data whilst denying his conclusions, but denies data, conclusions and all. For the most part, therefore, it is enough to refer the reader to M. Jusserand's very sufficient comments. In view of Prof. Manly's reply, one or two supplementary points not raised by M. Jusserand may perhaps be added.

(1) 'B has misunderstood A, or spoiled his picture,' Prof. Manly asserts, in B II, 21, where 'Lewte is introduced as the leman of the lady Holy Church and spoken of as feminine.' M. Jusserand has shown that there is no incompatibility between Lewte being feminine and also being called a lemman. But this hardly needed proof. Prof. Manly's point, as he explains in his reply<sup>1</sup>, is 'that here the *leman* of a lady is spoken of [by B] as feminine' and that this involves 'a spoiling of the conception of A, and a misunderstanding or forgetfulness of it.'

In A Holy Church is certainly represented as a lady: but that B even momentarily forgot or misunderstood this there is nothing to show.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, vii, 116 (1909).



For elsewhere B uses *leman* in a context which shows that he does not wish to emphasize any difference of sex. In XIV 298-9 he interprets 'paupertas sanitatis mater' as

moder of helthe, a frende in alle fondynges,  
And for þe land euere a leche, a lemman of al clenness.

And that in the 'Holy Church' passage *leman* is used in a similar broad and general sense, simply as 'beloved,' is proved by the context. B cannot have intended to make Lewte the 'betrothed' or 'sweetheart' of Holy Church, *for only ten lines lower he has allotted that part to Mercy and the merciful*. God, says the lady Holy Church,

hath ȝoue me mercy · to marylle with my-self;  
And what man be merciful · and lilly me loue,  
Schal be my lorde and I his leef · in þe heize heuene.

It seems hardly possible for Prof. Manly to contend that B, who added these lines, meant Holy Church to be masculine. If he did, then the self-contradiction in B is as great as the contradiction between A and B: and whatever force the argument has to prove that A is not B is equally valid to prove that B is not B.

(2) In B the rat describes '*segges* in the City of London' who wear collars: these *segges* C explains as *gret syres*. Therefore C cannot, Prof. Manly urges, have been B, who by *segges* meant dogs. But if so, what is the point of the mention of the *City of London*? One need not go up to London to see a dog wearing a collar<sup>1</sup>. Surely the reference is to the official dress of great city magistrates,—mayors and masters, knights and squires: and the humour lies in the rat's taking these officials for what they are, dangerous beasts, who prey upon the commonwealth. Only by this interpretation can we get any sense out of *in the City of London*, or any humour out of the whole passage.

It is unfortunate that in the *Cambridge History* space did not allow of Prof. Manly developing his argument fully: for in many cases it is not clear wherein the supposed misunderstanding of A by B or B by C lies. And in no case has Prof. Manly attempted more than dogmatic assertion. What the assertion is worth can only be estimated by comparing minutely the texts of A and B. There is not space to so examine all the alleged misunderstandings. The following instance selected for examination is certainly not unfair to Prof. Manly; it is a point on which he has throughout laid special stress.

<sup>1</sup> Representations of dogs wearing collars are exceedingly common on sepulchral monuments of the late 14th century all over England.

'In 11, 74 ff. B does not understand that the feoffment covers precisely the provinces of the seven deadly sins; and, by elaborating the passage, spoils the unity of the intention!'

Here is the passage in A:

To be present in pride for pouere or for<sup>2</sup> riche,  
 Wip þe Erldom of enuye for euere to laste,  
 Wip alle þe lordsshipe of leccherie in<sup>3</sup> lengþe and in brede,  
 Wip þe kingdom of coueitise I croune hem to gidere,  
 And al þe Ile of vsurie and auarice þe faste<sup>4</sup>;  
 Glotonye and grete oþes I gyue hem to gidere,  
 Wip alle þe delites of lust þe deuil for to serue;  
 In al þe seignourie of slouþe I sese<sup>5</sup> hem togidere.

This is clearly meant to cover the seven sins, though it does not do so, as Manly asserts, 'precisely': for Wrath is missing. Avarice and Gluttony are expanded by coupling with them their respective allied sins, Usury and Great Oaths.

Prof. Manly supposes the omission of Wrath to be due to the error of an early copyist. But it is begging the question to first emend a text into precision, against the evidence of all the MSS., and then to base an argument upon the precision of the text so emended. And even the addition of Wrath does not make A's enumeration of the sins 'precise.' Prof. Manly has not noticed that his 'careful artist' has counted Lust twice over. This is concealed by a textual corruption in the Vernon MS., but a collation of all the MSS. shows it to be indisputably the case.

Turning to B, we find that he has elaborated the passage by the addition of many other allied vices: so far however from having failed to see that the charter covers the provinces of the seven sins (1) he has added *Wrath*, and (2) in adding details of cognate sins has been careful to put each under the appropriate head of the Deadly Sin from which it springs. B, in fact, shows more care to classify his sins properly here than A does when he is avowedly dealing with the Seven Sins in *Passus v*.

Let us take the text exactly as it stands in B:

To be prynces in pryde and pouerte to dispise.

Under Pride we rightly have, as one of its branches, *Despite*, which is mentioned as a branch of pride both in the *Parsons Tale*, and (under

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge History*, II, 32: see also *Modern Philology* III (Jan. 1906): VII, 121 (July 1909).

<sup>2</sup> oþer TH<sub>2</sub> or for RUEIDgWDLVH.

<sup>3</sup> leccherie in V omits.

<sup>4</sup> faste TRUDg false DVH. *Corrupt or wanting* EIh<sub>2</sub>WL.

<sup>5</sup> sese, ceese, &c. RUEIH<sub>2</sub>DgWLVH. set TD. *As wanting throughout.*

the name of *onworþnesse*) in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*. The three branches of this *Despite*, according to the *Ayenbite*, are (1) *disesteeming* others, (2) *dishonouring* others, (3) *disobeying* others.

To bakbite and to bosten · and bere fals witness,  
To scorne and to scolde · and sclaudere to make.

*Backbiting*, *bearing false witness*, and *making slander* are only forms of *disesteeming* others. To *scorn* and to *scold* is to *dishonour* and *insult* others ('þe vifte out-kestinge of þe ilke stocke is scorn' says the *Ayenbite*, under *Arrogance* the third bough of *Pride*). *Boasting* clearly comes under *Pride*: 'Avauntour...he that bosteth of the harm or of the bountee that he hath doon' comes second on the Parson's list of those guilty of *Pride*; *yelpingge* (boasting) is the fourth twig of the third bough of *Pride* in the *Ayenbite*.

Vnboxome and bolde · to breke þe ten hestes.

*Inobedience* is placed first among the branches of *Pride* in the *Parson's Tale*: to think 'hou ueleziþe þou hest y-by *onboȝsam*' comes in the *Ayenbite* under the second section of *Pride*.

To *break the ten hests*. 'He that disobeyeth for despyt to the comandements of God' is placed first in the *Parson's Tale* on the list of the Proud. And rightly, for *Pride* is 'the general rote of alle harmes; for of þis rote springen certein braunches, as Ire, Envye, Accidie or Slewthe, Avarice or Coveitise, Glotonye, Lecherye.'

Every one of the sins added by B under *Pride* is then strictly appropriate to that sin.

And þe Erldome of enuye · and Wratthe togidres,  
With þe chastelet of chest · and chatering-oute-of-resoun.

*Chiding* and *chattering* rightly come under *Wrathe*: 'Vor huanne wreþe arist betuene tuay men: þer is uerst chidinge' (*Ayenbite*, p. 30). Both are specifically mentioned under *Wrath* in the *Parson's Tale*: 'Chydinge and reproche' (§ 42), 'ydel wordes, langlinge, Iaperie' (§ 47). If it is objected that we have already had these sins under *Pride*, that is to be ascribed, not to the much abused B-poet, but to Mediæval Theology: the same repetition comes in the *Parson's Tale*, where *Jangling* is enumerated under both heads<sup>1</sup> (§§ 24, 47).

The counte of coueitise · and alle þe costes aboute  
That is vsure and auarice · alle I hem graunte  
In bargaines and in brokages · with al þe borghe of theft.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Manly has himself pointed out that 'the Seven Sins were treated as tempers or tendencies out of which particular misdeeds grow. And, naturally, the same deed, the same sin, may originate in any one of several different tempers or tendencies.' Undoubtedly. Yet the whole case for the 'missing leaf' in Passus v and for the 'mis-understanding' here rests upon unwillingness to recognize this.

The two first subdivisions of 'auarice' or 'couaytise' in the *Ayenbite* are *Usury* and *Theft*<sup>1</sup>. The eighth is *Chaffer*<sup>2</sup>, which is only another way of expressing *Bargains and Brocages*.

And al þe lordeship of lecherye · and in lenthe and in brede  
As in werkes and in wordes · and waitynges with eies,  
And in wedes and in wisshynges · and with ydel thouȝtes  
Ther as wille wolde · and werkmanship failleth.  
Glotonye he gaf hem eke · and grete othes togydere,  
And alday to drynke · at dyuerse tauernes,  
And there to iangle and to iape · and iugge here euene cristene,  
And in fastyng-dayes to frete · ar ful tyme were.  
And þanne to sitten and soupen—

The coupling of Great Oaths with Gluttony may seem strange; but A had done it in *his* enumeration. B can then hardly be charged *here* with spoiling A's picture. Yet, indeed, evil speaking of all kinds goes with gluttony *as being a sin of the mouth* (*Ayenbite*, p. 50). To jangle and jape and judge one's fellow Christians comes in then quite rightly here.

—til slepe hem assaille  
And bredden as burgh-swyn · and bedden hem esily.  
Tyl sleuth and slepe · slyken his sides  
And þanne wanhope to awake hym so...

It will hardly be denied that both Sleep and Wanhope come under Sloth. Both are mentioned under this head in the *Ayenbite* (pp. 31, 34) and the *Parson's Tale* (§ 56).

B then, in elaborating the passage, has arranged the faults under the heading of the respective deadly sin; and he has completed A's imperfect enumeration by adding *Wrath*. How can it be stated that 'B does not understand that the feoffment covers precisely the provinces of the seven deadly sins,' and that we have instead 'an unsystematic general collection of all the sins the author could think of'? The sins overlap, but not more so than in Chaucer's or Dan Michel's, or, what is more to the point, in B's own account of the Seven Sins. When Prof. Manly supposes<sup>3</sup> that in adding, among other sins, *Unbuxomhood*, *Boasting*, *Scorning*, and *Bearing of False Witness*, B cannot have understood that he was dealing with Pride, he must surely have overlooked the fact that these very sins are mentioned by B in Passus XIII 276—313 as subdivisions of Pride<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> þe uerste is gaelinge. þe oþer þyefþe (p. 34).

<sup>2</sup> þe extende boȝ of auarice is chapfare (p. 44).

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, vii, 121.

<sup>4</sup> As to Dan Michel's classification see note at end.



## VI. DIFFERENCES OF DIALECT BETWEEN A, B AND C.

Prof. Manly concludes his case, 'a careful study of the MSS. will show that between A, B and C there exist dialectal differences incompatible with the supposition of a single author. This can be easily tested in the case of the pronouns and the verb *are*<sup>1</sup>.'

But this is as if one should go into an asylum for the blind, and tell one's hearers that they can easily see a thing for themselves.

For, of the 47 MSS. only four are in print: the Vernon MS. of the A-text, the Laud and Trinity MSS. of the B-text, the Philipps MS. of the C-text. The twelve unprinted MSS. of the A-text differ widely in point of dialect from the printed text, and from one another—we have a Southern text, a Northern text, and many varieties of Midland, besides texts which it is difficult to classify. The B and C texts also vary in the different MSS. The four printed texts were selected for publication on grounds quite other than those of dialect: indeed, in one case, that of the Vernon A-text, it has always been recognized that the dialect is the scribe's, not the author's: 'the dialect in which the poem was first written has been modified by a Southern scribe, whence the numerous Southern forms<sup>2</sup>.'

How then is the reader to test Prof. Manly's statement?

Fortunately Prof. Skeat has printed a passage of eleven lines from all the MSS., and as it happens, at any rate in the A and B MSS., these lines are most extraordinarily rich in those forms which Prof. Manly has suggested as tests<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Hist.*, vol. II, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat in Cl. Press edit., vol. II, p. lxvi.

<sup>3</sup> In the C text the earlier portion of the passage was so changed as to be useless for the test proposed. A comparison shows:

1. 1.	<i>ben</i> ( <i>bep</i> , <i>be</i> , &c.)	{	found in thirteen A-MSS., <i>er</i> in one
		{	„ „ sixteen B-MSS., <i>are</i> in one
			C wanting
1. 5.	<i>are</i> ( <i>arn</i> , <i>aren</i> , &c.)	{	„ „ ten A-MSS., <i>ben</i> in four
		{	„ „ all seventeen B-MSS.
			C wanting
1. 7.	<i>thei</i> ( <i>they</i> , &c.)	{	„ „ all fourteen A-MSS.
		{	„ „ all thirteen B-MSS.
			C wanting
1. 8.	<i>hem</i> ( <i>hym</i> , &c.)	{	„ „ twelve A-MSS., <i>þaim</i> in one
		{	„ „ fifteen B-MSS., <i>them</i> in one
		{	„ „ all C-MSS.
1. 9.	<i>here</i> ( <i>hire</i> , <i>heore</i> , &c.)	{	„ „ thirteen A-MSS., <i>þair</i> in one
		{	„ „ sixteen B-MSS., <i>theyre</i> in one
		{	„ „ all C-MSS.
1. 10.	<i>thei</i> ( <i>they</i> , <i>thay</i> , &c.)	{	„ „ ten A-MSS., <i>he</i> in four
		{	„ „ all seventeen B-MSS.
		{	„ „ thirteen C-MSS., <i>hy</i> in one.

It would appear, *if we dare generalize from these eleven lines* (which, of course, it would be rash to do), that the A-poet used *are* and *be* indiscriminately, and preferred *they* in the nominative<sup>1</sup>, *hem* and *here* in the oblique cases. In this he seems to have been followed by B and C. Nor is it only when they have A before them that B and C adhere to this rule. If we can take the Laud and Phillipps MSS. as fair texts of B and C respectively, we find that in the new matter which they add<sup>2</sup> both follow the same practice. So that, to judge by the only passage in which, at present, the ordinary student can test it, Prof. Manly's dialect formula breaks down utterly. As to the results of a more detailed examination, Mr Grattan, who during our collation of the different A-MSS. has devoted particular attention to points bearing on the question of dialect, informs me that he has, so far, found nothing to substantiate Prof. Manly's statement in the smallest degree.

So complicated, and often so contradictory, are the dialectal forms in the different A-MSS. that months, or years, of study would be necessary before any man could master them fully. An attempt to classify them could hardly fill less than three or four hundred pages, and the compiler of those pages would be lucky indeed if his results satisfied either himself or others. For first he must fix the dialect of the different MSS. which lie behind our extant copies. From these hypothetical texts he must construct the dialect of the MS. from which they all derive. Yet this archetype may be far removed, as Prof. Manly realizes, from the original author's autograph. By the same hypothetical processes the student must then formulate the dialect of his original B-text. He must then decide whether the difference between his theoretical A-dialect and his theoretical B-dialect is too great to allow of their being both the speech of one and the same man, allowing for an interval of fifteen years. Given two specified texts, it would often be impossible to decide this. It will be hard indeed to prove inconsistency when we have to work upon two theoretical texts, each thrice removed from any sure basis of evidence.

1. 7. Four B-MSS. are here defective and have no pronoun.

1. 8. The Lincoln's Inn MS., Ashburnham cxxx and Bodley 851 are corrupt or wanting here.

I have followed Skeat's enumeration of A B and C-MSS.

Many of the MSS. are compounded from two texts, and in strict accuracy should not be counted in comparative statistics of the different texts.

<sup>1</sup> Probably not to the exclusion of *hy*; *hy* may be the right reading in l. 10 of the extract, for the four MSS. supporting it (*he*) are all excellent ones. *Hy* seems to be necessitated by the alliteration in C xii, 216, and is found elsewhere in C.

<sup>2</sup> Both *are* and forms of *be* occur everywhere in B and C. The alliteration seems to show that in B xii, 195 (and perhaps also in B xiv, 222) *ben* was the original form.

This most difficult task Prof. Manly has undertaken. He has announced his conclusion, but so far he has quoted in support of this conclusion the evidence of one line only (A III, 30).

In his answer to M. Jusserand, who dwells, most justly, on the contradictory nature of the evidence of the MSS., Prof. Manly defends his statement thus:

‘If we find that in B *she* is, according to the evidence of all extant MSS., the form of this pronoun in the source from which they are all derived, and that in A *heo* is, according to the evidence of all extant MSS., the corresponding form, we are justified in concluding that, in all probability, the authors of the two versions differed as to the form of this pronoun<sup>1</sup>.’

But there might be considerable difference between the two versions without that difference being ‘incompatible with the supposition of a single author.’

For the theory which Prof. Manly is setting himself to disprove is that of a William [Langland] connected with Shipton in Oxfordshire and Malvern in Worcestershire, both places bordering on, if not actually within, the area of Southern influence, who shortly before or shortly after writing his A version came up to London; and subsequently rewrote it after a lapse of fifteen and again of thirty years. *Ex hypothesi* we should expect certain dialectal differences between A, B, and C. We should expect the sprinkling of Southern or Western peculiarities to be most prominent in A, whilst we should expect B and C to approximate more nearly to the language of Chaucer.

Nothing would be proved if it were shown that A and B alike use both *are* and *be*, but in different proportions: or that whilst both A and B use *they*, *here*, *hem*, A has also a sprinkling of *hie* forms, which become much rarer or even disappear in B and C: or that A can be proved to have used *heo* here and there, whilst B used it rarely or not at all.

But, in point of fact, does the evidence of all the extant MSS. prove that A used *heo* and B *she*? Prof. Manly does not assert that it does, but merely what would follow if it did.

Let us take the first instance where the form occurs in the A-text.

I was a ferd of hire face, þeiz heo fair were,  
And seide, Mercy, ma dame, what is þis to mene?  
Þe tour of þe toft, quap heo, treupe is þere inne.

In this passage *heo* is the reading of four A-MSS.<sup>2</sup>, *she*, *sho*, *che*, of eight<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Phil.* vii, 124.

<sup>2</sup> TLVH.

<sup>3</sup> RUEIH<sub>2</sub>DgWD: W corrupt in one line: As wanting.

Nor is this an unfair example. In many of the A-MSS. *she* is used almost or quite exclusively. This does not of course prove that *heo* was not the original form in A: but it was hardly such 'according to the evidence of all the extant MSS.'

The readings of one line only are quoted by Prof. Manly in support of his thesis regarding the dialect of the MSS.; and then in order to show how B, whilst usually altering A's *heo* to *she*, has been occasionally compelled to keep it, in order to preserve the alliteration.

'In A III, 30,' says Prof. Manly, 'all the MSS. have

Hendeliche thenne heo • behihte hem the same.'

But they have not: *heo* is here the reading of five A-MSS. only<sup>1</sup>: *sche*, *sho* is the reading of eight<sup>2</sup>.

The corresponding line of the B-text, Prof. Manly says, 'has the same form *heo*, in spite of the fact that *she* is the regular form in B for the feminine pronoun. Three MSS., indeed, COB, have *she*, but they form a small sub-group, and *she* is clearly due to a correction in their immediate source.'

Now, whether or not COB are rightly described as 'a small sub-group,' they certainly do not stand alone in reading *she* here. For this is also the reading of the two other Cambridge University MSS. Ll. 4. 14 and Gg. 4. 31; of the Corpus Coll. Oxford MS.; of Cotton Calig. A XI, and of the Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10574. The Crowley text, founded upon a lost MS., also reads *she*; but perhaps this should not be counted. We have eight MSS., therefore, which favour the reading *she* against four<sup>3</sup> which have the reading *heo*.

The reason of these errors is clear. The Vernon text of A, printed by Skeat, reads *heo*: and as no variants are quoted in the critical notes Prof. Manly has, not unnaturally, assumed that all the MSS. agree in this reading. Similarly in the B-text, only COB are quoted by Skeat as differing from the Laud reading. But it must be remembered (1) that since, and largely in consequence of, Skeat's editions, many important new MSS. have been discovered; (2) that owing to the wide

<sup>1</sup> TH<sub>2</sub>LVH.

<sup>2</sup> RUEIDgWDAs.

<sup>3</sup> Laud 581, Rawl. Poet. 38, Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 15. 17, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35287 (formerly Ashburnham 129). All statements as to the B-MSS. are subject to the limitation that the former Ashburnham 130, and Philipps 8252 (both uncollated), have not yet been seen by either Mr Grattan or myself: otherwise the readings quoted are from our own examination of the MSS. Ashburnham 130 was not, as is generally supposed, acquired by the British Museum, and information as to its present position would be welcomed. The Yates Thompson MS. (now at Newnham) is defective here.



variations between the different A-MSS. it was not possible to note, in the collations, any but the more important variants: synonyms such as *ac* and *but*<sup>1</sup>, and *sche* and *leo*, were not always noted; (3) only those MSS. which seemed most important from the point of view of fixing the text were collated: and the MS. which offers the best readings is by no means necessarily the best from the point of view of dialect.

It follows that work upon the dialect of *Piers Plowman* should be based upon a new and minute examination of the MSS. To Prof. Manly belongs the credit of having realized the necessity for a more elaborate collation of the A-MSS., and of having caused such an examination to be made. Had Mr Grattan and I known of this we should not have begun our work. We are glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging that to Mr Knott, who undertook the collation of the A-MSS. at the instance of Prof. Manly, belongs the credit of having been the first to examine minutely all these MSS.: a task which, thanks to Prof. Skeat's labours, is now a comparatively easy and straightforward one.

But Prof. Manly does not claim that his views as to dialect were based upon Mr Knott's collations, which have not yet been published. His assertion that his conclusions 'can be easily tested' seems to exclude the supposition of their being based upon any private or exclusive information. And, though we all know how fatally easy it is to make mistakes in collation, surely Prof. Manly is not the man to go wrong eight times out of thirteen, on the question whether *leo* or *she* is the reading of a specified line, if he had before him collations of the MSS.

But if Prof. Manly's view is based only upon published documents, then it is based almost exclusively upon Vernon; for, as has been shown above, the collations appended by Skeat to Vernon are not minute enough for dialectal investigation. And Vernon is admittedly an unsafe guide in matters of dialect.

No doubt Prof. Manly will ultimately defend his view of the dialect after an examination of all the MSS. Yet this will be but Jedburgh Justice, if, as seems to be the case, he had arrived at his conclusions before examining the evidence.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to Skeat's edition of the A-text, p. xxix.

## VII. PROBLEMS OF THE TEXTS.

Prof. Manly also draws attention to metrical and alliterative differences between A, B and C<sup>1</sup>. But here again we are very much at the mercy of the MSS. Rosenthal long ago formed elaborate lists of all exceptional verses in A, showing how they were altered and corrected in B and C<sup>2</sup>. But in a large number of these instances the peculiarity is not that of A, but simply that of the Vernon MS.: the line is to be found in the great majority of A-MSS. in the same form in which it is given in B. Any statistics of metre or alliteration are without value, until we have before us full collations of all the MSS.

The same answer applies to Prof. Manly's statement that B took over 'variant readings of the A-text' unchanged from the MS. of A used as a basis. If this can be proved, it will certainly be a very strong argument. But the more the MSS. are examined the more probable does it seem that these variants from the received text of A, adopted by B, are, in fact, the true readings. That this is so in the majority of cases seems hardly to admit of dispute.

Of course it is conceivable that, when all the evidence has been sifted, a number of instances in which B *has* adopted an inferior reading will be left over, sufficient to support, if not to prove, Prof. Manly's theory. Yet the utmost caution is necessary here, lest we should make the writers of the B and C versions responsible for what, after all, are but the errors of their scribes. For no B-MS., not even the famous and excellent Laud 581, can be regarded as representing the original B-text with anything like complete accuracy. Even when supported by the great majority of the other MSS., Laud 581 is sometimes wrong. For example, in the scene of the Harrowing of Hell, Christ claims that He, the King of Kings, may save the wicked from death, since, if an earthly king comes

There þe feloun thole sholde deth or otherwyse,  
Lawe wolde, he ȝeue hym lyf, if he loked on hym. (B xviii, 380-1.)

*deth or otherwyse*, the reading of Laud and the received text, can hardly be right; for the point is that even the extreme penalty may be remitted by a king. The right reading is obviously that of the C-text *deþ oþer Iuwise* (justice, execution). This is the reading of only three

<sup>1</sup> *Cambr. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, I 414 (1878).

B.-MSS., whilst Laud's corrupt reading has the support of ten<sup>1</sup>. It does not follow, then, that Laud's reading is necessarily right, even when supported by the great bulk of the MS. evidence.

Numerous and good as the B.-MSS. are, their close agreement may be due to their being accurate transcripts of one, not always quite accurate, archetype. To arrive at the original B we must supplement the evidence of the extant MSS. by the evidence derived from C. For C, whether or not he was identical with B, must have had before him an exceedingly early MS. of B.

Two instances will serve to show how necessary caution is, in arguing as to B's textual corruption of A, or C's textual corruption of B. In A Pro. 41 some A.-MSS. speak of beggars with bags *bretful* or *bredful* *ycrammed*, another of beggars whose bags *with bred full be cromed*. The old rule, that the harder reading is to be preferred, would lead us to suppose *bretful* (*bredful*) right; for this would easily be corrupted into *of bread full*, whilst the reverse process is hardly credible. A, then, almost certainly wrote *bretful* (*bredful*). The B.-MSS. are unanimously in favour of *of bread full*<sup>2</sup>. It might be argued that 'the B-reviser' had before him a MS. of A with this reading, and took it over into his revised text. But when we come to the C-text we find the original reading *bretful* reappearing there. The advocates of separate authorship will have to admit that there *was* a B.-MS. (viz. that used by C as a basis) which had the reading *bretful*; for the same line of argument which led us in the first place to decide that *bretful* in A could not be corrupted from *of bread full* again applies here. *Of bread full* is not, then, a genuine B-reading at all, but a very early B corruption, inherited by all extant B.-MSS., but not belonging to the original B. Hence no argument can be drawn from it.

So with regard to C. Perhaps the best known textual variant in C is that in the second line of the Prologue

Y shop me in-to shrobbis

where B has, of course, *shroudes*.

It might be argued that *shrobbes* is merely a scribal blunder for *shrowdes* or *shrowde*, for the confusion of *b* and *w* is frequent and easy.

<sup>1</sup> With the limitation, as before, that Ashburnham 130 and Philipps 8252 have not been examined. *deep* or *ooper Iuwise* is the reading of Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 15. 17, followed by Camb. Univ. Ll. 4. 14 and Gg. 4. 31. The reading *deth* or *otherwyse* is followed by Rawl. Poet. 38, Yates Thompson, Corpus Oxf. 201, Camb. Univ. Dd. 1. 17, Bodl. 814, Brit. Mus. Add. 10574, Cotton Cal. A. xi. *deth* *ooper elles* Brit. Mus. Add. 35287 (formerly Ashburnham 129), Crowley, *ouper ooper wise* Oriel 79.

<sup>2</sup> Corpus Oxf. 201, Rawl. Poet. 38 wanting; Bodley 814, Cotton Cal. A. xi, Brit. Mus. Add. 10574 are here C.-MSS.: Ash. 130, Philipps, 8252, not seen: the other nine of *bred ful*.

If so, C, who adopted such a blunder in the second line of his revision, could hardly be the original poet. But is *shrobbis* a genuine C-reading at all? It is the reading of all the MSS. collated by Skeat and of others. But an examination of the uncollated C-MSS. shows five giving the reading *a shrowde* or *shrowdes*. *Shrobbis* is then presumably a corruption of an early MS. of C, from which a large number of the best C-MSS. derive: but not of the actual C-reviser<sup>1</sup>.

### VIII. STYLE AND VIEWS.

There remains the argument as to differences of method and interests. But what man's methods and interests are absolutely the same (and it is *absolute* agreement that is demanded) at 30, at 45, and at 60? If the discrepancies pointed out by Prof. Manly under this head are sufficient to prove anything, then no English author from before Chaucer to after William Morris can escape being divided into four or five.

And are the methods and interests of A and B different? To return for a moment to the question of A's coherency and B's incoherency. Prof. Manly summarizes a passage in B showing his incapacity for consecutive thinking. M. Jusserand replies by summarizing a passage in A, which, he claims, is equally incoherent. 'Any man's work,' retorts Prof. Manly, 'will appear incoherent in an outline which omits the links of his thought.' Precisely. But can Prof. Manly be certain that he has not overlooked the links of B's thought?

As to B being 'incapable of visualizing a group or keeping his view steady enough to imagine or depict a developing action'<sup>2</sup>—this is one of the points on which it is difficult to argue. Many will feel that B has shown this power, quite as strongly as A, in a number of passages, from the Rat-Parliament onwards.

<sup>1</sup> *shrobbis etc.*, Philipps 8231, Laud 656, Harl. 2376, Douce 104, Cott. Vesp. B. xvi, Bib. Reg. 18 B. xvii, Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 35, Corpus Coll. Camb. 293, Trin. Coll. Dub. D. 4. 1., Camb. Univ. Add. 4325.

*shrowdes*, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35157; Add. MS. 34779 (formerly Philipps 9056).

*a schrowde*, Bodl. 814; Brit. Mus. Add. 10574; Cotton Calig. A. xi.

*wanting* Digby 102, Digby 171, Camb. Univ. Dd. 3. 13. Ilchester is illegible and here an A-text. Bodley 851 reads *schrodus*, but is corrupt and here practically a B-text.

Philipps 8231 has not been seen, but as it has been completely printed by Skeat this matters less than in the case of the minor MSS. The other readings are quoted from examination of the MSS. by Mr Grattan or myself. We hope, next year, to print some notes on the relationship of B and C MSS., especially in passages bearing upon problems of the A-text.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge History*, vol. II, p. 32.

Against the fact that a careful study of the 'mental powers and qualities' of A and B has convinced Prof. Manly that these writers cannot be identical, we can only note that precisely the same study has convinced many other students of the exact contrary, and is still convincing them. Most readers have noticed some tendency towards a weakening in C: and on this Mr T. Hall has based his most interesting argument<sup>1</sup> as to difference of authorship. But twenty years ago Skeat anticipated this argument<sup>2</sup>, pointing out how the pedantry of C is already manifest, though less fully developed, in B.

### IX. LONG WILL.

It is not argued that A, B, and C are the same man, but only that the arguments so far brought forward are insufficient to prove that they are not. And we have a right to demand strong proof, for there is strong evidence, both internal and external, for William, if not William Langland, having been the author of all three versions.

The external evidence has been marshalled by M. Jusserand; it is weighty, though its exact value is difficult to gauge. But the internal evidence is probably more conclusive.

'Long Will,' says Prof. Manly, is 'obviously as much a creation of the Muse as Piers the Plowman.' But it has not been noted that the A-poet (foreseeing, it may be, the rise of the Higher Criticism, as 'B' foresaw the fall of the Abbot of Abingdon) has expressly stated that *Will* was his very name.

A muchel man, me þouȝte, lik to my selue,  
Com *and* callide me <sup>be</sup> my kynde name.  
What art þou, quap I þo, þat my name knowist? (A ix, 61-3.)

The tall stranger is 'Thought.' Thought answers, in part, the poet's questions as to *Dowel*, *Dobet*, and *Dobest*: but the full answer can only be given by Wit, to whom Thought accordingly introduces the poet:

Þanne Þouȝt in þat tyme seide þis wordis:  
Where þat Dowel *and* Dobet *and* Dobest beþ in londe,  
Here is Wil wolde wyte, ȝif Wit couþe hym teche. (A ix, 116-8.)

If Will is only a 'conventional name' what does the poet mean by emphasising it in this way? Surely he meant something, as Dante

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Lang. Rev.* Oct. 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon Press edit. 1886, vol. II, p. xvi.



meant something when he called attention to his own name, uttered by Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise:

Quando mi volsi al suon del nome mio,  
Che di necessità qui si registra.

'That *Will* is the name given to the figure of the dreamer by four and possibly all five of the writers' is no more 'obvious' than that Dante is the name given to the figure of the dreamer by the second of the three anonymous Florentines who respectively wrote the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*. More than a dogmatic assertion would be necessary to prove either statement. For, before the invention of the title-page, the surest way in which an author could mark his work was by introducing his name into the body of it. And if he not only does this, but expressly insists that it is his very name, then we have evidence which it will need much to overthrow. The great majority of the English poets who lived prior to the introduction of printing, and whose names are known to us, recorded those names in the text of their poems. Cynewulf, Layamon, Orm, Robert 'of Gloucester,' Minot, Gower, Chaucer, Hoccleve, Lydgate, Ashby all did so. Where, as often, the name is put into the mouth of an imaginary character, we know quite well that the name itself is not imaginary.

Was Dan John as much a creation of the muse as the Host who demanded a tale from him<sup>1</sup>? Or Hoccleve as the beggar with whom he conversed<sup>2</sup>? Or Geoffrey as the eagle which carried him to the House of Fame?

It should also be noted that in one place the name *Will* is used in a manner incompatible with such a distinction as Prof. Manly seeks to draw, between the visionary dreamer and the writer who created him:

Panne were marchauntis merye, many wepe for ioye,  
And ȝaf Wille for his writyng wollene cloþis,  
For<sup>3</sup> he coupide þus here clause þei coupe<sup>4</sup> hym gret mede. (A VIII, 42.)

These lines cannot refer to Will in the vision, who weeps at the bidding of Repentance, or to the figure who stands behind Piers and peeps over his shoulder at the charter. Will, in the vision, neither writes nor copies any charter. The lines have no meaning unless they mark the name of the *writer* of the vision.

We have, then, references to Will as the writer and the seer of the vision, in each of the two sections of the A-text, which Prof. Manly

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of Thebes* by John Lidgate in Speght's Chaucer 1598, fol. 370 b.

<sup>2</sup> *De Regimine Principum*, stanza 267.

<sup>3</sup> And for TH<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> ȝeue TH<sub>2</sub>D. EAs wanting.



would attribute to different authors. And in one of these passages the author incidentally refers to himself as tall, *a muchel man*.

Turning now to the B-text, we have the famous passage in which the seer of the vision says

My name is Longe Wille.

(B xv, 148.)

Prof. Manly suggests that here *Long Will* is not an indication of the author's name: Long Will is 'a popular locution implying long experience and observation,' just as 'when an American replies to some statement difficult of belief by saying "I'm from Missouri, you'll have to show me" it is not safe to infer that the speaker has ever set foot in Missouri.... This very common locution merely indicates that the speaker is not of a credulous nature, and thinks that the matter in point requires proof.' Now, though not from Missouri, I *do* think that the matter in point requires proof. And proof, Prof. Manly quite frankly admits, he has none. 'I know no other instance of Long Will with the meaning here suggested.'

In the absence of evidence to the contrary is it rash to assume that both A and B meant what they said?

*Will*-references in C Prof. Manly does not dispute: and it may be noted that we have again the reference to the height of the visionary:

Ich am...to long, leyf me, lowe for to stoupe. (C vi, 24.)

It is surely strange that B and C, whose additions, according to the separators are 'tangential' and off the point, should have developed in quite different parts of the poem the hint afforded by A. Or did A, B and C happen all to be tall men, and all fond of referring to their height?

'My name is Long Will,' says one author. We are told it is not. 'My name is Will<sup>2</sup>,' says another. We are told it is Francis. In each case we are entitled to ask for the evidence.

Whichever way that evidence be ultimately interpreted, it will not alter the fact that to Prof. Manly all students of *Piers Plowman* are under a debt second only to that which they owe to Prof. Skeat, and to M. Jusserand. It cannot be denied that he has deserved *laudari a laudato*, to be praised by Dr Bradley as having 'initiated a new stage in the progress of Langland criticism.' But Prof. Manly would be the last to claim, on this account, that his views should be accepted without careful scrutiny. This scrutiny he has from the first invited. What the ultimate verdict will be it is impossible, as yet, to say. Years

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Phil.* vii, 1. 97, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare, *Sonnets* cxxxvi.

hence, when all the evidence has been sifted, it may be that Prof. Manly's view will be amply supported, and that it will be shown to be possible, or probable, if not certain, that the B and C revisers were not identical with the original author. But, at present, this view is but a theory, and rests for its support upon the following assumptions:

That the metre of B differs from that of A—a statement which, in the present condition of our texts, it is exceedingly difficult to verify: that the dialect of B differs from that of A—a statement in support of which the readings of a single line have, so far, been adduced, which readings an examination of the MSS. shows to be, in about half the instances, the exact reverse of what is stated: that A could not have associated Robert the Robber with Sloth in v, 242, although he has connected *Robert's men* with Sloth in Pro. 44-5; that he could not in v, 237 have associated 'wicked winning' with slackness in returning things borrowed, although in VII, 91-2 he has associated prompt return with 'true winning'; that he could not have allowed Sloth and Covetousness to overlap, although he has allowed every one of his other deadly sins to do so; that he could not have introduced an unnecessary character for the sake of the name in VII, 71, although he has indisputably done so in IV, 126-7; that B, who made Wrath envious cannot be the same as A, who makes Envy wrathful; that B did not understand that the feoffment covered the provinces of the Seven Sins, although he has, in point of fact, made this clearer than it was in A; that B could not in II, 21 have used *lenman* in the sense in which he certainly used it in XIV, 299; that when B says *segges in London* he means dogs anywhere.

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NOTE. The *Ayenbite* has been quoted as an authority on the Sins (pp. 19, 20) because it is convenient for reference. It is, of course, only a literal and most inaccurate version of the *Somme le Roy* of Friar Laurent. (See Varnhagen in *Englische Studien*, I, 379-423; II, 52-59.) The *Somme* has been in part printed by Evers (Erlangen, 1888), but Evers' text begins at a point subsequent to that under consideration. I have satisfied myself, however, from a comparison of the French MS. (Cotton, Cleopatra A. 5) that in the passages cited Dan Michel represents his original fairly: he is indeed more than usually accurate.

## THE CHAUCERIAN 'MERCILES BEAUTE' AND THREE POEMS OF DESCHAMPS.

THE triple roundel known since Todd under the title 'Merciles Beaute' is admittedly Chaucerian in its manner, and it has been accepted as authentic by Professor Skeat<sup>1</sup>, as well as by other authorities of note<sup>2</sup>. But the absence of external attestation of its genuineness, together with the fact that it exists in a unique copy, has weighed against its unqualified acceptance, and the editors of the *Globe Chaucer* included it among the doubtful minor poems<sup>3</sup>. Certain evidence, however, which I wish to present with reference to the sources of the poem seems to bear with some directness on the problem of its authenticity, as well as to throw further light on the peculiarly interesting relations between Chaucer and Deschamps.

Professor Skeat has expressed his belief that 'Merciles Beaute' was suggested by a roundel of Willamme d'Amiens, of which he quotes the first three lines<sup>4</sup>. The entire roundel is as follows:

Jamais ne serai saous  
d'esgarder les vairs ieus dous  
qui m'ont ocis.  
onques mais si au desous  
(jamais ne serai saous)  
ne fu nus cuers amoureux;  
ne ja n'ert a tans rescous,  
gant muir tous vis.  
jamais etc.<sup>5</sup>

It is obvious at once that the resemblance between the two poems extends little, if at all, beyond a single phrase, and that by no means

<sup>1</sup> Oxford Chaucer, I, 80—81. Professor Skeat remarks: 'I ought to add that this poem is the only one which I have admitted into the set of Minor Poems.....with incomplete external evidence. If it is not Chaucer's, it is by some one who contrived to surpass him in his own style.'

<sup>2</sup> See, for details, Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual*, New York, 1908, pp. 436—37.

<sup>3</sup> See *Globe Chaucer*, p. lii.

<sup>4</sup> Oxford Chaucer, I, 548.

<sup>5</sup> Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, ed. 7, col. 341.

an uncommon one<sup>1</sup>. A comparison of 'Merciles Beaute,' on the other hand, with two poems of Deschamps discloses parallels of marked significance.

The first is a *chançon baladée*, or *virelay*<sup>2</sup>. I shall place it side by side with the corresponding lines of the triple roundel:

Your yën two wol slee me sodenly;  
I may the beaute of hem not sustene,

Comment pourra mon corps durer  
Ne les douls regars endurer

De voz biaux yeux?

Se bon espoir ne me fait mieulx  
Que je n'ay, il me faut finir.

So woundeth hit through-out my herte kene.

En traïant m'ont voulu navrer  
Jusqu'au cuer, par leur regarder

Tres perilleux;

And but your word wol helen hastily<sup>3</sup>  
My hertes wounde, whyl that hit is grene,  
Your yën two wol slee me sodenly...

Dont du trait ne puis respasser,

Mais m'en convendra trespasser.

Ayde moy, Dieux!

So hath your beaute fro your herte  
chaced<sup>4</sup>

Pitee, that me ne availleth not

Fay que Pitié vueille garder  
Et bon espoir reconforter

Mon plaint piteux;

For Daunger halt your mercy in his  
cheyne.

Car se Dangier le despîteux

Me nuist, je doy bien demander  
Comment pourra etc.

It is clear enough, of course, that the details of the passages just quoted are in large measure commonplaces of the *genre*. That is true of the ascription of fatal potency to the lady's eyes<sup>5</sup>; and the juxta-

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for example, the following:

Que ferai, biau sire Dieus?

Li regart de ses vairs euz,

J'atendrai pour avoir mielz ainsint,

Li regart de ses vairs euz m'ocist.

(Raynaud, *Recueil de motets français*, I, 123, No. xciv.)

And see below, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps (Société des anc. textes fr.)*, III, 382, No. 541.

<sup>3</sup> With this line compare not only the 'respasser' ('helen') of the *virelay*, but also l. 4: Se bon espoir ne me fait mieulx.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Deschamps, No. 490 (III, 314), l. 14: Et par Paour qui enchace Pité.

<sup>5</sup> It is unnecessary to exemplify it at length; it occurs frequently elsewhere in Deschamps: Par ses douls yeux est mes cuers envais, Et si fort trais qu'il ne se puet defendre; Sanz coup ferir le fault mourir ou rendre, En vray espoir d'esperer guerison (III, 250, No. 440); Par le douls oeil qui m'a mors de sa darde (III, 327, No. 500); De mal'eure vous regarday, Et trop persent furent li ray De vos biaux yeux pour moy ferir, Du regart desquelz me navray Tant que jamays joye n'auray Se Pitez ne me veult oyr (IV, 165, No. 524); cf. III, 285, No. 467, ll. 13—14. Add particularly another roundel which appears in *L'Art de Dictier* (VII, 286):

Vo douls regart, douce dame, m'a mort,  
S'amours ne fait que voz gentis cuers m'aint.

Quant en riant a vous amer m'amort,

Vo douls regart, douce dame, m'a mort.

Quar je congnois en sa douçour ma mort

Pour la parfaicte amour qui en moy maint;

Vo douls regart, douce dame, m'a mort,

S'amours ne fait que vo gentis cuers m'aint.

And see above, n. 1.



position of Pity and Danger meets one everywhere<sup>1</sup>. The point of real moment, however, is the close correspondence of the two poems in the order and the arrangement of the particular commonplaces in which they agree<sup>2</sup>. And despite the freer handling of the theme in the roundel, that correspondence is patent at a glance<sup>3</sup>.

But this evidence, as it happens, does not stand alone. There is another fact of curious significance. The two *balades*<sup>4</sup> immediately preceding the *virelay* in question belong to what may be called the *marguerite* group, and there is some ground for thinking that Chaucer may have known one of them<sup>5</sup>. There is nothing, in other words, which runs counter to the assumption—and there is at least presumptive evidence in its favour—that the pair of *balades* just preceding the *virelay* may have been among the *œuvres d'escolier* which Deschamps sent, with his compliments, to Chaucer<sup>6</sup>. That the *virelay* which now stands on the same folio<sup>7</sup> with the two *marguerite balades* was always thus associated with them, it is of course impossible to assert. But so far as the evidence of the manuscript goes, it lends distinct colour to the suggestion that the poem to which the first two sections of 'Merciles Beaute' stand in such significant relations, may have lain very close to Chaucer's hand.

And, indeed, there seems to be direct and interesting internal evidence that the writer of the triple roundel *did*, in point of fact, know not only the *virelay* but also the *marguerite balade* which just precedes it. For the 'suddenly' of the first line of the roundel, which

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Deschamps, III, 372, ll. 5—6; 370, l. 7; 327, ll. 18—19; 314, ll. 13—14; 223, ll. 20—21—all within a relatively few pages of the poem in question.

<sup>2</sup> One should notice, however, that such a verbal parallel as that between 'sustene' and 'endurer,' in the second line of the respective poems, is wholly independent of the commonplaces as such.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that the greatest freedom is in the closing lines of the two sections is strikingly paralleled by Chaucer's well-known usage elsewhere. See especially Skeat's remarks on the translation of the *A B C* and the *Compleynt of Venus* (Oxford Chaucer, I, 562, under l. 79), and compare my note on Chaucer's procedure in the case of the stanzas of the *Troilus* (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, xx, 851, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 539 and 540. It will be remembered that the order of the edition is the order of the MS. See Raynaud in xi, 102.

<sup>5</sup> See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 615, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the third *balade* (No. 536) before the pair just mentioned is one of the two which refer directly to Sir Lewis Clifford—the other, of course, being the famous *balade* (No. 285, Vol. II, p. 138) sent to Chaucer by his hand. And I know of nothing which forbids the assumption that the two Clifford *balades* belong to the same general period. Professor Kittredge has shown (*Modern Philology*, I, 7, n. 3) that No. 536 'was not written before 1386, and...it can hardly have been written after 1392.' And on the evidence for a date not earlier than 1386 for the dispatch to England of No. 285, see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xx, 755—71. It is possible, therefore (though I should not urge the point), that No. 536 may have had a place, originally as well as now, along with Nos. 539 and 540.

<sup>7</sup> Fol. 171 (see III, 380—83). No. 536 is on fol. 170.



has no counterpart in the *virelay*, parallels strikingly, taken in its context, the twelfth line of the *balade*:

. . . . . du gracieux corps gay  
Dont le regart me vint soudainement<sup>1</sup>.

And the further correspondence between line 23 of the roundel and line 15 of the *balade*—

To mercy, though he sterve for the peyne    De reconfort, que je muir en tourment—  
is hard to dismiss as accidental<sup>2</sup>. The evidence, accordingly, points with strongly cumulative effect to the *virelay* (with a hint or two from the preceding *marguerite balade*) as the inspiration of the first two sections of 'Merciles Beaute.'

This probability becomes a practical certainty when we observe that the *third* section of the triple roundel is a humorous paraphrase, in thoroughly Chaucerian vein, of another poem (this time a *rondeau*) of Deschamps:

Puis qu'Amour ay servi trestout mon temps,  
Et employé cuer et corps, quanque j'ay,  
S'Amour me faut, jamaiz jour n'ameray.

Joyes, deduiz, festes, esbatement,  
Ay fait pour lé, mais plus ne les feray,  
Puis qu'Amour ay servi trestout mon temps,  
Et employé cuer et corps, quanque j'ay.

Croire ne puis qu'Amour soit si coulans,  
Maiz a ce cop de certain le saray;  
Et s'ainsis est, a tous amans diray:  
Puis qu'Amour ay servi trestout mon temps,  
Et employé cuer et corps, quanque j'ay,  
S'Amour me faut, jamaiz jour n'ameray<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I append the full text of the second stanza of the *balade* (No. 540):

Eust jamais porté ces maulx que j'ay,  
A ce nulz homs qu'il peust nullement  
Soy deporter du gracieux corps gay  
Dont le regart me vint soudainement?  
Certes nennil; a parler morelment,  
Chastel aym tant pour trouver seure porte  
De reconfort, que je muir en tourment  
Se vo doulceur, dame, ne me conforte.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the 'no man may atteyne' of the preceding line in the roundel with the '*trouver seure porte*' of the preceding line in the *balade*, and the 'nulz homs' of l. 10. And with 'I sey you sooth' (l. 18) compare 'De fy vous dy' in the first line of the third stanza of the *balade*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 570, Vol. iv, p. 29. For convenience of reference I append the third section of 'Merciles Beaute':

Sin I fro Love escaped am so fat,  
I never thenk to ben in his prison lene;  
Sin I am free, I counte him not a bene.  
He may answer, and seye this or that;  
I do no fors, I speke right as I mene.  
Sin I fro Love escaped am so fat,  
I never thenk to ben in his prison lene.

The themes are identical; the conventional phraseology of the *rondeau* is simply turned into the vivid and racy idiom of the roundel<sup>1</sup>—the same strain, one cannot but feel, that reappears, in mellower form, in the *Envoy to Scogan*<sup>2</sup>. And in this case, too, the position of the *rondeau* in the manuscript is curiously significant. For the third poem before it<sup>3</sup> is the *virelay* itself (there repeated), the relation of which to the first two sections of 'Merciles Beaute' we have already seen. Indeed, inasmuch as the *virelay* is here provided with a *Réponse*<sup>4</sup> (which, it will be noted, the English poem has not used), the *rondeau* is really separated from the pair by but a single poem<sup>5</sup>. The triple roundel, accordingly, is seen to be an adaptation, now close, now with a masterly freedom of hand, of two (or rather three) poems of Deschamps.

If our inferences so far have been sound, several interesting consequences follow. In the first place, Chaucer's authorship of 'Merciles Beaute' may be regarded as established beyond reasonable doubt. For Chaucer indubitably knew certain poems of Deschamps, and that, too, under circumstances which not only attached to them peculiar interest, but virtually challenged the transplanting of some of them into English soil<sup>6</sup>. And there is no evidence—or even strong probability—that any of his English contemporaries who 'made of sentement' were interested in, or even knew, Deschamps at all. That fact, taken in conjunction with what has always been felt to be the genuinely Chaucerian ring of the lines, is, I think, practically conclusive<sup>7</sup>.

Love hath my name y-strike out of his sclat,  
And he is strike out of my bokes clene  
For ever-mo; [ther] is non other mene.  
Sin I fro Love, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This is obvious enough without comment. Compare, for one example:

Love hath my name y-strike out of his sclat,  
And he is strike out of my bokes clene  
For ever-mo—

with the refrain:

S'Amour me faut, jamaiz jour n'ameray—

as well as with ll. 8—9 of the *rondeau*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Why! I was yong, I putte hir forth in prees!'

<sup>3</sup> No. 567, Vol. iv, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> No. 568: 'Réponse au précédent' (in the MS.).

<sup>5</sup> No. 569—another *virelay*, rehearsing the discomforts of a lover.

<sup>6</sup> Deschamps' well-known request for a reply in kind ('de rescripre te prie'), and his emphasis on what Chaucer had already done, in his office of 'grant translateur,' towards making known, 'en bon anglès,' the Romance of the Rose 'aux ignorans de la langue pandras'—all this has obvious pertinence in the premises. Compare *Modern Philology*, i, 6: *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 616—17, 640—41.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Skeat has already suggested (*Oxford Chaucer*, i, 81) that the echo of the *Roman de la Rose* in ll. 27—28 is in Chaucer's vein. And (it may be added) the reference to the writer's own figure is in perfect keeping with the lines of the Host and the *Envoy to Scogan*.

But that is not all. For, in the second place, brief though the poem is, it stands related to its sources in a way which bears with singular distinctness Chaucer's most individual stamp. The *Réponse*, as it happens, which Deschamps actually wrote to the *vielay*, is not only the entirely obvious and perfectly conventional reply, but it is at the same time quite out of keeping with Chaucer's own well-known attitude<sup>1</sup>. The next poem but one, on the other hand, *does* offer material precisely to his taste. The substitution of the theme of the *rondeau*, accordingly, for that of the *Réponse*<sup>2</sup>, and the unexpected and piquant turn thus given to the tables<sup>3</sup>, together with the further heightening of this turn by the racy vigour of the rendering<sup>4</sup>, are as unmistakable, in the significance of their peculiar craftsmanship, as Giotto's O.

And finally, the results thus reached seem to throw some further light on the contents of the manuscript which came to Chaucer by the hand of Clifford. The two poems which Chaucer uses in the roundel, we may conclude with some assurance, formed part of it, together with the rejected *Réponse*<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, we have seen good reason for inferring that Chaucer also knew two of the poems now on the same folio with the *vielay* at the point where it makes its first appearance in the manuscript. It is scarcely going too far, then, to conclude that

<sup>1</sup> Its text is brief, and may be given in full:

Va, Espoir, et va Doulx Penser,  
 Au bel, au bon, au gent, au cler,  
     Au gracieux,  
 Au loyal, au vray amoureux,  
 Et li fay tout bien esperer;  
 Car bon renon me fait amer  
 Et Pité mon amy clamer  
     Le dolereux  
 Qui ne fait que grace louer.  
 Par honneur bien doit recouvrer  
     Le temps joyeux.  
 Pour ce je veil mon cuer donner:  
 Joir en puet et ordonner  
     Desor tous ceulx,  
 Maugré Dangier le dangereux,  
 Pour medisans faire crever.  
 Va Espoir, et va Doulx Penser.

<sup>2</sup> With the discarding of the *Réponse* compare the similar rejection in the *Troilus* of the stanzas near the beginning of the *Filistrato*, which were later used in the B-Prologue to the *Legend*. See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 622—24.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the similar independence shown in the shift of speaker from the lover to the lady in Chaucer's translation of Graunson's first *balade*, in the *Compleynt of Venus*. See Oxford Chaucer, i, 87.

<sup>4</sup> Compare, for that, passages without number in the *Troilus*!

<sup>5</sup> The present position of the three poems (Nos. 567, 568, 570) on successive folios (176, 177) of the MS. strengthens the probability that they originally belonged not far apart. And No. 579 may well enough have always stood between them.

Nos. 539, 540<sup>1</sup> and 541 (and possibly No. 536), together with Nos. 567, 568 and 570 (and possibly No. 569), were among the *œuvres d'escolier* which Deschamps sent across the Channel in company with the famous *balade*. That the *Lay de Franchise*<sup>2</sup> was also one of them, Chaucer's employment of it in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*<sup>3</sup> places beyond reasonable doubt. And it is not improbable that the four Flower and Leaf poems<sup>4</sup>, even though they may possibly have reached Philippa of Lancaster at a slightly earlier date<sup>5</sup>, were (perhaps for that very reason) included with the rest. I hope to show later that there is at least one other group of Deschamps' *balades* which stands in interesting relation to another of Chaucer's minor poems. But however that may be, we now have evidence enough to make it clear that Deschamps' missive did not go without some response on Chaucer's part. It is too much to hope that an *Envoy de Chaucer a Deschamps* will ever turn up. But it is scarcely an unpardonable flight of fancy to conjecture that such a poem may have been among the 'Balades, Roundels, Virelayes' that Alceste (terque quaterque beata!) was fortunate enough to know.

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<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that No. 540 is one of the *balades* which bears Deschamps' signature; its title being: 'Jeu de mots sur les noms de Marguerite et d'Eustache Morel, Chatelain de Fismes.' That fact, one may guess, would not render Deschamps averse to including it among the poems designed to give to Chaucer a taste of his quality. Compare the 'Eustache sui' of the Chaucer *balade* itself.

<sup>2</sup> II, 203 ff., No. 307.

<sup>3</sup> See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 613, 615, 635—41. This evidence is even more decisive than the discussion just referred to indicates—as I hope to show in a forthcoming volume.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 764—67, Vol. IV, pp. 257—64.

<sup>5</sup> See *Modern Philology*, I, 3—6; *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 608—10; XX, 760.

## DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN AND THE FRENCH POETS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE obligations of Drummond of Hawthornden to Philippe Desportes and to various poets of the Pléiade<sup>1</sup>, remarkable as they were, by no means exhaust the amount of his debt to the French poets of the sixteenth century. Yet another French poet of that period on whom the Scottish poet levied not inconsiderable loans is Jean Passerat (1534-1602), the successor of Ramus to the chair of Latin Eloquence in the Collège de France, and one of the contributors to the *Satire Ménippée*. Passerat first appeared as a poet in the vernacular in the year 1559 with one or two trifles of no importance. It was not till 1597 that he issued a collection of his stray pieces under the title *Le Premier Livre des Poèmes de Jean Passerat*. This volume was followed by two almost simultaneous editions of *Recueil des Oeuvres poétiques de Jan Passerat*, both published in 1606, the very year that Drummond left Scotland for Bourges, with the intention, like so many other young Scots before him, of studying jurisprudence at that famous school of law, where, it may be noted, Passerat had himself followed the lectures of the renowned Cujas some forty years previously.

The most striking feature of Passerat's best verse is its 'élégant badinage,' as well as its sly humour and delicate irony, which give the impression of a contemporary of Clément Marot rather than of Ronsard. He also recalls the poet of Cahors in such pieces as *La Métamorphose d'un homme en oiseau*, a real *conte* in verse, in the pretty *vilanelle*: *j'ay perdu ma tourterelle*, known to all readers of French literature; while in such pieces as the ode on May-day, Passerat showed that native charm and grace were still able to give new life to well-worn themes.

This aspect of Passerat's poetic talent—we use the word advisedly for Passerat was never more than a minor poet who penned his occasional pieces as a relaxation from more serious studies—has been abundantly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Modern Language Review*, Oct., 1907, and April, 1909.



emphasised from the day that Sainte-Beuve wrote his admirable appreciation in the famous *Tableau*. The Marotic and Gallic note is undoubtedly characteristic of Passerat's best verse. But what is incomprehensible to anyone who takes the trouble to read his French poetry in the handy and accessible edition published by Prosper Blanchemain in 1880<sup>1</sup> is that critics and historians of French literature<sup>2</sup>, without exception, should have completely overlooked the fact that in a much greater proportion of his work Passerat is an exotic poet, entirely dominated by foreign influences, and bent on following the latest literary fashion. In at least half of his work Passerat is a thorough-going Italianate, as Francesco Flamini was, I believe, the first to point out<sup>3</sup>, though only summarily. He certainly undertook the usual Italian journey, in spite of what his latest biographer says<sup>4</sup>; and there is extant an ode of his on Henry III's entry into Ferrara which was manifestly written there, and presented to the king in Ferrara itself. He cultivated the sonnet, of which he left over one hundred and seventy specimens, in preference to all other forms. He was a diligent reader of Ariosto, and alludes familiarly to the characters of the *Orlando Furioso* (I, p. 175). But in spite of his admiration for Ariosto, he may more truly be described as an adherent of the school of Petrarch, or rather of the master's degenerate disciples at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, who are known by the collective title of *quattrocento*<sup>5</sup>, and who included in their ranks, Cariteo, Tebaldeo, Pamfilo Sasso, Serafino of Aquila, besides a host of more insignificant versifiers. It is not our intention, nor would it be here a fitting place, to enter into a detailed consideration of the poets who composed that group. Suffice it to say that these facile improvisers, for such they were for the most part,

<sup>1</sup> *Les Poésies françaises de Jean Passerat, publiées avec Notice et Notes par Prosper Blanchemain*, Paris, 1880. The quotations are according to this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Morf for example, and Tilley.

<sup>3</sup> *Di alcune inosservate imitazioni italiane in poeti francesi del cinquecento*, in the *Atti del Congresso internazionale di Scienze storiche*, vol. IV, Roma, 1904. Cf. also J. Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Montpellier-Paris, 1909, an admirable work, which completely replaces Piéri.

<sup>4</sup> Edgar von Mojsisovics, *Jean Passerat, sein Leben und seine Persönlichkeit*, Halle, 1907, p. 20. Mojsisovics overlooks the all-important fact that Passerat alludes in no uncertain terms to the Italian journey in one of the sonnets (II, p. 72):

Retournant d'Italie au bel air de la France  
Quelquefois à part moy ie discourais ainsi:  
L'y trouueray la pais, & mon repos aussi,  
Et verray tout fleurir en bonne intelligence.

<sup>5</sup> On the *Quattrocento*, see: Alessandro d' Ancona, *Del secentismo nella poesia cortigiana del secolo XV*, in *Studi sulla letteratura italiana de' primi secoli*, 1884, Ancona; *Le Rime del Chariteo a cura di Erasmo Percopo* (Biblioteca napoletana di storia e letteratura), Naples, 1892; and Philippe Monnier, *Le Quattrocento*, Paris, 1901.

carried the conceits and hyperboles of the Petrarchists to lengths undreamt of by the great Florentine, and substituted for much of his idealism a frank and shameless appeal to sensuality in the thousands of sonnets and *strambotti* which flowed in an endless stream from their pens during the first three decades of the sixteenth century, till the purer taste and more severe style of Bembo and Sannazaro checked their progress. However, the appeal to Petrarch as the sole and unique model which the Bemboists preached and practised, after a triumph extending over some thirty years, was in its turn challenged in the last quarter of the sixteenth century by the Neapolitan Angelo di Costanzo, who with greater taste and talent gave new life to the preciousness of the *quattrocento*, and by so doing prepared its complete and renewed efflorescence in the pages of yet another Neapolitan—Giambattista Marino, the author of *l'Adone*. In France, the same developments, roughly, are discernible, among the sonneteers especially, eager to follow in the footsteps of their models on the other side of the Alps, though, like most observers of foreign fashions, they were naturally always a little late in detecting its varying manifestations. During the time that Passerat was inditing his poetry his friend Desportes of all French Italianates was the one most in view and who counted the greatest number of admirers. By his shameless thefts from Tebaldeo, Pamfilo Sasso, and Angelo di Costanzo—his three favourite models—he had re-introduced the manner of the *quattrocento*, abandoned or neglected in France since the day of Melin de Saint-Galais and Clément Marot, with such effect, that even Ronsard had felt compelled to follow the vogue in the *Amours d'Hélène*. No wonder then that Passerat, the Italianate, was carried away by the general current. But instead of copying his models, like Desportes and others, he was content to assimilate them, so that not a single case of actual plagiarism can be laid at his door. How thoroughly he was steeped in the manner of the *quattrocento* is at once manifest from an examination of a few of his typical sonnets. For having loved his lady too well the poet dies a double death; he is scorched by his own sighs and drowned in his own tears (I, p. 192). One day he finds her weeping and kisses away her tears in order to staunch, as he thinks, his thirst in the pearly liquid of candied sugar. But Cupid has so much power over nature that he can change water into flames. His mistress may weep; no more will he kiss those eyes that have betrayed him:

Or pleurez vostre saoul : ie ne veus plus baiser  
 Les yeus qui m'ont trahi pensant les appaiser ;  
 C'est un trop aspre feu que des pleurs d'une femme. (I, p. 195.)

Another day it is the distracted lover's eyes that run with tears. Must he chide them? No, for the fierce fire of love would have reduced him to ashes if his eyes had not watered him with two briny streams (II, p. 12). On another occasion the poet meets Cupid sobbing and lamenting that the cunning Mercury has extinguished his torch and robbed him of his shafts. 'Child,' exclaims the lover, 'stay your sobs':

Enfant, appaise-toy : ce dis-je au Dieu d'aimer :  
 Tu pourras aisément ton flambeau ralumer  
 A ce clair feu qui luit ès beaux yeus de ma dame.  
 Et pour remplir ta trousse, il ne faut qu'arracher  
 Tant de traits qu'il t'a plu contre moy descocher :  
 Mais va-t'en les lancer autre part qu'en mon ame.

The fatal day has come; Death has enfolded his Princess in its murky shroud. Cupid the conqueror is vanquished. He breaks his bow and arrow in a thousand pieces and falls fainting on the sword. He sheds so many tears that he 'Kindles his grief and extinguishes his torch' (II, p. 74). 'Twere in vain to search the entrails of the earth for any stone whereof to build the darling's tomb. The work could be entrusted to no living sculptor. It is no task for the hands but for the eyes: the lover will erect a monument for so perfect a lady out of the crystal of his frozen tears, so that his Love may be enchased in tears (II, p. 77). Never in their most unbridled mood did any of the Quattrocentists indulge in more extravagant conceits. Even the famous Serafino would have been compelled to acknowledge that he had been at least equalled, if not surpassed, on his own ground by the skill of this wonderful virtuoso. Whether Passerat compares Cupid to a fisherman (II, p. 8), to a wolf (II, p. 20), or to a Will-o'-the-Wisp (*ibid.*), or whether he pens sonnets on mirrors, gloves and rings, in the manner of the poet of Aquila, he betrays the same infatuation for the antitheses and hyperboles of the *quattrocento*. That a man endowed, as Passerat undoubtedly was, with a rich fund of native good sense could have written such extraordinary stuff is indeed surprising, but whatever its value may be, it constitutes a large part of his poetic output and one that has been strangely neglected. This must be my excuse for having dwelt at some length on this aspect of his poetry.

In spite of Drummond's predilection for Italian literature, he was too great an artist to be attracted by the eccentricities of the *quattrocento*; when he came to read Passerat he was careful to pick out for imitation the few of his sonnets which are comparatively free from the extravagancies we have noted.

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Sonnet x, a fairly close rendering, adapts the *Sonet à la Lune* (I, p. 173) with the Scottish poet's usual felicity<sup>1</sup>:

Fair moon, who with thy cold and silver  
shine  
Makes sweet the horror of the dreadful  
night  
Delighting the weak eye with smiles  
divine  
Which Phoebus dazzles with his too  
much light;  
Bright queen of the first Heaven, if in  
thy shrine,  
By turning oft, and Heaven's eternal  
might,  
Thou hast not yet that once sweet fire  
of thine,  
Endymion, forgot, and lover's plight;  
If cause like thine may pity breed in  
thee,  
And pity somewhat else to it obtain,  
Since then thou hast power of dreams,  
as well as he  
Who paints strange figures in the slum-  
b'ring brain,  
Now while she sleeps, in doleful guise  
her show  
Those tears, and the black map of all  
my woe.

O bel œil de la nuit; o la fille argentée,  
Et la sœur du soleil & la mere des  
mois:  
O Princesse des monts, des fleuves,  
& des bois  
Dont la triple puissance en tous lieux  
est vantée.  
Puisque tu es, Deesse, au plus bas Ciel  
montée  
D'où les piteus regrets des amants  
tu regois;  
Di, Lune au front cornu, as tu veu  
quelquefois  
Vue ame qui d'Amour fust si fort  
tourmentée?  
Si donques ma douleur vient ton cœur  
esmouvoir,  
Tu me peus secourir; ayant en ton  
pouvoir  
Des songes emplumez la bande char-  
meresse.  
Choisi l'un d'entre tous qui les maus  
d'un amant  
Sache mieus contrefaire & l'enuoye  
en dormant  
Représenter ma peine à ma fiere mais-  
tresse.

Sonnet II is also constructed on the pattern of another sonnet of the French poet (I, p. 189), except that in this case the resemblance in particulars does not extend beyond the first quatrain:

I know that all beneath the moon  
decays,  
And what by mortals in this world is  
brought,  
In Time's great periods shall return to  
nought;  
That fairest states have fatal nights and  
days.

Je sçay bien qu'icy bas rien ferme ne  
demeure:  
Qu'il y a des estats vn fatal change-  
ment:  
Que tout aura sa fin qui a commence-  
ment:  
Et que tout ce qui naist il faut aussi  
qu'il meure.

Drummond also drew on Passerat for the matter of a considerable number of his *Epigrams and Madrigals*. In *The Author's Life*, prefixed to the folio edition of his works (Edinburgh, 1711, p. 5), Drummond is credited with the saying that he was 'the first in the Isle who Englished the madrigal<sup>2</sup>.' Though he may claim to have composed a larger

<sup>1</sup> Drummond is quoted according to W. M. C. Ward's edition, London, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult, in the face of certain remarks of his (in the Folio edition, p. 226) on Alexander's *Aurora*, to account for Drummond's claim, unless he meant that he was the first to really naturalise the madrigal: 'Among our English poets Petrarch is imitated,



number than his English predecessors in that kind of poetry, his assertion, if indeed it is authentic, is hardly correct. In 1590, many years before the Scottish poet had started writing, appeared the *Italian Madrigalls Englished* of Watson. There are also two madrigals, though one only bears that name, in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. Barnes's long-winded series of love-poems, issued in May 1593, under the title *Parthenophil and Parthenope*, contains twenty-five madrigals—longer and more loosely constructed than the average Italian poems of that kind. Moreover it should be noted that Drummond's friend, Alexander of Menstrie, had included a certain number of madrigals in his sonnet-sequence *Aurora*, published in 1604, nine years before any of his younger rival's verse had seen the day.

Drummond's chief models for the madrigal were the Italians naturally—particularly Tasso, Guarini, and Marino—but he would frequently take any short piece from another source and transform it into a madrigal, as in the following instance, in which a quatrain of Passerat (II, p. 138) is so treated:

World, wonder not that I  
Engrave thus in my breast  
This angel face which me bereaves of  
rest;  
Since things even wanting sense cannot  
deny  
To lodge so dear a guest,  
And this hard marble stone  
Receives the same, and loves, but cannot  
groan.

De sa ieune beauté si ie suis tant espris,  
Et si en mon cœur tendre elle entre par  
la veuë,  
Ce n'est pas grand' merveille, & n'en  
seray repris,  
Puis que le marbre dur dedans soy l'a  
receuë.

In the same way a huitain (II, p. 48) may be handled:

Leave, page, that slender torch,  
And in this gloomy night  
Let only shine the light  
Of love's hot brandon, which my heart  
doth scorch:  
A sigh, or blast of wind,  
My tears, or drops of rain,  
May that at once make blind;  
Whilst this, like Aetna, burning shall  
remain.

Retourne-t'en, laquais, retourne Coridon:  
Il n'est point de besoin qu'on me vienne  
conduire,  
Je suis accompagné du feu de Cupidon,  
Qui la nuit m'esclairant autre feu ne  
desire.  
Le grand vent & la pluie à ta torche  
peut nuire,  
Mais moy ie les deffie & ne crains leur  
effort,  
Car la flamme qu'Amour dedans mon  
cœur fait luire  
Ne se peut amortir que par la seule  
mort.

may surpassed in some things, in matter and manner: in matter, none approach him to Sidney, who hath songs and sonnets intermingled: in manner, the nearest I find to him is Sir William Alexander, who, insisting in these same steps, hath sextains, madrigals, and songs, echoes and equivoques, which he (Petrarch) hath not; whereby, as the one hath surpassed him in matter, so the other in manner of writing, or form.'



Occasionally the madrigal is condensed from a much longer poem, as in *Armeline's Epitaph* (I, p. 165) which is adapted from Passerat's *Epitaphe du Barbichon de Madame de Villeroy* (II, p. 126).

This process, however, is not confined to the madrigals; the piece on the death of a certain judge (I, p. 171), reproduced in somewhat different form in the *Epitaphs* (II, p. 182), is obviously constructed on the pattern of the following huitain (II, p. 118):

Then death thee hath beguiled,  
 Alecto's first-born child;  
 Thou who didst thrall all laws  
 Then against worms canst not maintain  
 thy cause;  
 Yet worms, more just than thou, now  
 do no wrong,  
 Sith all do wonder they thee spar'd so  
 long,  
 For though from life but lately thou  
 didst pass,  
 Ten springs are gone since thou cor-  
 rupted was.

Passant ne sonne mot: icy dort main-  
 tenant  
 Quelcun qui fut iadis trop esueillé  
 pour prendre.  
 Je croirois aisément que ce fut en  
 prenant  
 Que la mort qui prent tout le prist  
 à iamais rendre.  
 Ce preneur ainsi pris s'en va deuenir  
 cendre:  
 Et ie treuve vn grand cas que tant  
 viure il a pu:  
 A ce que ses faueurs ont par tout fait  
 entendre,  
 Plus de trente ans y a qu'il estoit  
 corrompu.

In the *Miscellanies*, the short poem entitled *On a Glass sent to his best Beloved* (II, p. 136), offers an interesting example of another of the Scottish poet's methods of adaptation; in this instance he has taken the central idea of the original and condensed a somewhat loose sonnet (II, p. 41) into a neat sixain. Again one of the *Fragments* which Ward prints in the *Miscellanies* (II, p. 135) is a faithful rendering of a passage of one of Passerat's longer elegies (II, p. 88):

It autumn was, and cheerful chanticleer  
 Had warn'd the world twice that the  
 day drew near;  
 The three parts of the night almost  
 were spent,  
 When I, poor wretch, with love and  
 fortune rent,  
 Began my eyes to close, and sweetest  
 sleep,  
 Charming my sense, all over me did  
 creep;  
 But scarce with Lethe drops and rod  
 of gold  
 Had he me made a piece of breathing  
 mould.

Nous estions en Autonne; & ià l'oiseau  
 cresté  
 Qui anonce le iour, deus fois auoit chanté:  
 Les trois parts de la nuit estoient quasi  
 passées:  
 Quand las & trauaillé d'amoureuses  
 pensées,  
 Je receu le sommeil, qui coullant gracieus  
 Fit cesser les ennuis de mon cœur sou-  
 cieus.  
 A grand' peine auoit-il mes paupieres  
 fermées  
 De sa baguette d'or, & de liqueurs  
 charmées  
 Arrouse mon cerueau.

This list, long as it is, does not exhaust Drummond's obligations to the learned professor; in the *Satires and Epigrams*, the lampoon—

some 120 rhyming couplets—which appears under the rubric *The Character of an Anti-Covenanter, or Malignant* (II, p. 189), written in an ironical vein as an outlet for the poet's pent-up rage and indignation at a time when he had been compelled to subscribe himself publicly an adherent of a cause he hated (this I conceive is the right interpretation), is modelled, both as regards matter and form, on some biting verses which Passerat composed for the *Satire Ménippée*<sup>1</sup> (ed. M. C. Read, p. 220).

The opening lines are quoted in illustration:

Would you know these royal knaves  
Of freemen would turn us slaves;  
Who our union do defame  
With rebellion's wicked name?  
Read these verses, and ye will spring  
    them,  
Then on gibbets straight cause hing  
    them.  
They complain of sin and folly,  
In these times, so passing holy,  
They their substance will not give,  
Libertines that we may live.

Pour connoistre les Politiques,  
Adherents, Fauteurs d'Heretiques,  
Tant soient-ils cachez et couvers,  
Il ne faut que lire ces vers.  
    Qui se plaint du temps et des hommes,  
En ce siecle d'or où nous sommes;  
    Qui ne veut donner tout le sien,  
A ceste cause il ne vaut rien.

Two of Drummond's longer poems also turn out to be imitations, or rather close translations, from the same French poet. The first of these, *Phyllis, on the Death of her Sparrow* (II, p. 158), which Ward thinks was probably suggested by Skelton's *Little Boke of Philip Sparrow*, is taken almost verbatim from the following composition, entitled *Élégie* (I, p. 56), belonging to that numerous class of poems on pet animals<sup>2</sup> which the French poets of the sixteenth century, and none more than Passerat, felt bound to attempt in imitation of Catullus and the poets of the Anthology.

Ah ! if ye ask, my friends, why this salt  
    shower  
My blubber'd eyes upon this paper pour,  
Gone is my sparrow ; he whom I did  
    train,  
And turn'd so toward, by a cat is slain.  
No more with trembling wings shall he  
    attend  
His watchful mistress : would my life  
    could end !

Demandez-vous, Amis, d'où viennent  
    tant de larmes  
Que me voyez rouler sur ces funebres  
    carnes ?  
Mon Passereau est mort, qui fut si bien  
    appris :  
Helas ! c'est faict de luy, vne Chate l'a  
    pris.  
Ie ne le verray plus en sautelant me  
    suiure :  
Or' le iour me deplaist, or' ie suis las de  
    viure.

<sup>1</sup> That Drummond was familiar with the *Satire Ménippée* is proved by his pointed allusion to the 'dangerous figs of Spain,' in the satire on *The Five Senses* (II, p. 186), a severe exposure of the vices of King James.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of such pieces, see: Blanchemain's *Œuvres Complètes de Melin de Saint-Gelays*, I, p. 57, and Chamard's *Joachim du Bellay*, p. 405.

No more shall I him hear chirp pretty  
lays ;  
Have I not cause to loath my tedious  
days ?

A Daedalus he was to catch a fly,  
Nor wrath nor rancour men in him  
could spy ;

To touch or wrong his tail if any dar'd,  
He pinch'd their fingers, and against  
them warr'd :

Then might that crest be seen shake up  
and down,

Which fixed was unto his little crown ;  
Like Hector's, Troy's strong bulwark,  
when in ire.

He raged to set the Grecian fleet on fire.  
But, ah, alas ! a cat this prey espies,  
Then with a leap did thus our joys  
surprise.

Undoubtedly this bird was kill'd by  
treason,  
Or otherwise had of that fiend had  
reason.

Thus was Achilles by weak Paris slain,  
And stout Camilla fell by Aruns vain :  
So that false horse, which Pallas rais'd  
'gainst Troy,

King Priam and that city did destroy.  
Thou now, whose heart is big with this  
frail glory,

Shalt not live long to tell thy honour's  
story.

If any knowledge resteth after death  
If ghosts of birds, when they have left  
to breathe,

My darling's ghost shall know in lower  
place,

The vengeance falling on the cattish  
race.

For never cat nor catling I shall find,  
But mew shall they in Pluto's palace  
blind.

Ye who with gaudy wings and bodies  
light

Do dint the air, turn hitherwards your  
flight,

To my sad tears comply these notes of  
yours,

Unto his idol bring an harv'st of flowers ;  
Let him accept from us, as most divine,  
Sabaeen incense, milk, food, sweetest  
wine ;

Plus donc ie ne l'orray chanter son  
pilleri ?

Et n'ay-ie pas raison d'en estre bien  
marri ?

Il estoit passé maistre à croquer vne  
mousche :

Il n'estoit point gourmand, cholere ny  
farousche,

Si on ne l'attaquoit pour sa queue  
outrager :

Lors il pinçoit les doigts, ardent à se  
vanger.

Adonc vous l'eussiez veu crouller la  
rouge creste

Attachée au sommet de sa petite teste ;  
Tel que l'on veit Hector, mur de ses  
citoyens,

Dedans les Grecques naufs lancer les  
feux Troyens.

Toutesfois vne Chate, espiant ceste  
proye,

D'un Sault, à gueule bée, engloutit  
nostre ioye.

Le pauuret, pour certain, fut pris en  
trahison,

Autrement de la Chate il eust eu sa  
raison.

Le pasteur Phrygien ainsi vainquit  
Achille,

Et le vain Geneuois la vaillante Camille.  
Ainsi le grand cheual que Pallas char-  
penta

Contre le vieil Priam des soldats  
enfanta.

Toy qui en as le cœur enflé de vaine  
gloire,

Bien peu te durera l'honneur de ta  
victoire.

Si quelque sentiment reste apres le  
trespas

Aux esprits des oiseaux qui trebuschent  
là bas.

L'ame de mon mignon se sentira vengée  
Sur le sang ennemy de la Chate enragée.

Ie ne rencontreray ny Chate ny Chaton  
Que ie n'enuoye apres miauler chez  
Pluton.

Vous qui volez par l'air entendans les  
nouvelles

De ceste digne mort, tournez icy vos  
aelles ;

Venez, piteux oiseaux, accompagner mes  
pleurs,

Portons à son idole vne moisson de  
fleurs.

Qu'il reçoive de nous vne agreable  
offrande

De vin doux & de laict, d'encens & de  
viande :

And on a stone let us these words  
engrave :

'Pilgrim, the body of a sparrow brave  
In a fierce gluttonous cat's womb clos'd  
remains,

Whose ghost now graceth the Elysian  
plains.'

Puis engrauons ces mots sur son vuide  
tombeau :

Passant, le petit corps d'un gentil  
Passereau

Gist au ventre goulû d'une Chate in-  
humaine,

Aux champs Elysiens son Ombre se  
proumeine.

An equally charming composition of Passerat (I, p. 141) is reproduced  
with no less literalness in the pastoral song *Phyllis and Damon* :

*Ph.* Shepherd, dost thou love me well ?

*Da.* Better than weak words can tell.

*Ph.* Like to what, good shepherd, say ?

*Da.* Like to thee, fair, cruel may.

*Ph.* O how strange these words I find !

Yet, to satisfy my mind,

Shepherd, without mocking me,

Have I any love for thee,

Like to what, good shepherd, say ?

*Da.* Like to thee, fair, cruel may.

*Ph.* Better answer had it been

To say thou lov'd me as thine

eyne.

*Da.* Woe is me, these I love not,

For by them love entrance got,

At that time they did behold

Thy sweet face and locks of gold.

*Ph.* Like to what, dear shepherd, say ?

*Da.* Like to thee, fair, cruel may.

*Ph.* Once, dear shepherd, speak more  
plain,

And I shall not ask again ;

Say, to end this gentle strife,

Dost thou love me as thy life ?

*Da.* No, for it is turn'd a slave

To sad annoys, and what I have

Of life by love's stronger force

Is reft, and I'm but a dead corse.

*Ph.* Like to what, good shepherd, say ?

*Da.* Like to thee, fair, cruel may.

*Ph.* Leave, I pray, this like to thee,

And say, I love as I do me.

*Da.* Alas ! I do not love myself,

For I'm split on beauty's shelf.

*Ph.* Like to what, good shepherd, say ?

*Da.* Like to thee, fair, cruel may.

*Elle.* Pastoureaux, m'aimes-tu bien ?

*Lui.* Je t'aime, Dieu sçait combien.

*Elle.* Comme quoi ?

*Lui.* Comme toi,

Ma rebelle,

Pastourelle.

*Elle.* En rien ne m'a contenté

Ce propos trop affecté,

Pastoureaux, sans moquerie

M'aimes-tu ? di, ie te prie.

Comme quoi ?

*Lui.* Comme toi,

Ma rebelle

Pastourelle.

*Elle.* Tu m'eusses répondu mieux,

Je t'aime comme mes yeux.

*Lui.* Trop de haine ie leur porte :

Car ils ont ouuert la porte

Aus peines que j'ay receu,

Des lors que ie t'apperçeu :

Quand ma liberté fut prise

De ton œil qui me maistrise.

*Elle.* Comme quoi ?

*Lui.* Comme toi,

Ma rebelle

Pastourelle.

*Elle.* Pastoureaux, parle autrement

Et me di tout rondement,

M'aimes tu comme ta vie ?

*Lui.* Non, car elle est asseruie

A cent & cent mille ennuis,

Dont aimer ie ne la puis,

N'estant plus qu'un corps sans

ame

Pour trop cherir vne dame.

*Elle.* Comme quoi ?

*Lui.* Comme toi,

Ma rebelle

Pastourelle.

*Elle.* Laisse la ce Comme toi :

Di, ie t'aime comme moi.

*Lui.* Je ne m'aime pas moy-mesmes.

*Elle.* Di moy doncques, si tu m'aimes,

Comme quoi ?

*Lui.* Comme toi,

Ma rebelle

Pastourelle.



It would have been strange indeed if the Scottish poet, addicted as he was to the transmutation of foreign material into his poetry, could have resisted the attraction of Du Bartas, especially at a time when the author of the *Sepmaine* was undoubtedly more largely read in England than in his native country. There is evidence that Drummond had read Du Bartas, or at least part of his works, as early as 1609. In a letter written three years later, describing his first meeting with Alexander of Menstrie, and alluding to the latter's *Doomesday* which had not yet appeared in print, he says of his new acquaintance: 'This much I will say, and perchance not without reason dare say, if the heavens prolong his days to end his Day he hath done more in one Day than Tasso did all his life, and Bartas in his two weeks, though both the one and the other be most praiseworthy.' Now this passage reproduces almost verbatim the words which Simon Goulart, the commentator of the *Sepmaines*, ascribes to Ronsard after the publication of the first *Sepmaine*—'M. du Bartas a plus fait en une sepmaine que je n'ai fait en toute ma vie.' A detail of this kind, insignificant in itself, argues great familiarity with the writings of the Huguenot poet and all that concern them<sup>1</sup>. Drummond had also read Sylvester, and although he had no great opinion of his first-hand attempts, he praises his translations from Du Bartas unstintingly and compares them with those of Hudson to the discredit of the latter (Folio ed., p. 227). His admiration for the French poet took concrete form in more than one poem of the *Flowers of Sion* (1623). *An Hymn of the Fairest Fair*, for example, clearly betrays that he was fresh from the reading of the *Sepmaine* when he composed such passages as the following. The same metre is used (heroic couplet); the same compounds abused, and the same elaborate comparisons from contemporary science:

Amidst these sapphire far-extended heights  
 The never-twinkling, ever-wand'ring lights  
 Their fixed motions keep; one dry and cold,  
 Deep-leadened colour'd, slowly there is roll'd;  
 With rule and line for time's steps measur'd even  
 In twice three lustres he but turns his heaven.  
 With temperate qualities and countenance fair  
 Still mildly smiling, sweetly debonair,  
 Another cheers the world, and way doth make  
 In twice six autumns through the zodiac.  
 But hot and dry, with flaming locks and brows  
 Enrag'd, this in his red pavilion glows.  
 Together running with like speed, if space,  
 Two equally in hands achieve their race;

<sup>1</sup> See Georges Pellissier, *La Vie et les Œuvres de Du Bartas*, Paris, 1883, p. 277.



With blushing face this oft doth bring the day,  
 And ushers oft to stately stars the way ;  
 That various in virtue, changing, light,  
 With his small flame ingens the veil of night.

*The Shadow of Judgment*, in the same collection, was a theme that lent itself still more readily to the inditing of verse in the manner and spirit of Du Bartas and Sylvester. Indeed, a passage describing the three Furies—War, Famine, and Pestilence—is little more than an amplification or paraphrase of the corresponding lines in the French original. The fact that King James had translated this portion of the *Sepmaine*<sup>1</sup> may have served as an additional inducement to Drummond to produce a fresh version of one of his favourite passages. The description of Famine from both poets is given in order to give an idea of the parallelism :

The next, with eyes sunk hollow in her brains,	Voicy venir la Faim, vray pourtrait d'Atropos.
Lean face, gnarl'd hair, with black and empty veins,	Son noir cuir est percé des poinctes de ses os,
Her dried-up bones scarce covered with her skin,	Elle baaille toujours ; l'œil au crâne lui touche,
Bewraying that strange structure built within,	Et l'une ioue à l'autre. On voit dedans sa bouche
Thigh-bellyless, most ghastly to the sight,	Iaunir ses claires dents, et les vuides boyaux
A wasted skeleton resembleth right.	Paroissent à travers les rides de ses peaux.
Where she doth roam, in air faint do the birds,	Pour ventre elle n'a point que du ventre la place ;
Yawn do earth's ruthless brood and harmless herds ;	Ses coudes et genoux s'enflent sur la carcasse ;
The woods' wild foragers do howl and roar,	Insatiable monstre, à qui pour vn repas
The humid swimmers die along the shore ;	A peine suffiront tout ce qui vit ça bas.
In towns, the living do the dead up-eat, Then die themselves ; alas ! and wanting meat,	Son gosier va cerchant la viande ès viandes ;
Mothers not spare the birth of their own wombs,	L'vn mets l'autre semond ; ses entrailles gourmandes
But turn those nests of life to fatal tombs.	Se vuident en mangeant. De ses enfans la chair
	Son enragé désir ne peut mesme estancher.

Indications are also not wanting that Drummond had studied the *Sepmaine contre le sieur du Bartas* of Christophe de Gamon (1609), in praise of which little can be said, even after Raymond Toinet's careful

<sup>1</sup> James's version of *The Furies*, his *Lepanto*, and Du Bartas's rendering of the latter production, were published together in *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at vacant houres* (1591).

study of him and his likes<sup>1</sup>. Gamon's turgid epic appears in the lists of books read by the laird of Hawthornden in the year 1614.

Lastly, a curious example of Drummond's dependence on foreign models may be instanced. In his *Posthumous Poems* (II, p. 121) occur two Italian sonnets in the vernacular—one by Tebaldeo and the other by Bembo—to each of which three different translations, varying in literalness, are appended. Now if the reader will turn to Bk VII, ch. VIII, of the *Recherches de la France* of Étienne Pasquier he will find the same two Italian sonnets cited each with three separate translations conjoined, and moreover discover that Drummond's versions are modelled on those given by Pasquier. An absolute proof that we are here in presence of the Scottish poet's source is afforded by the fact that in the Hawthornden MS. from which David Laing (*Arch. Scot.*, IV, p. 226) took these sonnets, the one of Tebaldeo is entitled by Drummond 'Sonnet qu'un Poëte Italien fit pour un bracelet de cheveux qui lui avoit esté donné par sa Maistresse'—which are the exact words used by Pasquier himself to introduce the Italian poet's composition.

From the same author is taken *A Couplet Encomiastic* (I, p. 169), the original of which Pasquier quotes in the *Recherches* as the earliest example in French of quantitative verse, or *vers mesurés* as they were then called.

To complete the list it may be pointed out that the piece entitled *Statue of Venus Sleeping* (II, p. 144) is translated from *Les Touches* (1585) of Tabourot or Le Seigneur des Accords, as he preferred to style himself, a collection of epigrams of no great value. Tabourot is also the author of *Les Bigarrures* (1581), consisting of essays on various artificial forms of verse with chapters on anagrams and epitaphs. This latter work which would have done more honour to a disciple of the *Grands rhétoriciens* than to a writer composing when the Pléiade was at the height of its fame, was utilised by Drummond in his prose essay on the *Character of a Perfect Anagram* (Folio ed., p. 230). From the same source Drummond no doubt also derived the idea of the 'pyramid' in verse which accompanied the first edition (1613) of *Teares on the Death of Meliades*, though he may of course have read about such puerilities as the *pyramis*, the *fuzie*, the *lozange*, and the like in the *Arte of English Poesie* attributed to Puttenham.

<sup>1</sup> Notes pour servir à l'histoire littéraire du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Quelques recherches autour des poèmes héroïques-épiques français du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Tulle, 1899. Compare also A. Mazon, *Notice sur la vie et les œuvres d'Achille Gamon et de Christophe (sic) de Gamon d'Annonay en Vivarais*, Lyon-Paris MDCCCLXXXV, and the inevitable German thesis: H. Kaiser, *Über die Schöpfungsgedichte des Gamon und D'Aubigné und ihre Beziehungen zu Du Bartas' Sepmaine*, Bremen, 1896.

To the reading of French authors must also be ascribed Drummond's liberal use of French words—*decure*, I, 9 and I, 70, *vively*, I, 58, *phare*, I, 65, *ramage* (warbling), I, 115, *paragon'd*, I, 196, *ordure*, II, 13 and II, 66, *vive*, II, 21, *collin* (hill), II, 66, *trunchman*<sup>1</sup> (interpreter), II, 274. His fondness for verbs composed with the prefix *em-*, *en-*, or *im-* ('ensphere,' 'encheer,' 'embower,' 'impurple,' 'ensaffron,' 'empamper,' 'incluster,' etc.) was probably encouraged by one of the methods of *provignement* much favoured by the Pléiade; and one of his faults, his habit of inversions, especially in the case of pronouns, may in the same way be put down to early familiarity with French poetry.

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<sup>1</sup> Ward commits a startling error *à propos* of the word *trunchman*, which by the way occurs in the *Cypress Grove* appended to the *Poems* (II, p. 274). In a note he says: '*Trunchman*: perhaps one who holds the truncheon as a symbol of command.' This of course is nonsense. The word 'interpreter' with which 'trunchman' is immediately conjoined in Drummond's text ought to have shown Ward that we are here in presence of the French word *trucheman* (or *truchement*, to use the more modern spelling admitted by the Academy), of Arabic origin, meaning an 'interpreter.' One naturally recalls Molière's '*Où est le truchement, pour lui dire qui vous êtes?*' (*B. gent.* v, 4).

## THE BOULOGNE MANUSCRIPT OF THE 'CHEVALERIE VIVIEN.'

THE manuscript 192, called Sancti Bertini, of the city library of Boulogne-sur-Mer is one of the most valuable cyclic manuscripts of the *Geste de Guillaume*. This manuscript, according to an inscription at the close, was finished in the month of April, 1295<sup>1</sup>, and is thus one of the oldest dated manuscripts of chansons de geste<sup>2</sup>. The *Chevalerie Vivien* occupies folios 81 verso to 93 recto, and numbers 1840 lines. The published edition of Jonckbloet<sup>3</sup> numbers 1918 lines, and is based on two poor manuscripts, 774 and 368 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The manuscript Sancti Bertini is like most of the other manuscripts of the *Chevalerie* in assonance, but stands alone in ending the *laissez* with the *petit vers*. The dialect of the manuscript is dominantly Picard, although there are numerous central French forms.

The most important difference between the *Chevalerie Vivien* of Boulogne and the other versions lies in the subject-matter. No other manuscript shows such marked divergences in this regard. A number of the variations of this manuscript appear to be the work of one *remanieur*, whose personal efforts at harmonising difficulties are visible. For example, if he places the knightng of the hero at Termes, and has

<sup>1</sup> We read, folio 334 verso:

Chis livres fu fais l'an de grasse  
M.cc. xx fues iiiij.  
et xv ans tout droit sans mentir  
le tierch samedi en avril.

<sup>2</sup> For the earliest dated manuscripts in Old French, see Carl Wahlund, *Ouvrages de Philologie Romane et d'Ancien Français*, Upsala, 1899 (tiré à cent cinquante exemplaires, et non mis dans le commerce), p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Guillaume d'Orange*, La Haye, 1854. L. Gautier expressed the opinion that the MS. of Boulogne should be taken as the basis for the publication of the poem (*Epopées Françaises*, second edition, vol. iv, p. 437). Other critics prefer MS. 1448 of the Bibliothèque Nationale as the basis for a critical edition: vid. Nordfelt, in Wahlund and Feilitzen, *Enfances Vivien*, Upsala and Paris, 1895, p. xvi, also Willy Schulz, *Das Handschriftenverhältnis des Covenat Vivien*, Halle, 1908, p. 67. MS. 1448 will, it is said, be the basis of the edition to be published shortly by A. Terracher. [Note: since the completion of these pages, the first volume of the edition mentioned has appeared. It is published by H. Champion, Paris, 1909.]

him start thence on his invasion of Spain, it is because of the well-known passage of *Aliscans*, vv. 767—72<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, if we find a reference to Renoart in three wretched lines<sup>2</sup>, it is because the *remanieur* attempted, clumsily enough, to bind together by cross citations the chansons which he included in his vast compilation. The query naturally arises whether all the divergences in subject-matter may not be due to the personal labours of one *remanieur*. Again, are these divergences all simple cross-references of no special value, or do they at times preserve a knowledge of early tradition? While space is lacking for a full discussion of all these passages, a few may be passed rapidly in view. Inasmuch as few, if any, of them have been published, it will be necessary to insert them here. They will be given just as they are in the manuscript, without any attempt at alteration, except of the abbreviations.

In the opening *laisse* of the poem, Vivien makes his well-known vow never to retreat before the Saracens. His uncle tries to dissuade him. The *laisse* closes with the following lines, which are not found in any other manuscript:

Oncles Guillaumes, dist Vivien li bers,  
Si m'ait Diex, jou l'ai sor sains juré  
Bien a .ii. ans aconplis et passés,  
Quant jou estoie en Maldrane enserrés.  
La le jurai, voiant les marchans bers.  
Ne puet autrement estre<sup>3</sup>.

This passage was undoubtedly added by the *remanieur*, who had just copied the *Enfances Vivien*, and who of course remembered the oath

<sup>1</sup> This, the only *laisse* of *Aliscans* which is in assonance, is to be compared with vv. 2002—04 of the *Chanson de Willame*. Max Lipke, in his dissertation on the *Moniage Rainoart*, p. 80, suggests that Termes is perhaps the ancient castle, Termes-en-Termenès, near the Via Tolosana, not very far from Narbonne and Lézignan. Cf. the opinion of Joseph Bédier, *Légendes Épiques*, I, pp. 390, 391.

<sup>2</sup> A Saracen says of Desramé:

.I. fil a il perdu, dont molt est courechies.  
VI. ans a ja passé qu'il ne le vit des iels.  
Che fu tous li mainsnés, mentir ne vous en quier.  
(fol. 82 v°.)

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 82 r°. The hero repeats the information contained in these lines, at the moment when the attack on the enemy was about to begin. He says to his men:

Molt bonement vos soit congiés donés.  
Jou remanrai, la covenanche est tes.  
Quant jou estoie a Maldrane enserré,  
La jurai jou, voiant les marchans bers,  
Que jamais ne fuioie por Ture ne por Esclés,  
Puis que jou iere de mes armes armés.  
(fol. 84 v°.)

He follows this with the statement that he made the same vow when he was armed knight. It is evident that the *remanieur* of the close of the thirteenth century regarded the vow of Vivien besieged as eminently fitting. In this, he differs from some of the modern critics: vid., for example, Wahlund and Feilitzen, *Enfances Vivien*, Upsala and Paris, 1895, p. xxxi; A. Jeanroy, in *Romania*, xxvi, p. 187.



taken in that poem by Vivien when besieged in Maldrane (vv. 2205—13). While the other manuscripts of the *Enfances* mention the oath, they call the city 'Luiserne,' instead of 'Maldrane'. We have here, then, a plain case where our *remanieur* or copyist carries a name from one chanson over into a following one; it should be added that the name 'Luiserne' is entirely unknown to the *Chevalerie* of Boulogne, being always represented by 'Maldrane'.

We now come to one of the longest independent passages (114 lines) of the *Chevalerie* in our manuscript. After what corresponds to verse 85 of the edition of Jonckbloet, the manuscript of Boulogne intercalates this long passage, which we cite entire, because of its great interest:

- A Bargelonge va Vivien li ber.  
 130 La vile assist l'enfes sans arester.  
 Tant sist devant Vivien l'alosé  
 Qu'il fist a forche les grans murs craventer,  
 Si prist la vile, nus nel peut contester.  
 Qui en Dieu ne valt croire fist Vivien decoler,  
 135 Et cil qui Dieu valt croire fist il en fons lever.  
 Molt fist la vile ricement atorer.  
 Puis prist par forche les tors de Balesgués,  
 Mais ne fu pas si tost com vos dire m'oés.  
 Ains c'ot pris ces .ii. viles, furent .iiii. ans pasés.  
 140 Et Guillaumes l'aime, sachiés voos sans fauser,  
 Et Guiborc la contese vit Vivien tant ber  
 De tot son cuer l'ama de molt grant amsté.  
 Vivien fu cortois et larges por doner.  
 Tout se tindrent a lui li jovene baceler.  
 145 Sor .i. vile ala Vivien li ber,  
 Tourtolouse avoit non, molt faisoit a loer.  
 Tant sist devant Vivien li bons ber  
 Que il fist toz les paiens afamer,  
 Dont prist la vile, on li rendi les clés.  
 150 Et Vivien fist toz crestiener.  
 De Porpallart oi Vivien parler,  
 Une chité qui siet desor la mer.  
 La a souvent mainte nef arrivé,  
 De marcheans de Cordes, la chité.  
 155 Cele part fist Vivien sa gent acheminer,  
 Si a assis la vile.  
 Vivien li preus avoit cuer de baron.  
 Porpallart a assis entor et environ. fol. 82 v° b.  
 Paien s'escrient: 'Aidiés, sire Mahon!'  
 160 Maint mal ont fait paien et esclavon.  
 Tant sist a Porpallart Vivien le baron  
 Qu'il prist la vile, si l'eut en son bandon.  
 Tot le dona Guillaume d'Orenge le baron.  
 Molt fu preus et vallans Vivien li frans hom.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Enfances Vivien*, p. xi. The statement made by the editors that, in all the other poems (save the *Enfances* of Boulogne) where the town here meant is named, it is called 'Luiserne,' is not quite correct, since the Boulogne manuscript of the *Chevalerie* calls it 'Maldrane.'

<sup>2</sup> Line 281 of our manuscript of the *Chevalerie*, for instance, reads: 'Pris a Maldrane et Mirados tués' (cf. vv. 126, 127 of the edition of Jonckbloet).

- 165 Il fu a Poupallart entre lui et si baron.  
 .VII. ans avoit erré tot ensi com dison,  
 Et si avoit pris viles et marces et doignons.  
 Tot le dona Guillaume, qui tant estoit preudom.  
 A Poupallart estoit Viviens li baron.
- 170 Plus haoit Sarrazins qu'ainques ne fist nus hom.  
 .I. jor devers la mer regarde et si baron.  
 En haute mer avoit .i. dromon.  
 .VII.c paiens estoient ens par non.  
 Marcheant furent, avoir out a fuison.
- 175 A Poupallart lor ancre jeté ont.  
 Et Viviens s'arma, et avoec si baron,  
 Si alerent encontre.
- Li preus Viviens ne se valt atargier.  
 Il et sa gent se font tost haubergier.
- 180 Vers la nef vont u furent li paien.  
 Et quant paien les virent vers els aaprochier,  
 Effrée furent, durement che sachiés.  
 Li maistres va devant, cil qui miels sot plaidier,  
 Et Viviens les prist a araisnier:
- 185 'Dont estes vos, fait il, dites moi sans atargier?'  
 Li maistres respont: 'Sire, d'un estrange raisnier,  
 Si sommes homme Desramé au vis fier,  
 Le riche roi, qui tant fait a prissier,  
 Qui Cordes a trestot a justichier.
- 190 .XI. rois a soz lui a baillier.  
 Par Mahomet, li .xv. sont si fil.  
 .i. fil a il perdu, dont molt est courechies.  
 .VI. ans a ja passé qu'il ne le vit des iels.  
 Che fu tous li mainsnés, mentir ne vos en quier.
- 195 Viviens ot de cel roi qui tant par estoit fiers.  
 Volentiers feroit cose dont se deüst courechier.  
 Ces paiens fist tous prendre sans longes atargier.  
 Tous .i. et .i. les a fait mahaigrier. fol. 83 r<sup>o</sup>.
- 200 L'un fist colper le brach et a l'autre le pié.  
 L'autre a les iels crevés, l'autre a le nés trenchié.  
 N'i ot .i. seul paien qui ne fust mahaignié,  
 Fors seulement que .iiii., tant en i a d'entier.  
 Chaus a pris Viviens, si lor fist fianchier  
 Qu'il merront cele nef a ces Turs mahaigrier
- 205 Tout droitement a Cordes, ou rois Desramés ert.  
 Dist Viviens: 'Or entendés, paien!  
 Vos en irés a Cordes sans point de delaier,  
 Si dirés vo seignor, Desramé le guerrier  
 Cest prosent li envoie li vassaus Viviens,
- 210 Li neveux a Guillaume d'Oreng, Brachefier.'  
 'Ne le ferons, biax sire, ne l'osommes laissier,'  
 Respondent li paien, en qui n'eut c'airier.  
 'Voir, dist Viviens, vos l'estuet fianchier.'  
 Et chiaus present lor dois a lor dens a touchier.
- 215 Ne plus ne mentiroit por les membres trenchier.  
 Viviens fait l'avoir prendre sans atargier,  
 Et si l'a fait porter sus el palais plenier.  
 Et li paien s'entornent devers la mer arrier.  
 Forment crient et braient cil paien mahaignié
- 220 En haute mer siglerent dolant et courechie.  
 Or larai d'eus, et dirons de Vivien.  
 Illueques s'aparelle, il et si chevalier.  
 Vers Alissans vont illuec chevalchier.

- La se logierent li jovene chevalier.  
 225 Païen nel porent soffir, bien le sachiés.  
 En fuies torment, laissent terres et fiés.  
 Et Vivien ochist turs et paiens,  
 Quant il les pot ne prendre ne ballier.  
 Nus ne l'osoit attendre ne ballier.  
 230 Nus ne l'osoit attendre, ains fuirent arrier.  
 De Vivien vos valdrai ore laisser.  
 Quant tans en ert, bien en sarons plaidier.  
 Del fort roi de Franche vos volrai commenchier,  
 Et de le grant barnage qui fist a resoignier,  
 235 Et des .iiii. paiens qu'en mer sont coureché,  
 Qui portent le prosent des affolés paiens  
 Que Vivien envoie Desramé, le guerrier.  
 En cha se traie qui vielt entendre bien!  
 Ainc si bone canchon n'oï nus hom nonchier,  
 240 Se ne fust ceste mise, bien le pus affichier.  
 Or alés tost vos borses deslachier,  
 Et jetés cha des malles!

The events of this long passage are, as far as we know, not related in any other manuscript of the *Chevalerie*. The description of the capture and maiming of the Saracen crew is easily explainable as a natural elaboration of the *remanieur*, who is endeavouring to heighten the dramatic element of his narration<sup>1</sup>. Can the same be said of the detailed conquests of the young hero? Where did the *remanieur* find the hint for these conquests, or did he make them out of whole cloth? One's first thought is that he may have derived them from the text of the *Enfances*, which he had just finished copying. If, however, we examine the text of the *Enfances* in the manuscript of Boulogne, we shall find no mention of these conquests, although they are mentioned in the other manuscripts. It is hardly credible that he suppressed a passage of the original which he copied, for we see how desirous he was of establishing cross-references which would serve to bind together the contiguous poems of his compilation. He must then have drawn his account of the conquests of Vivien from some other chanson or from general tradition. It would require too much space to discuss properly the poetic history of the towns conquered by our hero<sup>2</sup>. Mention may be made, however, of several important facts in this connection. In a well known passage of the *Charroi de Nîmes*, the king assigns to Guillaume *Espaigne le regné*, Portpaillart and Tortolose. This is to be interpreted to mean one of two things: either songs were already in existence which sang of Guillaume's conquest or possession of these fiefs; or a poet who wrote after the *Charroi* was current composed a

<sup>1</sup> The other manuscripts of the *Chevalerie* describe the arrival before Desramé of the maimed Saracens, but not their capture and torture.

<sup>2</sup> A short discussion of this matter will be found in the *Romania*, xxxiv, p. 251 et ss.

song concerning these events. In either case, the poetic conquest of the fiefs must be accepted as an established fact. There can be no doubt that reference is made to this conquest in the vastly important lines of the *Chanson de Willame* (2509—14), where Guillaume explains to the king the circumstances that led to the death of Vivien: he, Guillaume, had, as the king knew, conquered Spain. Vivien, however, in straits, summoned him to his aid: i.e., Vivien was attacked and killed in defending the fiefs of Spain, his uncle, hastening to his rescue, was defeated in turn, losing all his men and being reduced to coming to Louis for help.

Supposing that one accepts the above statements as given, they show the conquest of the lands by Guillaume, not by his nephew, which is the point at issue. We have, however, attempted to show elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, with reference to line 3500 of the *Willame*: 'Et tote la tere Vivien le ber,' that the lands of our young hero were precisely those of 'Spain': Portpaillart, Tortolose, with Barcelone and Balesgués. There was evidently a poem in which Guillaume left his nephew in charge of these fiefs, in whose conquest he, with other nephews, had aided. A trace of this state of affairs is to be found in MS. 1448 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the *Chevalerie* itself. Vivien is in danger of defeat and death. He proposes to his men that they take refuge in a castle, to await the return of Guillaume, Bertran and others of the family, who have gone to Orange to put their arms in good condition<sup>2</sup>. The same MS., in another passage, says that Guillaume may be at Barcelona, thus indicating that, as in the older part of the *Willame*<sup>3</sup>, this city is in the possession of the Christians<sup>4</sup>.

In addition to the above poems as possible sources from which the *remanieur* of the Boulogne *Chevalerie* may have derived his knowledge that Vivien had played a part in the conquest of Portpaillart, Tortolose, Barcelone and Balesgués, mention should be made of *Foucon de Candie*. This chanson states that Guillaume, Vivien, Bertran, Guichart and others of the family had captured from Tibaut, not alone Orange, but the above-named cities, and that, in the fighting which resulted from the capture of Tortolose, Vivien lost his life. It may be well to speak a moment concerning the testimony of *Foucon*, in view of a recent article of Professor H. Suchier<sup>5</sup>, in which he expresses the opinion that the death scene of our young hero is not, in this poem, placed in Spain.

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, xxxiv, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 208 v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 931, 932.

<sup>4</sup> MS. 1448, fol. 209 v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xxxiii, pp. 41—57, especially pp. 48—52.



There is nothing in this article of Suchier to lead me to abandon my position. *Foucon* shows the following setting for the events which culminated in the death of Vivien: that Tibaut had once been in possession of Orange, Barcelona, Portpaillart, Tortolose (that is, Tortosa on the Ebro), and Balesgués (or Balesguer); that the family of Guillaume had taken these possessions from him; that he attempted an expedition of vengeance, in whose operations Barcelona and Tortosa figure (but not Orange); that in the fighting over Tortosa, Vivien met his death; that Guillaume and Guichart set out from Barcelona to betake themselves to the battle-field where Vivien fell, and from which Guillaume fled. How anyone can see in the geography of this setting a battle-field near Orange, passes comprehension. It is true that the scene of battle is called both the Archant and Aliscans, as everyone can see from Tarbé's partial edition of the poem, but this fact simply indicates a transfer from other chansons of a name which had, through error, become connected with the name of Vivien. The surprising thing would have been that *Foucon* had preserved itself free from this contamination, which poured in from many sides. Again, what the learned professor of Halle says of the use of 'Espanne' is wide of the mark. If *Foucon de Candie* happens to apply the word 'Espanne' to localities such as Barcelona, Balaguer, and Tortosa, it is perfectly idle to show that some writers of chansons de geste, and even a few historians of the Carolingian epoch, at times included under this name a part of southernmost France. He cites a note from the pen of Lot, who says that, to speak of Nîmes as being in 'Espanne,' was, in a certain sense, true in the eighth and ninth centuries: 'mais depuis c'est une absurdité'. Furthermore, the use of the word 'Espanne' by the author of *Foucon* is just what would be expected in a well informed writer of the latter half of the twelfth century. He shows a correct knowledge of the Rhone, of Gascony, of a number of Catalanian cities, of the Ebro, of 'la terre major,' and of the 'Ports d'Espanne.' There is no likelihood whatever of his including in 'Espanne' a locality near Orange,—on the left bank of the Rhone at that, near Arles<sup>2</sup>.

The traces of the war in which Vivien died that are discernible in *Foucon de Candie* indicate a poem which, in some manner, formed a pendant to the *Siège d'Orange*. A Saracen king has been dispossessed

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, xxvi, p. 568, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> One might as well maintain that the author or authors of this poem placed Orange itself in Spain. They certainly did not do this, as the following passage shows: Guillaume, about to start from Orange for Candie, promises to release a prisoner left at Orange, on his return from Spain: 'Qu'al revenir d'Espanne ert delivrez' (*Foucon*, MS. 25,518 of: Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 98 r°).



of Orange and of several Catalonian cities. He tries to recover Orange and fails (*Siège d'Orange*). In the other poem, he tries to recover the Catalonian possessions and fails. Vivien perishes in this other poem, far from Orange. There is no man alive who could read *Foucon*, having no knowledge of any related chanson, and conceive his death as taking place elsewhere than in the neighbourhood of Tortosa or Barcelona.

Professor Souchier asserts that the scene of the battle in which Vivien succumbs in the manuscripts of the *Chevalerie* is near Orange, and that this is true also of the manuscript of Boulogne. When we search for his proof, we find it resting on the plain statement that wherever *Archant* and *Aliscans* are used concurrently by a French poet, the battle-field indicated is in the vicinity of Orange. This would be a most convenient solution! Unfortunately, one cannot take these two names, the most discussed of any two names in the entire cycle of Guillaume, and solve their riddle by any such trenchant process. I have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that these words were formerly distinct in application, and that they became confused only by a long succession of events. It is therefore clear that either of these words may have been introduced into a poem where it was originally lacking. The *Chevalerie* itself is a case in point. If we accept the opinion of the majority of the critics, the main source of this chanson is the *Willame*, where the scene of our young hero's death is called the Archant, but where the name Aliscans is entirely wanting. We may not know at what date this latter word came to graft itself upon the text, but its presence offers no justification for a rejection of the list of Catalonian conquests of Vivien according to the *Chevalerie* of Boulogne, especially when this list squares so well with the evidence of several ancient sources.

To the above considerations should be added the following general observation, which was outlined by me before the publication of the *Willame*. If Guillaume's father is said to be lord of Narbonne, it is not that the conquests of the hero, his son, should be limited to Orange and the regions nearer the centre of national power than Narbonne. Rather should we expect the scene of his exploits to be beyond the Pyrenees. In the same manner, the next generation in this family of heroes, the generation to which Vivien belonged, should carry the Christian arms still farther into Spain<sup>2</sup>, and Foucon, Vivien's nephew,

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, xxxiv, p. 237 et ss.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to see what bearing on this proposition the identification of Termes (the palace where Guillaume armed Vivien knight and whence he doubtless started upon his invasion of 'Espagne') with Termes-en-Termenès would have. This château is situated between Lézignan and the Pyrenees. It would be a good starting-point for invaders of Spain, of whom virtually all the manuscripts say: 'Il sont entré en Espagne la grant.'

should push on still farther into 'la terre haïe,' which is precisely what he does. As for Vivien, what more likely—more inevitable even—than that he should perish in the scene of his exploits?

It is clear from this discussion that I believe the conquests of Vivien, as given in our manuscript, to repose on a well-defined tradition. I do not mean by this that the *remanieur* necessarily, or even probably, found these geographical indications given in such detail in the written source which he copied, but rather that these indications are but the elaboration, the gloss, of a briefer and more compact statement, just as we find the words: 'Et tote la tere Vivien le ber' (*Willame*, line 3500) 'glossed' by the names 'Portpaillart,' 'Tortolose,' 'Barcelone' and 'Balesgués,' in *Aliscans*, a later form of the *Willame*. In both cases the 'gloss' is correct. Where did the *remanieur* or his near predecessor find the authority for his gloss? The *Willame* and its attendant legends would probably alone have sufficed to furnish it to him, for he would there have learned that the lands of Vivien were given to Renoart, and these lands were in Catalonia (Tortolose and Portpaillart, for example). Again, *Foucon* alone could have supplied him with the geography of Vivien's conquests and the scene of his death, by showing him that: Guillaume and his family had long been at war with Tibaut, and had taken from him Barcelona, Balesgués, Portpaillart and Orange; that just before the fatal battle in which Vivien perished, Guillaume and Guichart had marched with an army from Orange to Barcelona; that Tibaut invaded the region; that the taking of Tortolosa by Vivien was avenged by Tibaut, who slew him in battle; that Guillaume marched from Barcelona to the rescue of his nephew, but arrived too late, was defeated in turn, and fled to Orange, losing all his men. It is likely that there were other sources, unknown to us now, which confirmed the *remanieur* in regard to the Catalanian character of the expedition and death of Vivien<sup>1</sup>.

Leaving without comment several minor passages that seem to be

<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere drawn attention to a passage of the *Roland* of Châteauroux, in which a Saracen fleet sails along the coast of Persia, by the Archant and Balesguer. The fleet goes up the Ebro, and the word Archant is here in the company of names which are all Catalanian, except 'Perse.' Balaguer (or Balesgués) seems to refer to a fortress in the Col de Balaguer, toward the east of Tortosa, where passes the route from Terragona. There are a number of passages which connect Balesguer with Tortosa, and several with Archant. An interesting line concerning Balesguer and (probably) the defeat of the Archant, is to be found in *Foucon*. The Saracens have been besieging Orange, and learn that Bertran, Foucon, and other Christians have taken Candie (which is south of Catalonia). They propose to abandon the siege, and betake themselves to the deliverance of Candie. It is evident that Guillaume, the siege of Orange once raised, would follow the enemy into Spain. 'Let us go to Candie,' the besiegers say: 'Si passerons as Portz de Balesguez, Dont iert encore li quens par nos penez' (MS. 774 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 109 v°). Defeats of Guillaume are not so numerous but that we may well see here a reference to the battle, or to some episode of the battle, of the Archant. The Saracens expect Guillaume to pursue them, and plan to overcome him *where they overcame him before*.

due to the whim of the *remanieur*, one reaches a long passage, which seems to be intercalated. The main part of this passage is devoted to the recital of an imprisoned Saracen, who has remained in the ruined castle. The Christians, in taking the old castle, have shut up with themselves a pagan: 'Et avoec aus encloent .i. paien' (line 926). The close of the intercalation describes Vivien's vain efforts to persuade Gaudin and Guielin to go for help. For reasons which will appear later, it is well to precede the intercalation with three lines that go before:

- 950 Lors se couchierent cha et la li plaié,  
Et as murs vont li sain et li haitié.  
Sont tot le mur de qarriaus arengié.  
Et Viviens ne se volt atargier.  
Devant li conmande a mangier (sic) le paien,  
955 Qu'il prisent a l'entrer de cel castelet viés.  
Et on le fist errant venir sans atargier.  
Quant Viviens a veü le paien,  
Si l'apela errant sans atargier:  
'Paien, fait il, di, voir, ne me noier,  
960 Qui sont cist Sarrasin dont chi a tant millier?  
Or le mes nomme tost esrant san t'atargier.  
Ne me fai longhe atente.'
- Vivien a le paien apelé:  
'Sarrasins, fait li ber, dites moi verité.  
965 Qui sont tot cist paien qui chi sont asamblé?'  
'Jel dirai, dist li Turs, volentiers et de gré,  
Se sain et sauf me laissiés retourner.'  
Dist Viviens: 'Oie, si m'ait Damesdeis.  
Se tu me viels plevir ta loiautés  
970 Que me diras trestot la verités.'  
Dist li Turs: 'Oie, par Mahomet, mon Dei!'  
Dont prent son doit a son dent l'a hurté.  
Puis ne fausist por estre desmenbré.  
Dont commencha li paiens a conter.  
975 'Sire, fait il, par Mahomet, mon dei,  
Chi est venus li fors rois Desramés.  
Chou est no sire, voir, et nostre avoé.  
Toz ces paiens a soz lui a garder.  
Et si est chi ses freres, Haucebier le dervei,  
980 Et ses freres, Aerofles, qui molt par a fiertei,  
Et sa sereur, Flehaut, qui molt a poesté.  
Si sont chi xv. fil au fort roi Desramé.  
Tot maintenant vous serront il nomé:  
La est rois Walegrape, chou est tous li ainsnés,  
985 Et si i est Margot, Akin, et Aenrei,  
Boriaus et Agrapars et li rois Gasteblié,  
Et Aiaus, Mathamar et Gondré,  
Et roi Fabur, Ector et Balufre,  
Et Matriblié et le roi Josué.  
990 Icil sont fil a no seignor Desramé,  
Et si sont tot riche roi coroné.  
Et d'autre part a il rois a plenté.  
La est, voir, de Palerne Synagon le dervé,  
Et rois Mallart, Butors et Aristé,  
995 Et rois Baldus, qui tant est redouté;

- De Gadiferne est rois et avoé.  
 En sa terre laissa .i. sien frere maisné,  
 Molt estoit lais et fors, Gaidifier fu nommei. fol. 88 r.  
 Chiels la est demorés por la terre garder.  
 1000 Chi est rois Marinal, Orible et Cosdroé,  
 Danebrus et Corsubles i sont et Tempesté,  
 Cricados et Helbis et li rois Carbonclé,  
 Buchifas et Brigon et le roi Malabré,  
 Madun et Bucifier et le roi Baufumé,  
 1005 Roi Mardus et Brihier et le roi Esmeré,  
 Roi Gohier et Gorhaut, Turgier et Maloré,  
 Et roi Gombaut de Burgine autretel,  
 Et rois Baudus, qui plains est de fierté.  
 Cil rois Baudus, je vos di par verté,  
 1010 Est fiels au roi Aikin, qui est flex Desramé.  
 Par Mahomet, mon dieu, que je tieng en cherté,  
 Icil sont trestot roi que je vos ai nommé.  
 Tant en i a des rois, par Mahomet, mon dé.  
 Li plus povres de toz puet .x. mil Turs guier.  
 1015 Encore dont n'ai je mie les aumachors només,  
 Voir, dont il en i a assés a grant plenté.  
 Le pule qu'il i a ne sai jou pas nonbrer.  
 Mien ensiënt, bien sont .v. cent mile assamblé.'  
 Dist Vivien: 'Por coi sont par decha torné?'  
 1020 Et dist li Turs: 'Por vostre cors tuer  
 Sont il venu, par Mahomet, mon dei.  
 N'a encore pas .iii. mois aconplis et passés,  
 C' a Cordes arriva .i. molt grande neif.  
 .Vii. c paiens a ensi atornés  
 1025 Qu'il n'i eut nul qui n'eut menbre caupé,  
 U main ou pié, u le langue ou le neis,  
 Fors seul c'a .iiii., tant i eut delivrés.  
 Par els estoit li presens presentés.  
 Chou envoiastes vostre roi Desramés.  
 1030 De chou fu il coureché et si fort abosmés  
 Que il jura sa barbe et tote sa poesté  
 Qu'il ne fineroit ja si vous auroit tués,  
 Et por itant a il sa grant ost assamblé,  
 Et dist qu'il destruira tote crestienté.'  
 1035 Et dist Vivien: 'Païen, bien as conté.  
 Envers moi as bien ta foi acuité.'  
 Li paiens l'ot, grant joie en a mené.  
 Del castel est issus, ne s'est plus demoré.  
 Et Vivien remest o son riche barné.  
 1040 Et dist Vivien: 'Franc chevalier menbré,  
 Avés oï ces Turs, com m'a de rois nommés.  
 Ne poons longement estre chi, en non Dé!'

The text then continues, somewhat as do the other manuscripts:

- Li quels de vous serra ore tant osé  
 Qui a Orenge m'en alast, la chité,  
 1045 Por le secors Guillaume le douté?  
 Mestier avons d'aïde.'

The resemblance to the other manuscripts is, however, only fleeting, and a considerable passage is intercalated before we return to the echo heard in lines 1043—46:



- Li quens Viviens en apela Gaudin.  
 Ses niés estoit, par verté le vos di.  
 'Niés, dist Viviens, alés, je vos en pri,  
 1050 Dusc' a Orenge, cele mirable chit.  
 Dites mon oncle Guillaume, le hardi,  
 Que Sarrasin nos ont apressé chi.'  
 'Jou n'irai mie, Gaudins li respondi.  
 Jou ne voel pas mon cors avoir gari.  
 1055 Qui que i voist, o vos remanrai chi,  
 Par Dieu, le fil Marie!'
- Viviens va Guielin apelant.  
 Chiels estoit fiex a Bernart de Braibant,  
 Et s'estoit freres le palasin Bertrant.  
 1060 Viviens apele, et se li dist errant:  
 'Guielin, niés, Jhesus vos soit aidant!  
 De vo lignage estes del miels vallant.  
 Alons, biaux niés! je vos pri et conmanch.  
 A mon chier oncle dites que je li manch.  
 1065 Qu'il me sekeure, car mestier en ai grant.'  
 Dist Guielin: 'Pas ne m'ere movant!  
 Ains sofferrai o vos paine et ahant.'  
 Viviens l'ot, si en ot ire grant  
 Quant ne trueve mesage.
- 1070 Or fu dolans Viviens et courechîé,  
 Quant de ses hommes n'en a .i. tant proisié  
 Que il eüst el mesage envoié,  
 Tant fort redoutent cele gent renoié.

These lines are followed by lines 950, 951, almost without change:

Lors se couchierent cha et la li plaié,  
 Et as murs montent li sain et li haitié.

Beginning with these lines, the text again follows that assured by the other manuscripts. It is clear that the episode of the imprisoned Saracen begins abruptly in the midst of a *laisse* in *-ié*; that this episode is followed by that of the hero's request of Gaudin and Guielin, which is unknown to the other manuscripts, that the last four lines of this latter episode commence a *laisse* in *-ié*; and, finally, that these four lines are followed by the same two lines that preceded the episode of the Saracen. We have here most of the elements of a plain intercalation. The episode especially of the imprisoned Saracen seems to be due to the caprice of probably the last *remanieur* or copyist. The episode of Gaudin and Guielin is also doubtless his work, though it was probably inspired by similar passages of the decadent epic. It differs from the episode that precedes in that it resembles closely the improvisations which jongleurs are known to have practised, namely, ringing all the changes permitted by a given situation.

Two other interruptions of the text as given in the other manuscripts concern Guichart (or Guichardin) the young brother of the hero. The first of these passages follows the line: 'Dont vers Orenge s'est Garins



(error for Girars) aroutés,' which, in nearly all the manuscripts, is the final line of the *laisse* relating Girart's escape from the castle. The passage gives the age of Guichart as eighteen, states his desire to leave Anseïne and go to Orange in order to be armed knight, describes this journey and Guillaume's promise to arm him when Vivien shall have returned from the Archant. These events occupy forty-two lines. The 'poet' then takes up again the flight of Girart, and closes the *laisse* with eleven poor lines, which simply rehash what has already been said of Girart. The *laisse* which follows is common to nearly all the manuscripts, and begins: 'Gerars fu preus et de molt grant poeste.' The second passage relates the arming of Guichart. Girart has brought the news of Vivien's predicament, and Guillaume himself consents to arm Guichart. The passage occurs in a *laisse* common to all the manuscripts, beginning: 'Li quens Guillaume ne se va atargant,' and commences after the line: 'Dist Bertrans: Oncles, tot a vostre talent.' It includes twenty-one lines. A glance at the printed edition of Jonckbloet or at any other manuscript than that of Boulogne indicates the large saving in space brought about by the two passages as here described. Aside from this economy of space, no motive is apparent for the changes made by the *remanieur* in regard to Guichart, unless it be a possible dislike for the rather romantic rôle played by Guichart in the usual version—his tender age (fifteen years), his being armed knight by his aunt, his exploit against the Saracen robbers<sup>1</sup>. The presentation of the young hero in the text of Boulogne is the most logical that we have in any poem, but it is, of course, far inferior to that of the *Willame* in both power and beauty.

The main differences between the version of Boulogne and that of the other manuscripts of the *Chevalerie* have now been mentioned. At first sight, our version appears to differ so notably as to constitute a separate and even a very ancient form of the poem. The longer one examines it, however, the more one becomes convinced that its variations are mainly the work of a single *remanieur* or copyist, a man who evidently thought himself above his task, but who, whatever his excellencies may have been, was no poet. His changes are marked with

<sup>1</sup> In what must be regarded as a minor alteration of the *remanieur* as touching Guichart, he shows good poetic judgment. In the rather successful feminine *laisse* (next to the last *laisse* of the chanson), after the ninth line according to most of the manuscripts, we read suddenly: 'A tant es vous Guichart parmi la presse.' The interpolation lasts for ten lines, and is followed by the lines: Dist Viviens: 'Por dieu, le roi poeste, Vostre merci, racemés moi ma sele, Par entor moi me noïés ma bouele, Puis me livrés mon ceval par le resne.' The meeting between Guichart and his brother in the interpolated verses is effective. In no other source do they meet at this tragic moment, though, as has been elsewhere observed, there is a poetic demand for such a scene.

independence, but are carried out with indifference and slovenliness. Ignorance of metre is the least of his crimes.

The *remanieur* who is responsible for most if not all of the important divergences of the manuscript of Boulogne was from Picardie. This is indicated by the language of the interpolated passages. It is true that the manuscript in general is in this dialect, but the interpolated passages, where long enough to allow a comparison, show a larger proportion of Picard traits as compared with traits of central French, than do the passages of undoubted authenticity. The poem as a whole tends of course to distinguish *-an* and *-en*. Is it by accident that the only strictly pure *laisse* in *-an* is in an interpolated passage? In this connection, it is interesting to note the treatment of the hero's name when standing in the assonance. It assonates in *-ié* in lines 210, 222 (which are both found on fol. 83 r<sup>o</sup>.), 591 (which is on fol. 85 r<sup>o</sup>.), 612 (fol. 85 v<sup>o</sup>). In all of these cases the name is indicated by the initial letter, as is usual in the manuscript. In line 1542 the name is written in the assonance of a *laisse* in *-an*: *Viviant* (fol. 91 r<sup>o</sup>). All of the cases where the name of the hero assonates in *-ié* are in what have here been called interpolated passages. It is likely that in no other place does the name *Vivien* assonate in *-ié*, except in certain manuscripts of the *Enfances Vivien*.

Divested of divergences which appear to be the personal work of one *remanieur*, the *Chevalerie Vivien* of Boulogne differs much less than might be supposed from the conventional form and version of the poem.

RAYMOND WEEKS.

NEW YORK.

## RABELAIS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

### III<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE SHORT WAY TO CATHAY.

THROUGHOUT what may be called the golden age of geographical discovery the aim of every maritime explorer, whether he sailed from Bristol, or Dieppe, or Lisbon, or Seville, was to find a short way to Cathay. This was the object alike of Columbus and John Cabot, of Magellan and Gomes, of Verrazzano and Cartier. In the earlier days, when imagination was strong and knowledge vague, Cathay stood for the fabled home of the earthly Paradise. But when knowledge became more precise and Cathay was identified with China, though the more visionary spirits might still cherish dreams of terrestrial bliss, practical men were chiefly concerned to find a short route to the rich Spice Islands, a route which would save them the long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. One such route was made known to Western Europe in 1522 when the survivors of Magellan's expedition returned to Seville with the news of the discovery of the straits which perpetuate Magellan's name. But it was believed that there were other routes, either by the North-West or the North-East, or by a northern passage through America corresponding to that discovered by Magellan in the South. It was the latter belief which found most favour in Spain. The great Conquistador, Hernán Cortés, says in his Fourth Letter to Charles V<sup>2</sup>, which was despatched on October 15, 1524, that he proposed to explore the coast from Panuco

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Modern Language Review*, Vol. III, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Cortes*, translated and edited by F. A. MacNutt, 2 vols., New York, 1908, II, 207.

to the coast of Florida, and from there, towards the north, as far as the Bacallaos<sup>1</sup>. 'For it is believed absolutely that there is a strait on that coast which leads to the South Sea.' But before the arrival of this letter Estevão Gomes, the Portuguese pilot in the service of Charles V who had so basely deserted Magellan, had already sailed from Coruña in search of the passage to Cathay in the direction indicated by Cortes. He returned in November 1525 having explored the American coast from Nova Scotia to Florida, but without having found a passage<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand the historian, Fernández de Ocicao, who for many years held important posts in the Spanish Indies, and who at this time was living in Hispaniola (San Domingo) wrote in his *Sumario* (printed at Toledo in 1526) in 1525 that 'if there be any such strait we that inhabit those parts do think that the same should be rather of land than of water<sup>3</sup>.'

In the year previous to the voyage of Gomes a similar exploration with the primary object of finding a passage to Cathay had been made by the Florentine Giovanni Verrazzano on behalf of the King of France, and in most of the maps of this period, except those made at Seville, the land between Florida and Bacalhaos is called Francesca, or Nova Gallia. The results of the voyage are said to have been first recorded in a map which the explorer himself presented to Henry VIII, between his return in 1524 and the year 1526. Hakluyt speaks of it in the following terms: 'A mighty large old map in parchment, made, as it should seem, by Verazzanus, traced along the coast from Florida to Cape Bréton, with many Italian names, which layeth out the sea, making a little neck of land in 40 degrees of latitude, much like the straight neck or isthmus of Darien. It sheweth also a short and easy passage by the North-West<sup>4</sup>.' This map is now lost<sup>5</sup>, but it is generally regarded as the prototype of those made by Vesconte di Maggiolo at Genoa in 1527 (now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan)<sup>6</sup> and by Hieronimo da Verrazzano the explorer's brother in 1529 (now in the

<sup>1</sup> *A los Bacallaos*; at this time Bacalhaos (Portuguese for codfish) or, as it was also called, the 'New Land,' vaguely designated the region of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador. It was not till after Cartier's first voyage that Newfoundland was known to be an island.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martyr, *De novo orbe*, Dec. vi, c. x (end); H. HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre Neuve et des pays circonvoisins*, Paris and London, 1900, pp. 87, 88, and *The discovery of North America*, 1892, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Eden's translation in *The first three English books on America*, ed. Arber, Birmingham, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> HARRISSE, *Discovery*, 94, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> In his dedicatory epistle to Sir P. Sidney, Hakluyt says that it was in the custody of Master Lok and Lok's map of 1582 is evidently based on it in part.

<sup>6</sup> HARRISSE, *Discovery*, p. 553; Winsor, *History of North America*, iv, 39.



library of the Propaganda at Rome). A new feature of both these maps is that a little isthmus is shown to the East of 'Terra Florida', between that country and 'Francesca,' and there is a statement on Verrazzano's map that it is only six miles across. In Maggiolo's, but not in Verrazzano's, a strait is also shown across Honduras with the legend, *Streito dubitoso*. The isthmus also appears in a series of portolans made by Battista Agnese, a Genoese cartographer who worked at Venice from 1536 to 1564. In one of these, unsigned, but dated 1536 (now at Dresden), and in four undated ones a punctuated route is even indicated with the legend *El viazo de Fransa*. Starting from a port of Normandy (doubtless Dieppe), it crosses the Atlantic, passes over the supposed isthmus, traverses the Pacific, and ends at Cathay<sup>2</sup>. The influence of Verrazzano is also shown in the maps which accompany Münster's *Ptolemy* of 1540 and 1545 (both printed at Basle), and the various editions of his *Cosmography*. In Map No. 1, *Typus orbis universalis*, a passage is marked at the sixtieth degree of longitude between Francesca and Bacalhaos with the legend *per hoc fretum iter patet ad Moluccas*<sup>3</sup>. To the same Verrazzanian family belong the copper globe of Euphrosynus Ulpus (1542) now in the possession of the New York Historical Society<sup>4</sup> and the globe of Bailly dated 1530, the earliest extant map of demonstrably French origin<sup>5</sup>.

Both the English and the Portuguese thought that the passage was to be found more to the north, somewhere in the direction of Labrador, or even nearer to the Pole. In 1527 a London merchant, named Robert Thorne, who had lived for a long time at Seville, expressed his views in two letters, written from that city, and addressed respectively to Henry VIII and to Dr Edward Lee, our ambassador to the Emperor<sup>6</sup>. It seemed to this optimist an easy matter to reach the Pole. For only about *two or three leagues* on either side of the Pole would there be any danger, and then you 'may decline to what part you list, either by the North-East route, or by the North-West, in the backe side of the new found land.'

Meanwhile an important school of cartography was being formed in France at Dieppe. It was from the Dieppe pilots, with whom

<sup>1</sup> HARRISSE, pp. 553 and 216 ff. (with a reproduction), and see for both maps L. HUGUES, *Comm. Colomb.* pt. V, Vol. II, pp. 240 f.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE, *Discovery*, 626 ff.; Winsor, IV, 40.

<sup>3</sup> For Münster's maps see HARRISSE, *Discovery*, 607 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Winsor, IV, 32.

<sup>5</sup> HARRISSE, *Découverte*, 147. The inscription *Robertus de Bailly* may denote either the maker of the map or the person who ordered it.

<sup>6</sup> Hakluyt, II, 159 ff.



Verrazzano and his brother, living as they did at Rouen, were in close communication, that the makers of all the Verrazzanian maps, whether Frenchmen, or Germans, or Italians, got much of their information. From about 1536 onwards several remarkable specimens of the cartographic art were produced at Dieppe by Nicolas Deslien, Pierre Desceliers and others. They represent a new type of map, in which the discoveries of Jacques Cartier for the first time take their place. Cartier too had set out to find a short way to Cathay, and had failed to find a passage in the direction of Labrador. But while he was exploring the St Lawrence, a new solution of the problem presented itself to him. 'We have understood,' he says, 'of the lord Donnacona and others... that beyond the said Saguenay [the district, not the river] the said stream [the St Lawrence] floweth into two or three great lakes, and that then one finds a fresh-water sea, of which there is no mention of having seen the end, as they have heard from those of the Saguenay; for they have told us they have not been there<sup>1</sup>.' Similarly Jean Alfonse, the experienced pilot who accompanied Roberval to Canada in 1542, says: 'The entrance of Saguenay is at  $48\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of longitude...and it seemeth to be as it were an arm of the sea, wherefore I think that this sea goes to the Pacific or in fact to the Sea of Cathay<sup>2</sup>.' This expresses the same vague information which was given to Cartier, for the latter had been told that one way into the interior was by the river Saguenay, but that owing to the shallowness and general innavigability of the stream it presented great difficulties.

In spite of the hearsay character of the Indian chiefs' information this new theory of the passage found great favour in France, and held the field for nearly a century and a half. To find a way to China was one of the two great objects which Champlain had ever present before his eyes. The name of La Chine which La Salle gave to the royal grant of land just across the great rapids which still bear the name, about eight or nine miles from Montreal, testify to the same ambition. When he heard of the river Ohio he thought that it would prove to flow into the Pacific, and it was not till 1682 when he reached the mouth of the Mississippi, into which the Ohio falls, and found that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, that the dream was finally shattered.

Such briefly was the state of knowledge and speculation with regard to a passage by water through North America, to the Pacific Ocean and the continent of Asia when Rabelais began to write his Fourth Book in

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Baxter, *Jacques Cartier*, 1906, p. 189; Hakluyt, VIII, 246.

<sup>2</sup> *Cosmographie*, ed. G. Musset, 459. Hakluyt's translation is not quite accurate.

the summer of 1546. I will now cite the remarkable words in which he describes the departure of Pantagruel's fleet on its voyage of exploration:

In good time they set sail to the Greek [northeast] wind as it got up, to which point the chief pilot had shaped their course, and set the needles of all their compasses. For his advice, and also that of Xenomanes was—seeing that the oracle of the Holy Bottle was near Cathay in Upper India—not to take the ordinary route of the Portuguese, who, sailing through the torrid zone and the Cape of Bonasperanza at the south point of Africa, beyond the equinoctial line, and losing the sight and guidance of the arctic pole, make an enormously long voyage; but to follow as near as possible, the parallel of the aforesaid India, and to turn round the said pole to the Westward, so that winding under the North they might be in the same latitude as the port of Olone without coming nearer to the pole, for fear of coming into and being shut up in the glacial Sea. And following this regular circuit by the same parallel they might have it on their right as they sailed Eastward, as on their departure it was on the left. Now this turned out to their incredible advantage; for without shipwreck, without danger or loss of men, in great calm they made the voyage to Upper India in less than four months, which the Portuguese could scarcely do in three years, with dangers innumerable.

This is from the text of the partial edition of 1548. In the complete edition of 1552 Rabelais, besides giving the name of the pilot as Jamet Brayer, substituted *canonique destour* for *regulier destour*, but this makes no difference in the meaning. Mr W. F. Smith is surely wrong in translating *l'eussent à dextre vers le Levant, qui au departement leurs estoit à senestre*, by 'they might have the eastward on their right, which at their departure was on their left.' For this rendering takes no account of the *le* before *eussent*, which must refer to the 'parallel.' On the outward voyage Pantagruel and his companions would have this imaginary parallel on their left, for they would sail to the north of it; consequently on their return by the same route they would have it on their right<sup>1</sup>. Here it may be noticed that the latitude of Olonne (to give it its modern spelling) is 46° 34', while what was known in Rabelais' day as Upper India, lies roughly between latitudes 45° and 50°. Further, more or less on the same parallel will be found Cape Race, the southernmost point of Newfoundland (46° 40'), and Quebec (46° 24').

The travellers 'set sail,' we are told, 'to the N.E. wind,' which must be taken to imply that after clearing the northernmost point of Brittany, they steered in a north-westerly direction till they reached the latitude of Olonne. For three days 'they neither sighted land nor saw anything new' (c. II). On the fourth day (according to the text of 1548) as they were 'beginning by degrees to wind round (*tournoyer*) the Pole, going further from the Equinoctial' (c. II = v of 1556 ed.) 'they met a merchant'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lefranc, pp. 322, 323.

vessel returning from Lantern-land.' This gave rise to the remarkable encounter between Panurge and the sheep-dealer, and on the next day but one, 'the west wind continuing to blow in conjunction with a little of the south-west' they came to a triangular island greatly resembling Sicily in form and situation (c. IV = IX of 1552 ed.). On leaving this island the S.W. wind was still blowing, and about sundown they disembarked on another island, that of Cheli (c. V = X of 1552 ed.). On the following day they visited the country of Procuration and passed the islands of Toku and Bohu (cc. VI, VII = cc. XII, XVI, XVII of 1552 ed.). Soon after this they encountered a terrible storm, and when it had abated, they landed at the port of the island of the Macreons. At this point the 1548 edition abruptly ends, but in the complete edition of 1552 we are told that this island was 'formerly subject to the ruler of Brittany.' On leaving the island they sailed with a gentle and delicious wind called Aguyon, which Rabelais in the *Briefer declaration* explains to be a Breton and Norman name for a sea breeze resembling the west wind on land. This surely implies that Aguyon was a westerly wind. After this there is nothing to indicate the direction of the voyagers until we come to the episode of the frozen woods, when it appears from the pilot's explanation of the phenomenon that they had reached the confines of the glacial sea (c. LVI). Finally we learn that after they had been becalmed the wind began to blow from the W.N.W.

There is just one other point in the account of the voyage that calls for notice. At the very close of the Fifth Book (in a passage which occurs in the manuscript but not in the printed text, but which is surely by Rabelais) the priestess Bacbuc after presenting Pantagruel and his friends with three bottles filled with water, tells them that the rarefaction of the water by heat will produce air, and that by means of this air the ships will be carried direct, without touching land if they please, to the port of Olonne. But why to Olonne instead of to St Malo, the port from which they had sailed? For the same reason no doubt that Olonne is mentioned at the outset of the voyage, because it was on the same parallel as the Oracle of the Bottle.

Such are, so to speak, the geographical data of Pantagruel's voyage. The following question now arises: What route had Rabelais in mind when he wrote the passage at the close of the first chapter of the Fourth Book which I have quoted above? Did he from the beginning contemplate a voyage by the North-West passage? Or was he thinking of a passage further to the south by way of the St Lawrence? If the

passage stood alone, if we had no other indications of the direction taken by the voyagers, I should unhesitatingly choose the latter alternative. For firstly from the time of Cartier the idea of a passage by the St Lawrence was 'as we have seen' the prevailing one in France, and, secondly, the account of Cartier's voyages, as I hope I have shown in my preceding paper, had a decided influence upon Rabelais's narrative. But other indications in the narrative, the mention of south-westerly winds—in Rabelais's day the coast of Labrador was supposed to trend to the north-east—and of the approach to the confines of the glacial sea, are in favour of the view which has been so admirably explained and illustrated by M. Lefranc, namely that Pantagruel is represented by Rabelais as reaching the continent of Asia by what is known as the North-West passage.

In my book on Rabelais I suggested that when he wrote the first chapter of the Fourth Book at Metz in 1547, he was thinking of the supposed passage by way of the St Lawrence, but that later he adopted the idea of a voyage by the North-West passage. I further suggested that this change was due to Cartier's failure to find a passage in the direction of the St Lawrence. I now see that this latter hypothesis is clearly untenable. So far as we can gather, both Cartier and Jean Alfonse returned with the conviction that the passage to Cathay, though they had been unable to find it, was to be sought rather in the neighbourhood of the St Lawrence and the Saguenay than in the direction of Labrador.

There are some difficulties too in the way of my first hypothesis. If Rabelais abandoned the idea of a passage by way of the St Lawrence, why in the Fifth Book does he again mention the port of Olonne? Moreover there is some inconsistency in his narrative of the outward voyage. In chap. i he says that the chief pilot and Xenomanes advised them to keep in the same latitude as the port of Olonne, *without coming nearer to the Pole*. But in chap. v (ed. 1552) he tells us that they were beginning by degrees to wind round the Pole, *going further from the Equinoctial*. This looks as if when he wrote this last passage he had begun to change his mind. I have said elsewhere, following a suggestion of Mr W. F. Smith, that in all probability that portion of the Fourth Book which appeared in 1548 was written in two sections, the first, consisting of chapters I, V—VIII, XVIII—XX (ed. 1552), at Metz in 1546, and the second, consisting of IX—XI, part of XII, XVI, XVII, XXI—XXIV, and a part of XXV, at Paris in 1547. Thus according to this division of the chapters, which however must be



regarded as purely provisional, the idea of a North-West passage had already suggested itself to Rabelais at Metz.

Hitherto in this and the previous papers I have confined myself mainly to a consideration of Rabelais's literary sources for geographical matters. But one may suppose that he also consulted maps, and, if so, what maps?

First, one naturally thinks of the maps which accompany the *Novus Orbis*. Now in some of the copies of the Basle editions of 1532 and 1537, the former of which was certainly used by Rabelais, there is a map which is generally attributed to Sebastian Münster, chiefly, if not wholly, on the ground that he wrote the geographical summary which serves as an introduction to the volume. But the map bears no resemblance to his undoubted work in the *Ptolemy* of 1540 and 1545. It belongs to an early type in which North America is only represented by two islands, Cuba and Terra Corterealis, and in fact closely resembles Schöner's globe of 1515. As it is only found in some of the copies of the *Novus Orbis*, it is very probable that it does not really belong to it, but was sometimes bound up with it<sup>1</sup>. Rabelais certainly did not use it. Nor did he use the map which Oronce Finé made in 1531, and which is found in most copies of the Paris 1532 edition of the *Novus Orbis*. This belongs to a type prevalent in Germany between 1523 and 1538, in which America is joined to Asia<sup>2</sup>.

A very popular map was the one made by the great Gerard Mercator at Louvain, in 1538, in which he reverted to the older and correct view of the separation of America from Asia, making a *fretum arcticum* between the *bacclearum regio* and the Arctic lands<sup>3</sup>. With the exception of this indication of a passage, there is nothing in the map to suggest that it was known to Rabelais.

Then there are the maps already referred to which Sebastian Münster published at Basle in his *Ptolemy* of 1540 and 1545 and his *Cosmographia* of 1541, 1550, etc., of which those which concern us are *Typus orbis universalis* (I) and *Novae insulae* (XVII). In these too America is separated from Asia, and in No. I a passage is marked between 'Francesca' and 'Terra Nova sive de Bacalhós,' with the legend, *per hoc fretum iter patet ad Molucas*. Newfoundland appears as one small island, with the name of Corterati. On the continent of Asia *India*

<sup>1</sup> It is reproduced in Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile Atlas to the early study of Cartography*, Stockholm, 1889, Plate XLII.

<sup>2</sup> Nordenskiöld, XLI (2).

<sup>3</sup> Nordenskiöld, Plate XLIII. In 1541 Mercator made a globe which is now in the royal library at Brussels. The gores for it have been reproduced at Brussels, 1875.



*superior* is marked between 60° and 70°, that is to say, on the same latitude as the passage. In the map of the *Novae insulae* we find the following legends: *Parias abundat auro et margaritis, Canibali' Regio Gigantum, 7 insulae Margueritarum*. All this is more or less in conformity with Rabelais's ideas about the New World, and M. Lefranc has rightly included these two maps among the illustrations to his book<sup>1</sup>.

Finally we come to the maps of the Dieppe school, three of which, at least, were in existence when Rabelais began to write his Fourth Book, namely, (1) a map in the Harleian collection of the British Museum<sup>2</sup>, (2) a map made by Nicolas Deslien in 1541, now in the Royal Library at Dresden, and (3) a 'boke of Idrography' or atlas, made by John Rotz, a citizen of Dieppe, in 1542 for Henry VIII<sup>3</sup>. A fourth map of the same school was made by Pierre Desceliers in the very year, 1546, that Rabelais began his account of Pantagruel's voyage. This is the so-called 'Map of Henri II.' All these maps give the results of Cartier's discoveries, but there is no proof that Rabelais was acquainted with any of them. None of them indicate any passage by way of the St Lawrence. Indeed in the Harleian map the course of the St Lawrence, after being traced for some distance beyond *Le premier sault* and the junction of another river, which is apparently meant for the Ottawa, is abruptly barred by a large undiscovered tract of country. The only one which shows any indication that it may possibly have inspired some parts of Rabelais's narrative is the 'Map of Henri II.' On this we find marked not only a Terre des Bretons and the island of Cape Breton, but to the south-east of this in latitude 46° an island called Isle du breton, which perhaps may have suggested to Rabelais his Isle des Macréons. For that island is said to have been formerly subject to the *dominateur de Bretagne*<sup>4</sup>. Then, as I pointed out in a former paper<sup>5</sup>, we find in the gulf of St Lawrence the Isle aux Margaulx, which recalls the *clergaulx*, etc., of the Ringing Island, and almost due east of

<sup>1</sup> p. 32, and at the end of the book.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 5413. The official date is 1536, on the ground that the arms of the Dauphin show an open crown, and that the crown was closed in that year. Was this the case? Prof. Beazley assigns it to 1536—1540. It must certainly have been made after Cartier's return from his second voyage in July, 1536. M. Harrisse says it must be later than his third voyage from which he returned in October, 1542. But it gives no information which goes beyond the results of the second voyage, except the name San Malo.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. royal 20 E ix; see esp. leaf 24; Harrisse, *Découverte*, 201, 220.

<sup>4</sup> Reproduced by M. Jomard in *Monuments de la géographie*. Paris, 1858—1862. It was at that time in his possession; it is now in Lord Crawford's library. R. H. Major deciphered on it in faint writing the words, 'Faicte a Arques par Pierre Desceliers presb'. 1546.'

<sup>5</sup> Some commentators take Bretagne to mean Britain; this seems unlikely.

<sup>6</sup> *M. L. R.* III, 217.

Cape Race the Isle of St Brandan. South-east of the Isle du breton between latitudes  $37^{\circ}$  and  $41^{\circ}$  numerous islands are marked, and south of the Bermudas is an island called *La Catholique*, which is vaguely suggestive of the famous Isle des Papimanes. Among the pictures which diversify the surface of this interesting map two are especially noteworthy. One is a small full-length figure with the legend of M. de Roberval and the other represents the harpooning of a whale. I give these comparisons for what they are worth, which is not perhaps much. For not one of them points to the map conclusively as the source of Rabelais's inspiration. But, taken as a whole, they are suggestive, and it must be remembered that even supposing that Rabelais had studied the map, we must not look for too close a resemblance. He was, after all, not a scientific geographer, but a writer of romance, bound only by his own imagination.

In any case there is nothing that I have been able to find in this or any other map which throws light on Rabelais's views as to the short way to Cathay. The only conclusion to which the evidence seems to point is that his first idea was to conduct his travellers by way of the St Lawrence, and that for some reason or other afterwards he abandoned this for a more northerly route, that of the North-West passage. When Captain Roald Amundsen accomplished his remarkable voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, he realised the dream of nearly five centuries. But it was not a '*short* way to the East by the West,' for it took three years to accomplish.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

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## SHORT STORIES AND ANECDOTES IN SPANISH PLAYS<sup>1</sup>.

### II.

(xx)

Un pintor hizo el retrato  
de un gato; y porque supiese  
de quien era el que le viese,  
puso abajo: 'Aqueste es gato.'

Calderón, *La devoción de la cruz*, III, 3.

Jiménez (p. 67) quotes a parallel story (*conejo*) from Pacheco<sup>2</sup>. The following version occurs in *Don Quixote* (II, LXXI):

Este pintor es como Orbaneja, un pintor que estaba en Ubeda, que cuando le preguntaban qué pintaba, respondía: Lo que saliere; y si por ventura pintaba un gallo, escribía debajo: *este es gallo*, porque no pensasen que era zorra.

(xxi)

El perro sabio de Olias  
por hallarse en doble boda  
fué á Cabañas con gran prisa,  
y en llegando habían comido;  
volvióse para su villa,  
y habían comido también;  
con que se quedó *per istam*.

Calderón, *Mañana será otro día*, II, 22<sup>3</sup>.

This apologue, of oriental origin (Chauvin, III, 110), probably gave rise to the proverbial expression 'perro de muchas bodas,' and explains an otherwise difficult passage in Mira de Amescua's *El Esclavo del Demonio* (ed. 1905, ll. 1056-8):

Señor, no tenemos nada;  
la boda del perro ha sido  
esta boda.

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *Modern Language Review*, Vol. IV (January 1909), p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted, likewise, in *El Belianis literario*, 1765, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Dr G. T. Northup informs me that this apologue occurs in the *Selva confusa*, a play of doubtful authorship.

(XXII) Tirso de Molina, in *La huerta de Juan Fernández* (I, 3), tells the beautiful story of Partinuplés de Bles, which was so popular in the Peninsula<sup>1</sup>.

(XXIII) Lope, in *Llegar en ocasión* (P. VI, 205 v<sup>o</sup>.), relates how a Neapolitan complained to his father-in-law of his shrewish wife. He was assured that she would mend in time; her mother had been the same. This well-known anecdote is found in Domenichi's *Facetie...* (ed. 1574, p. 23; told of a peasant) and in the *Scelta di facezie, tratti, buffonerie...* (Firenze, 1586, p. 131; likewise related of a peasant)<sup>2</sup>.

(XXIV) A poor hidalgo, on going to bed, found six thieves in his room, whereupon he said to them:

de noche andays a buscar  
lo que yo no hallé de día.

Lope, *La prueba de los ingenios* (P. IX, 15 v<sup>o</sup>.).

Parallels will be found in Lee's study on *Merry Tales... Notes and Queries*, 1903, 364, and in Stiefel's, *Anglia*, 1908, 493-4.

(XXV) Of the husband who looked up-stream for his contrary wife, who had been drowned. Lope, *Selvas y bosques de amor* (P. IX, 30). To the bibliography given in *M. L. N.*, XXI, 169, may be added: *Scelta di facezie*, 134, *La selva confusa*, Stiefel, *Anglia*, 1908, 484, Boira, *El libro de los cuentos*, I, 19, etc.

(XXVI) A lady had an orchard, and in it a fine pear tree; but she did not care for pears, *ni preñada ni parida*. She sold the orchard, and then, when the pears no longer belonged to her, she began to crave for them, and finally became so fond of pears that she had them at every meal. Tirso, *El Pretendiente al revés* (VIII, 152).

(XXVII) In a certain realm he was king who bore the heaviest burden on his back. On one occasion the people assembled to elect a king. One man presented himself carrying an ebony tree, and the kingdom was almost in his possession when another man appeared bearing on his back a woman. The assembled people made him king. Tirso, *El Caballero de Gracia*, I, IX. Part of the motive occurs in Italian collections of anecdotes in the following form:

Essendo leuata burasca in mare, tutti coloro, che erano in naue, hebbero commandamento di gettare in mare tutte le cose piu graui. E tra gli altri uno

<sup>1</sup> See *M. L. N.*, XXI, 3-8. The direct source of Lope's *La viuda valenciana* is more probably *Bandello* (IV, XXVI) as noted by Schaeffer (I, 153).

<sup>2</sup> This rare *Scelta* contains three anecdotes (pp. 169, 139, 57) found in Sebastian Mey's *Fabulario* (ed. *M. L. N.*, XXI, pp. 169, 201, III [the source was probably Domenichi, p. 430], XIV, XV). A modern version of XV is published in R. Boira's *El libro de los cuentos* (1862, III, 210).

ui fu, che per la prima ui trasse la moglie, dicendo : che non haueua altra cosa piu graue, nè che piu gli pesasse di lei. Domenichi, p. 57.

This same version is found in Guicciardini, *Detti e fatti*...1598, p. 186, *Scelta di facezie*...p. 123.

(XXVIII) A gentleman one day congratulated a lady on the marriage she was about to contract. 'Why,' she replied, smiling, 'do you congratulate me?—because I am losing a friend?' Calderón, *El acaso y el error*, ed. Hartzenbusch, II, 6 c.

(XXIX) When I was a boy my mother used to tell me that the devil wished to try whether he could create men like those made by God—and they turned out to be monkeys. Tirso, *Siempre ayuda la verdad* (ed. 1906, 218).

(XXX) A hangman was teaching his profession to an apprentice, and seeing that the latter could not learn, he advised him to study to become a doctor. Tirso, *El amor médico*, I, 1.

(XXXI) A man had an abscess in his side. His doctor, thinking he had dropsy, made a prescription, and as he was signing it, a mule kicked the patient, and the abscess broke. Whereupon he said to the doctor: 'In the matter of abscesses, the mule makes a better diagnosis than you.' *Ibid.*

(XXXII) A gentleman of means used to get up from his bed in the cold of winter, and walk about in his shift, in order that he might the better appreciate the warmth of his bed. Tirso, *La fingida Arcadia*, I, 2. This anecdote reminds one that Montaigne was wont to have himself disturbed in his sleep, in order that he might enjoy it the more.

(XXXIII) The subjects of a king, who was lame, imitated him in order that they might flatter him. Tirso, *ibid.*, II, 1. In *El amor médico* (VIII, 266), Tirso tells a somewhat similar anecdote of a *cacique* who had lost a tooth.

(XXXIV) A peasant, who believed that a poet spoke truly when he called the teeth of court-ladies pearls, sold his estate and became a dentist. Tirso, *Quien no cae no se levanta*, I, 4.

(XXXV) An abbot, who was travelling, came to a ford. 'Be careful,' said a shepherd to him, 'for yesterday a traveller was drowned because he missed the ford.' The abbot then asked how far it was to the bridge. 'Two leagues and a half' replied the shepherd. Whereupon the abbot remarked, 'If he who was drowned yesterday had gone by the bridge, he would have crossed the bridge by this time. The dry bridge for me!' Moreto, *No puede ser*, I. This is



very similar to a story told in the *Disciplina* of Peter Alphonsus, reproduced in Climente Sanchez's *Enxemplos* (Chauvin, ix, 27).

(xxxvi) A Portuguese challenged an opponent and designated for the duel a remote place in a mountain; 'in order that he might have less to do.' Moreto, *El Caballero*, II, 1.

(xxxvii) A girl who became sick from eating ashes, for which she had an unnatural craving, was cured by a doctor who prescribed them for her; whereupon she lost her appetite for them. Moreto, *Yo por vos...* I, 2<sup>1</sup>.

(xxxviii) A Castillian received a letter, and went from Madrid to Seville, in the depth of winter, saying to the one who had written to him: 'I have come here in order not to weary you [with a letter].' Lope, *El príncipe perfecto*, ed. Rivad., iv, 127. This is different from the story told by Domenichi (36), of the man who delivered his own letter.

(xxxix) A captain, who was besieging a city, declined water that had been brought from within the city walls, saying, 'I do not drink water that has cost such illustrious blood.' *Ibid.*, 130.

(xl) In a Castillian garden there was a statue of Caesar. A page one day addressed it, and said: 'Caesar, *albricias*, if you desire the laurel of ancient monarchy, for to-day you shall again reign in Rome.' And, lo! the statue began to smile. Then the page said: 'Why art thou smiling, with such cold hopes? Octavius is king, proud Caesar.' And the statue returned to its former state. *Ibid.*, 97.

(xli) The story of the absent-minded poet who tied his mule to

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote, like others in this article, has been republished in Boira's *El libro de los cuentos*, II, 199. As almost all Boira's stories in verse are taken from the drama, the following version of the Orpheus romance may be noted (I, 210):

Al infierno el Tracio Orfeo  
 Su mujer bajó á buscar,  
 No pudo á peor lugar  
 Llevarle tan mal deseo.  
 Cantó, y al mayor tormento  
 Puso suspension y espanto,  
 Mas que lo dulce del canto  
 La novedad del intento.  
 El triste dios, ofendido  
 De tan extraño rigor,  
 La pena que halló mayor,  
 Fue volverlo á ser marido.  
 Y aunque su mujer le dió  
 Por pena de su pecado,  
 Por premio de lo cantado  
 Perderla facilitó.

For other versions see *M. L. N.*, xx, 116, *B. H.* 1906, 392, *Z. R. Ph.*, xxiii, 447. See, also, *Memorial histórico* (Real Academia de la Historia), xii, 125-7; Lope de Vega (ed. Rivad.) III, 542 c, iv, 334 c, 346 c, 418 c.

the manger, but forgot to remove the bridle. The mule thereupon kicked the poet, who was later found in the manure, invoking the Muses. Lope, *La inocente sangre*, ed. Rivad., IV, 358, *El castigo del discreto*, P. VII, 37.

(XLII)

Otra vez, dicen que estaba  
Cierta batalla pintando  
De un Principe y de un gigante  
Con una maza en la mano,  
Y tomando el orinal  
(Porque siempre los letrados  
Le tienen en los estudios),  
Dió nueva fuente al Parnaso.  
Y estando así, divirtióse  
En el golpe y alzó el brazo;  
Y pensando que era maza  
El orinal desdichado,  
Dió en la mesa que escribía  
Sobre el papel tal porrazo,  
Diciendo: '¡Muera el traidor!'  
Que acudiendo los criados,  
Mesa, libros y papeles  
Llenos de orines hallaron.

Lope, *La inocente sangre*, ed. Rivad., IV, 358 b.

A shorter version occurs in the same author's *Quien ama no haga fieros*, I, 436.

(XLIII) A wealthy *cacique* would wear spectacles. He bought a pair for a thousand pesos, but being unable to see with them, was given a pair without glasses, whereupon he naively declared that he now could see everywhere. Lope, *El guante de Doña Blanca*, ed. Rivad., III, 31 c.

(XLIV)

Tengo un vecino, Señor,  
Que es atambor de tu guarda,  
Y en hablando su mujer,  
Toca á rebato la caja.  
Pero como viese un día  
Que la caja no bastaba,  
Hízola con los palotes  
Caja, y calló tres semanas.

*Ibid.*, 33 b.

(XLV)

Halló un marido ofendido  
Con su mujer acostado  
Un galán, tan descuidado  
Como si fuera el marido.  
Era el caso á mediodía,  
Y el galán, con el temor  
De la espada y del rigor  
Con que el marido venía,  
Sola la camisa puesta,  
Salió á la calle, y corriendo,  
Iba á la gente diciendo:

‘¡Fuera! que va sobre apuesta.’  
 Desviábase la gente  
 Hasta que el galán llegó  
 A su casa, en que ganó  
 La apuesta por diligente.

*Ibid.*, 26.

(XLVI) The servant of an astrologer in Valladolid made true prognostications by writing the opposite of his master. When the astrologer died, the servant made no more, because, as he said, he could predict only by contradicting his master. Lope, *El ausente en el lugar*, II, 11.

(XLVII)

César llamaron, Señor,  
 A aquel duque que traía  
 Escrito por gran blason:  
 ‘César ó nada’; y en fin  
 Tuvo tan contrario el fin,  
 Que al fin de su pretension  
 Escribió una pluma airada:  
 ‘Cesar ó nada, dijiste,  
 Y todo, César, lo fuiste,  
 Pues fuiste César y nada.’

Lope, *El perro del hortelano*, II, 5.

(XLVIII) A woman of quality became enamoured of a servant and begged of him his shoes, hose and so forth. When a friend remonstrated with her, she replied: ‘How can he love me if what he gives me costs him nothing? A thing is appreciated according to its cost.’ Lope, *La llave de la honra*, ed. Rivad., II, 118 b.

(XLIX) A foreigner, who had become intoxicated, was left at the Puerta de Alcalá (Madrid). By mistake he entered the wrong coach and was taken to Alcalá. Being penniless, he had to pledge his clothes and arms, and then walk back to Madrid, ‘A pié, desnudo, sin cuello.’ Lope, *El desprecio agradecido*, ed. Rivad., II, 253 c.

(L) A sexagenarian married. He was sans teeth, except one, which looked like a hermitage in that desolate waste. One day, in a sudden encounter with his wife, the solitary tooth got into her mouth. ‘Take it,’ she said to him, ‘for I have a dozen of them.’ Lope, *Los peligros de la ausencia*, ed. Rivad., II, 411 c.

(LI) An artist painted thirteen apostles in a picture of the Lord’s supper. When payment was refused him because of the error, he exclaimed: ‘Take it, for this fellow, after he has had supper will go away.’ Lope, *Amar sin saber á quien*, III, 1. This anecdote, which occurs in many Italian collections, is found in Timoneda’s *El Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*, ed. Rivad., III, 180, No. XLII.

(LII) The following story illustrates the proverbial expression, 'it all depends whose bull is gored':

Desde una reja miraba  
Un canonigo en Toledo  
Una mula que, sin miedo,  
De una peña en otra daba,  
Para despeñarse al río.  
Dábanse priesa á salir,  
Y él, sin cesar de refr,  
Daba en aquel desvarío  
Hasta verla despeñar;  
Pero viendo como un rayo  
Ir tras ella su lacayo,  
Volvió el placer en pesar,  
Sabiendo que era la suya.

Lope, *La Esclava de su galán*, III, 23.

(LIII)

Preguntóle un caminante  
A un labrador qué llevaba  
En una carga; y él dijo,  
Previniendo la desgracia:  
'Yo, nada, si cae el jumento';  
Que era de vidrios la carga.

Lope, *¿Si no vieran las mujeres!* ed. Rivad., II, 583 b.

Mira de Amescua's version is:

Llevava un hombre una carga  
de vidrios para vender:  
preguntándole otro, ¿qué trae  
en essa carga, mancebo?  
èl le respondió, '¿qué lleuo?  
nada si el asno se cae.'

*El rico avariento*, P. IX, 137-8.

(LIV)

Después de luchas mortales  
Bartolote se casó  
con Casilda, que parió  
á seis meses no cabales.  
Y andaba con gran placer  
diciendo: '¿Si tu la vieses!  
Lo que otra hace en nueve meses,  
hace en cinco mi mujer.'

Calderón, *La devoción de la cruz*, II, 7.

(LV) A peasant did not know what to do with a rope, a stake, a goat, an onion, a chicken and an olla. Calderón, *Peor está que estaba*, I, 3.

(LVI)

Escriben los naturales  
Que puesto un borrico en medio  
De dos piensos de cebada,  
Se deja morir primero  
Que haga del uno elección  
Por mas que los mire hambriento.

Calderón, *Guárdate del agua mansa*, II, 4.

(LVII) An innkeeper's wife made chickens tender by burning their feet, while still alive. A guest who saw this, applied the same method to the legs of his hard bed. Calderón, *No siempre lo peor es cierto*, II, 13.

(LVIII) A poor painter showed a room to his friend, and told him that he would whitewash it and then paint it. His friend suggested that he paint it first and then whitewash it. Calderón, *Los dos amantes del cielo*, I, 3. This well-known anecdote occurs in the *Cuentos recogidos por D. Juan de Arguijo*, ed. Paz y Melia, in *Sales Españolas*, II, 100.

(LIX) A captive with a twang (*gangoso*) pretended to be mute and was ransomed for a small sum of money. Later he declared that he could speak; whereupon his captor remarked that if he had spoken sooner he would have been ransomed for less. *Ibid.*, II, 7.

(LX) At a luncheon, a guest was given cold chicken, but warm wine. He put the chicken into the wine, in order to warm the one or to cool the other. Calderón, *El médico de su honra*.

(LXI) Because a storm was threatening, a traveller was asked to remain at the home of a friend. He refused, but later changed his mind and returned, confessing that he had changed his mind. But his friend had not repented, and so refused to open the door. Alarcón, *Quien engaña más á quien*, I, 2. Cf. Domenichi, 68—9, *Scelta di facezie*, 135.

(LXII)

Convidó un ombre á comer  
A un amigo que tenía,  
Y por el calor que hacía,  
Mandó la mesa poner  
Junto á la noria de un guerto :  
La muger del qual, zelosa,  
Andaua tan desdenosa  
Y de humor tan rostrituerto,  
Que el colerico marido,  
De ver que á su conuidado  
Le mostrase tanto enfado,  
Desesperado y corrido,  
Con manos y ojos crueles,  
Aunque el guesped le aplacó,  
Dentro de la noria echó  
La comida y los manteles.  
El conuidado, la historia  
Viendo, sin mostrar desdén,  
Cogió el bufete y tanbién  
Le echó dentro de la noria.  
¿Qué hazeys? le dixo enojado  
El guesped, ¿estays en vos?  
Perdonad, señor, por Dios,  
Le respondió el conuidado,



Que entendí, viendo os hazer  
 Tal nouedad de agasajo,  
 Que por mas fresco, allá bajo  
 Nos ybamos á comer.

Lope, *Sin secreto no ay amor*, ed. Rennert II. 1595-1621.

(LXIII) The wives of the Roman senators boast that they are the strongest in the world: Rome is mistress of the world; its senators rule Rome; the senators are ruled by their wives. Lope, *La llave de la honra*. For such cumulative stories see Chauvin, II, 98, 230 n. (Lope gives 'Zorobabel' as source in ed. Acad., VI, LXXXVII ff.); Coelho, *Cantos populares*, 23-4; Clouston, *Popular tales*, I, 289 ff.; *Cento novelle*, LXIX (wife of Hercules strongest, because she subdued Hercules).

(LXIV) Iba un fraile devoto caballero,  
 Y cuando tanta espuela le metía  
 A la mula, decía:  
 'Arre por caridad, hermana mula.'

Lope, *Las bizzarrias de Belisa*, ed. Rivad., II, 564.

(LXV) En un convento en mi tierra  
 cantaban, como otras veces,  
 los Maytines en el coro,  
 y estaban, que así los leen,  
 unos tras otros diez Frayles:  
 durmióse el primero, y este  
 dió con el cuerpo al segundo;  
 y como estaban enfrente,  
 de frayle en frayle cayeron  
 todos diez, como acontece  
 quando juegan á los bolos.

Lope, *La mayor virtud de un rey*, ed. 1777, 160.

(LXVI) A criminal bribes a hangman in order that he shall be whipped less severely; but the blows inflicted upon him are all the more cruel. Calderón, *El alcaide de sí mismo*, I, 11. Cf. *Cuentos recogidos por D. Juan de Arguijo*, ed. Paz y Melia, II, 145.

(LXVII) When soldiers were being billeted among villagers, one asked for two, in order that his joy might be the greater when they left. Calderón, *El pintor de su deshonra*, I, 3.

(LXVIII) Sordo un hombre amaneció,  
 y viendo que nada oía  
 de cuanto hablaban, decía:  
 '¿Qué diablos obligó  
 á hablar hoy de aquesos modos?'  
 Volvían á hablarle bien,  
 y él decía: '¡Hay tal! ¡que den  
 hoy en hablar quedo todos!'

Calderón, *El pintor de su deshonra*, II, 2.

(LXIX) Of the wife who thought all men had bad breath. Lope, *La prueba de los ingenios*, P. IX, 9<sup>vo</sup>. Climente Sanchez (CCCXII) gives St Jerome as the source. See also Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 81.

(LXX) Vn cuento viejo y grosero  
que ha dos mil años que anda  
me haze decir la ocasion,  
porque es propio y semejante.  
Tenía vn viejo estudiante,  
a tu traza y condición,  
vn hidalgo en Salamanca,  
y escrivíole que comiesse  
lo más barato que huuiesse  
en aquella plaça franca.  
Preguntava qué valía  
vna vaca á sus criados,  
y como veinte ducados,  
el comprador respondía:  
replicava, y dos perdizes?  
quatro reales; pues comer  
perdizes y obedecer.

Lope, *El sembrar en buena tierra*, P. x, 183.

Timonedá, *Sobremesa*...ed. Rivad., II, XL.

(LXXI) *Condesa.*  
¿ Hay remedio para ver  
Si los hijos de un celoso  
Son suyos?

*Durango.*

Díjome ayer  
Un hombre un cuento donoso,  
Con que se puede saber.

*Condesa.*

¿ Cómo?

*Durango.*

Un cierto labrador,  
Cuya mujer que paría,  
Nunca estaba sin amor,  
De sus hijuelos tenía,  
Que no eran suyos, temor;  
Y queriendo averiguar  
Si era cierta en el lugar  
De su mujer la opinion,  
Halló una cierta invención.

*Condesa.*

¿ Cómo?

*Durango.*

Mandóse castrar;  
Porque con esto pensaba  
Que si su mujer paría,  
Sabría si le engañaba.

Lope, *Las flores de Don Juan*, ed. Rivad., I, 422 c.

See *Facetiae* of Poggio, CCXXV.

(LXXII) A husband drowned his wife by placing her upon a mule that had not drunk water for three days, and which, when led to a stream, plunged into it frantically. Lope, *El Príncipe perfeto*, ed. Rivad., IV, 135 b.

(LXXIII)                   ; Oh qué cuento te diré  
De un corro de ciertas sotas!  
Que estando en risa y chacotas  
(La casa yo me la sé),  
Cierta parche se cayó;  
Y sobre cuál le traía  
Hubo tal grita y porfía...  
'—Vos le trajistes.—Yo no.—  
Yo estoy como una manzana.—  
Yo limpia como un cristal —  
Marcia le trajo.—No hay tal;  
Que dió á los pies de Diana.'  
—Que como cuatro garduñas,  
Con las garras de dos varas  
Se hicieron quesos las caras,  
Y vivos rallos las uñas.

Lope, *Santiago el verde*, I, 18.

(LXXIV)                   No te acuerdas  
de un cuentecillo de Esopo,  
que no pudiendo la fuerza  
del demonio derribar  
una casada tan bella  
como honesta, que adoraba  
á su esposo, por postrera  
diligencia, para el caso  
se fué en casa de una vieja.  
Y con la promesa sola  
de unos zapatos sin medias,  
puso, en lo que fué imposible  
para el demonio, tan nuevas  
diligencias, que salió  
en dos días con la empresa,  
y pidiéndole al diablo,  
que la manda le cumpliera,  
le puso el par de zapatos,  
por no tenerla tan cerca,  
en un varal, que hasta el mismo  
Satanas tiembla á una vieja.

Vélez de Guevara, *El Hércules de ocaño*, ed. Schaeffer, p. 224.

For the extensive literature on this story see Oesterley, *Kirchhofs Wendunmuth*, v, 60 (1869), Stiefel, *Germania*, 1891, Prato, *ZVV.*, 1889, 189.

Many short stories in the Spanish drama occur in Greek and Latin classics, and had been made popular by Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, and humanists like Erasmus. A few may be noted here: (LXXV) A philosopher taught for a small fee pupils who had never studied; but those who had studied were obliged to pay a double fee, one for teaching

them to unlearn, the other for teaching them to learn. Tirso, *El pretendiente al revés*, II, 6. (LXXVI) Octavian and the shepherd who resembled him. Tirso, *La ventura con el nombre*, I, 2. (LXXVII) What Cicero said when he heard someone whispering while Gallus was acting. Lope, *Lo que ha de ser*, ed. Rivad., II, 509 b. (LXXVIII) The complaint of the treble string of a *vihuela* to Apollo. Lope, *Santiago el verde*, ed. Rivad., II, 208 b. (LXXIX) Caesar's (variant Augustus') reproof to Julia for wearing unseemly attire. Lope, *El príncipe perfeto*, ed. Rivad., IV, 118, and *La batalla del honor*, P. VI, 20. (LXXX) Crisipus resigned his office, because if he served badly, he would displease the gods; if well, he would displease men. *Ibid.* 134 c. (LXXXI) Of the pumpkin which, according to Murrius, became a poet. Lope, *La inocente sangre*, ed. Rivad., IV, 358. (LXXXII) What Leontiquidas said when he was shown a marvel, in the form of a serpent coiled about a key: 'Athemius, it would be a marvel if the key were coiled about the serpent.' Lope, *El guante de Doña Blanca*, ed. Rivad., III, 28. This is somewhat like Dana's definition of news: 'If you go into the street and see a dog bite a man, that is not news. But if you see a man bite a dog, that is news.' (LXXXIII) Philip of Macedon passed judgment upon two criminals, and in order that the punishment might be equal, he sentenced the one to leave Greece—and the other?—to run after him. Lope, *Servir á señor discreto*, ed. Rivad., IV, 85 b. (LXXXIV) Leonidas' reply on being asked why he chose so small a wife. Lope, *Santiago el Verde*, ed. Rivad., II, 198 c. The anecdote is also told of Aristotle (cf. Kirchhof's *Wendunmuth*, ed. Stutt. Ver., Vol. 99, p. 99). (LXXXV) A philosopher (usually told of Pythagoras) married his daughter to his enemy, in order that he might wreak vengeance upon him. *Ibid.* (LXXXVI) Alexander's reply when warned that a doctor might give him poison. Calderón, *Argenis y Poliarco*, II, 12, Tirso, *La próspera fortuna de don Alvaro de Luna*, II, 3. (LXXXVII) Alexander said that if he were not Alexander, he would like to be Diogenes. Lope, *El villano en su rincón*, ed. Rivad., II, 149 c.<sup>1</sup>...

MILTON A. BUCHANAN.

TORONTO.

<sup>1</sup> The above collection—a first gleaning only—will be continued at some future date. *Addenda*: In the catalogue of Puibusque's library (p. 65) occurs the following entry: *Colección de cuentos, fábulas, descripciones, anécdotas, ... de comedias españolas, por don Pablo de Xérica. Burdeos, 1831.* (i) See Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos populares*, IV, 197; (vii) Paz y Melia's *Sales*... 11, 40; (x) Guicciardini, *Detti*... 224; (xvi) *Ibid.*, 185; (xviii) Montanus, ed. Bolte, 615. According to Bolte, Guicciardini, in the *Hore*... 1572, 276, tells the story of Frederick. In the same author's *Detti*..., 202, it is narrated, however, of Conrad.

## THE SOUNDS OF WEST MIDDLE GERMAN AS SPOKEN AT MARBURG AN DER LAHN.

I PROPOSE in the following paper to give an account of the sounds of the *Umgangssprache* which is familiar to me in my native town, Marburg an der Lahn. Although in the first instance an analysis of my own speech, it may be taken as representing that of the educated Marburger in general.

Survey of the organic movements and positions.

The articulations of the back of the tongue.

1. The root of the tongue is retracted towards the epiglottis in the articulation of [a] (*hat*) and [a:] (*kam*).

2. The back of the tongue is raised and brought into contact with the uvula in the articulation of [ɣ] (*Reh*) and [x] (*ach*).

The articulations of the main portion of the tongue.

1. Back Series. The main portion of the tongue is pressed into a narrower shape lengthways and bunched up along the ridge. The bilateral compression of the tongue increases gradually in running through the series [a], the first element of the diphthong [ao] (*Haus*), —[o] (*Gott*)—[o:] (*Sohn*)—[u] (*und*)—[u:] (*Mut*). For each of these vowels progressively the tongue assumes a more compressed form, and the point of its highest elevation is gradually shifted upwards and forwards within that part of the mouth cavity roofed by the soft palate. The articulation culminates in the formation of a complete closure for [ɳ], [g], and [k].

2. Front Series. The main portion of the tongue is raised, swelled and spread out under the hard palate, the point of highest elevation of the tongue being gradually shifted upwards and forwards in passing through the series [ɸ] (*Götz*)—[e] (*Fell, hält*), [y] (*hübsch*)—[ɸ:] (*Goethe*)—[e:] (*See, Bär*), [y:] (*Mühe*)—[i] (*mit*)—[i:] (*sie*). The articulation culminates in the formation of a friction channel for [j] and [ç].



In the diphthongs [æ] (*mein*), [oy] (*heute*), [ui] (*pfui*) the tongue glides from a back to a front position.

The articulations of the fore part of the tongue.

The blade and point of the tongue, which have no active part in the production of the above sounds, are brought into activity in the articulation of [s], [ʃ], [l], [n], [d], [t]. [s] and [ʃ] are blade consonants. In [l], [n], [d], [t], the point articulates against the alveolar arch, with central contact in [l], with complete closure in [n], [d], [t].

The articulations of the lips.

1. Lip-articulation in connection with tongue-articulation. There are two kinds of lip-rounding: (a) outer rounding, in the front-round vowels and immediately following [ɣ], [x], [j] and [ç]; (b) inner rounding, in the back-round vowels and immediately following [ɣ] and [x]. Protrusion is very marked in [ʃ]. Spreading occurs in very emphatic [e:] and [i:].

2. Lip and lip-teeth sounds, in the formation of which the tongue has no active part. Bilabial, bilabio-dental, or labio-dental slit-opening in [v]; labio-dental slit-opening in [f]; bilabial or bilabio-dental complete closure in [m], [b], [p].

The individual sounds are as follows:

#### VOWELS.

##### Murmur Vowels.

The usual form of [ə] is a glide with no definite superlaryngeal articulation except the closure of the nose passage and a moderate opening of the mouth. The glide or murmur vowel of normally unstressed prefixes may be raised to [e] or [e:] respectively when emphasised in a contrast, e.g., *nicht verkauft, sondern gekauft* [niçt 'fɛːkəʊft, sondɐ̃ ˈgɛːkəʊft]. A back-modified glide or murmur vowel develops between a long vowel and a back-lateral, so that e.g. *nach* [naːx], *Buch* [buːx], *mir* [miːɣ], have practically the value of [naːˠx], [buːˠx], [miːˠɣ].

##### Back Vowels.

The whole body of the tongue, retaining its natural comparatively flat shape, is retracted so that the root is drawn backwards and down-

wards towards the epiglottis, and the tip moves away from the front teeth, against which it rests in ordinary breathing.

1. Low-back-wide [a]. It is heard in *Guten Tag* [gun'dax], *Jagd*, *Spass*, *Haselnuss*, *Kladderadatsch*, *habt*, *gehabt*, *sagst*, *sagt*, *gesagt*, and sometimes in *hab*, *sag*. It is dropped in the weak forms of *darin*, *das*, *man* [mɿ].

2. Low-back-halfnarrow [a:]. The root of the tongue is more energetically drawn in than in [a]. The lower jaw is lowered and the aperture is more widely opened than in the case of any other vowel. [a:] is reduced to [a] in proclitic position: *da liegt's*, *jawohl*. Cp. *Drama*, *dramatisch* [dʁa:ma:, dʁama:tiʃ].

In the back vowels the tongue is drawn down from the position of rest, while in back-round, front, and front-round vowels it is raised. Hence [a:], the more fully developed of the two back vowels, shows a wider oral air-passage than the less-developed [a]. In the back-round, front, and front-round vowels, the opposite is the case, viz., the configurative passage is progressively narrowed from the lowest grade through the more developed stages.

#### Back-round Vowels.

From the position of rest, in which it lies comparatively flat on the floor of the mouth, touching the lateral rows of teeth, and resting with its tip against the front teeth, the tongue is pressed into a narrower shape lengthways by bilateral compression of its main portion. The tongue, as it were, retires from either side to the centre. It is entirely withdrawn from the teeth and appears contracted and bunched up all along its ridge. As the centre towards which this bilateral compression is directed lies in the main portion, the tongue is raised at the back and slopes down to the point. The bilateral compression of the tongue is accompanied by lateral compression of the cheeks (inner rounding).

1. Mid-back-wide-round [o]. The tongue is only slightly compressed and raised; if we unround [o] we see that the greater portion of the uvula is still visible in the mirror. The lip-rounding does not extend beyond a slight lateral compression of the corners of the mouth. [o] is heard in *schon*, *gehorsam*, *grob*. In final unstressed -or it is reduced to a murmur, e.g., in *Doktor*.

2. Mid-back-narrow-round [o:]. The bilateral compression of the tongue is increased, and so, in consequence, are the declivity of the tongue on either side and its slope towards the point. The degree of

approximation between the tongue and the roof of the mouth is such that only the highest part of the soft palate becomes visible if [o:] is unrounded. The point of highest elevation of the tongue lies further forward than in [o]. The lip-rounding assumes more distinctly the character of lateral compression of the cheeks: the central lip-aperture is slightly protruded. [o:] is reduced to [o] in proclitic position, e.g., *sogleich*.

3. High-back-wide-round [u]. The bilateral compression of the tongue is again increased, the point of highest elevation of the tongue is shifted further upwards and forwards than in [o:]. But there is a general relaxation of the muscles concerned in the articulation; the lip-rounding is less energetic, the lip-aperture is wider. [u] is heard in *Spuck, Schuster, Wuchs, Geburt, genug*.

4. High-back-narrow-round [u:]. The compression of the tongue and cheeks is more fully and energetically developed than in [o:]. The point of highest elevation of the tongue lies further forward than in [u], almost under the highest point of the palatal arch; if we unround [u:] we see that the whole of the soft palate disappears behind the bunched-up tongue. The lip-opening is reduced to a narrow central aperture, and this lies at some distance from the front teeth, so that the oral resonance chamber is enlarged in front. [u:] is reduced to [u] in proclitic positions, e.g., *du bist, zu Haus, Guten Morgen* [gu'moɣjn], *Guten Tag* [gun'daχ], *Guten Abend* [gu'namnt], *Gute Nacht* [gu'naχt]; to [ə] in enclitic *du*, e.g., *hast du* [hasdə], *wenn du* [vəndə].

#### Front and front-round Vowels.

The centre from which front and front-round vowel articulation emanates is situated, like that of back-round vowel articulation, in the main portion of the tongue, in the back rather than in the middle. But the tendency of front and front-round vowels is centrifugal, as contrasted with the centripetal character of back-round vowels. From the position of rest, the tongue is raised, the main portion is broadly swelled and spread out under the palatal arch, the blade hollowed out from below and curved forward in front, the tip pointing down behind the lower front teeth.

#### Front Vowels.

1. Mid-front-wide [e]. It is heard in *Lebtag, Krebs, Brezel, Ems, Paket, erst, gebt*, and sometimes in *geb*. It is reduced to a glide or dropped in the weak forms of *des, denn*.

2. Mid-front-narrow raised [e:]. The curvature of the main portion of the tongue is more convex, and the angle of the jaws is smaller than in [e]. [e:] is the sound of *e* and *ä*, when long, corresponding to earlier *a*, *á*, *e*, *ě*, *æ*, or *é*. Both [e] and [e:] occur in *nächste*. [e:] is reduced to a murmur or dropped in the weak forms of *es*, *er*, *der*, *den*, *dem*.

3. High-front-wide [i]. It is heard in *Fiedel*, *Wiesbaden*, *Titel*, *-ik* and *-it*, e.g., in *Musik*, *Granit*; *vielleicht*, *dieser*, *vierzehn*, *vierzig*, *Viertel*, *liegst*, *liegt*, *kriegst*, *kriegt*, *gekriegt*, *wieder*, and sometimes in *liege*, *kriege*. It may be dropped in proclitic *ich*.

4. High-front-narrow [i:]. It is reduced to [i] in proclitic *die*, *sie*, *wie*; to [ə] in the weak forms of *sie*, *Sie*; to a glide or altogether dropped in the weak forms of *dir*, *ihm*, *ihr*, *ihn* and *ihnen* [n], *mir* and *wir* [mɤ].

The four front vowels represent progressive shiftings of the tongue upwards and forwards. As the [e]-position itself is considerably higher than the position of rest, the total distance covered by the tongue in running through the series [e]—[e:]—[i]—[i:] is much smaller than in [o]—[o:]—[u]—[u:].

#### Front-round Vowels.

1. Low-front-wide-round [ɸ].
2. Mid-front-wide-round [y] (e rounded).
3. Mid-front-narrow-round [ɸ:].
4. Mid-front-narrow-round raised [y:] (e: rounded). This is sometimes reduced to [y] in unemphasised *über*.

In the front-round vowels, the tongue, broadly spread out, leaves no scope for lateral compression of the cheeks, which accompanies the back-round vowels, and the lips are brought together vertically, without pouting (outer rounding). The outer lip-rounding, which gradually increases in [ɸ]—[y]—[ɸ:]—[y:], is a less energetic and less elaborate form of lip-articulation than the inner lip-rounding of the back-round vowels. Front-round vowels are therefore easily unrounded, and front vowels are substituted dialectally for front-round vowels.

NOTE. Narrow vowels. Secondary phenomena of very energetic narrowing are: a feeling of general contraction in the back of the mouth in the case of back and back-round vowels ([a:], [o:], [u:]), tension of the lip muscles in round vowels ([o:], [u:], [ɸ:], [y:]), lip-spreading in front vowels ([e:], [i:]).

## DIPHTHONGS.

1. [ao]. Mid-back-wide [a] + mid-back-wide-round [o]. The first element is an [a], produced by a very slight bilateral compression of the main portion of the tongue; then the tongue-compression increases and the lip-aperture decreases until the [o] articulation is reached.

2. [ae]. Outer low-back-wide [a] + mid-front-wide [e]. The tongue is first slightly retracted, but not quite so much as in [a] of *hat*, *Mann*, and then raised until the [e]-articulation is reached. The lips remain passive. The earlier *ei* is monophthongised ([e:]) in [ne:] (dialectally for *nein*). [ae] is reduced to [ə] in the weak forms of *einmal* [əmal], [əma:], *einander* [ənandɐ], and dropped in the weak forms of *ein* [n], *eine* [nə], *einem* [nm], [m], *einmal* [ma:l], [ma:].

3. [oy]. Low-back-wide-round raised [o] + low-front-wide-round raised [y]. The tongue is first slightly compressed (not quite so much as in the first element of [ao]), then released and raised towards the [y]-position. The lips move from inner to outer rounding<sup>1</sup>.

4. [ui]. High-back-wide-round [u] + high-front-wide [i]. The tongue is more compressed and bunched up for the first element, more flattened and spread out for the second element, than in [oy]. The lips relapse from high inner rounding into passivity.

## CONSONANTS.

## 1. [ʔ] glottal stop.

The glottal stop occurs in connection with a syllable-impulse, as on-glide of most initial vowels.

The following, however, have no glottal stop, the syllable-impulse being shifted from the vowel to the preceding consonant:

Enclitic pronouns, e.g., *will ich* [viliç], *muss es* [musəs]; *an*, *in*, *ob*, *aus*, *auf*, *um*, *unter*, *über*, *ab*, *ein*, as far as they form the second elements of compounds with *hin*-, *her*-, *vor*-, *hier*-, *dar*-, *wor*-, *war*-, *wieder*-, *an* in *wohlan*; *in* in *erinnern*, *Erinnerung*; *ein* in *allein*; *ander* in *einander*, *selbender*; *all* in *überall*; *Acht* in *in Acht*, *Obacht*, *beobachten*; *Ende* in *vollenden*, *Vollendung*, *vollends*, and sometimes in *am Ende*;

<sup>1</sup> [oy] is practically the rounded form of [ae] by which it is replaced dialectally: the change in the first element of the diphthong [o] > [a] is the only case in which a back-round vowel is unrounded (by giving up the very slight inner rounding of [o]), while the change in the second element [y] > [e] is merely another example of the usual dialectal substitution of front for front-round vowels.



*au* in *Friedenau*, *Amönaue*, *Röddenau*, *Rabenau*, etc.; *Abend* in *Guten Abend*.

Popular etymology is responsible for the glottal stop in *Hebamme*.

2. [h] aspirate.

The aspirate occurs, in connection with a syllable-impulse, as on-glide of vowels, (1) in the absolute beginning of syllables, as in *Hausherr*, (2) after stressed initial [p] (aspiration), as in *Pein*, *Post*. Unstressed *he* of *her-* and *hi* of *hin-* are dropped in colloquial use, e.g., *herein* [ɣaen], *hinaus* [naos].

3. [ɣ] back-lateral-voice<sup>1</sup>; [x] back-lateral.

[ɣ] and [x] are the furthest back of my oral consonants, the fricative noise being produced by the expired air at its very entrance from the pharynx into the oral cavity, between the raised back of the tongue and the posterior boundary of the soft palate. As the back of the tongue is raised it lifts up the uvula so that the latter, supported by the tongue, bisects the expiratory channel. The height of the tongue and the area of its contact with the uvula depend on the energy of articulation. In a lenis [ɣ]<sup>2</sup> the slightly raised tongue only just touches the end of the pendant uvula, but in a fortis [x] the back of the tongue is considerably raised, and the whole of the lower surface of the uvula rests upon it, while fortis [ɣ] and lenis [x] represent intermediate stages. (In my own pronunciation the uvula, when thus supported by the raised back of the tongue, is not stretched forward in the medial line, but more or less turned to the left so that a wider expiratory channel remains open on the right than on the left side.)

Retraction of the tongue is not an essential feature of the [ɣ]- and [x]-articulations, but merely an accessory phenomenon after [a] and [a:], and so is the bilateral compression of the tongue after back-round vowels. After front and front-round vowels the tongue is raised at the back and flat in front.

After rounded vowels [ɣ] and [x] partake of the lip-rounding and are therefore lip-modified back-laterals, in the production of which the lip-rounding is prior in time, but the tongue-articulation the pre-dominant feature.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. H. Mutschmann, 'My pronunciation of German r,' *Modern Language Notes*, xiii, 3, pp. 67—69.

<sup>2</sup> The intensity of a non-stopped consonant being greater after a stressed short vowel than in any other position, we call [ɣ] [x] 'fortis' after a stressed short vowel, otherwise 'lenis.' Cp. Bremer, *Deutsche Phonetik*, §98.

[x], spelt *ch*, is liable to be reduced to [ɣ] when medial between [u:], [ao] and a vowel or nasal, e.g., *such einmal* [su:ɣəma:], *suchen* [su:ɣn], *brauchen* [bɾaɔɣn]; also in proclitic *nach* before [ʔ], [h], [n], [l], [m], e.g., *nach Altona, nach Hamburg, nach Nauheim, nach London, nach Marburg*.

Corresponding to South German back-stop after a back or back-round vowel, we have (1) [ɣ] medially before a vowel, [ɣ], [l], or nasal, e.g., *Auge* [aɔɣə], *Tag und Nacht* [da:ɾu'naxt], *sag ich* [sa:ɾiç], *lager* and *Lager* [la:ɾɾ], *Vogel* [fo:ɾl], *sagen* [sa:ɾn]; (2) [x] before voiceless final consonants and at the absolute end of syllables, e.g., *sagt, sagst, Jagd* [jaxt], *jagt* [ja:xt], *Magd, behagt, taugt, Vogt; Tag, Tagelöhner, Wagner, zagten, Aug' um Aug', genug* [gənux], *Zug, Zugluft*.

Corresponding to older point-trill, we find (1) [ɣ] before vowels, [ʔ], [h], [ɾ], [j], [l], [n], [v], [m], [bm], e.g., *Laura, uralt* [ʔuɾʔalt], *Narrheit, kerngesund* [keɾɿgəsunt], *borge* [boɾjə], *Kerl, Hirn, Erbe* [eɾvə], *arm, erben* [eɾbm]; (2) [x] before [k], [g], [ç], [s], [ʃ], [t], [f], [p], [b] (except [bm]), e.g., *Mark* [maxk], *Herrgott* [hexgot], *Kirche* [kiχçə], *Vers* [fexs], *herrschen* [hexɾn], *hart* and *harrt* [haxt], *scharf* [ʃaxf], *Korb* [koxp], *Marburg* [maxbuχç]. Before [d] we have [ɣ] in lenis-position, e.g., *Erde* [e:ɾdə], but [x] in fortis-position, e.g., *Karte* [kaxdə].

There is no difference in the pronunciation of (1) *Wacht* and *ward* [vaxt], *mocht* and *Mord* [moxt], *Wucht* and *wurd'* [vuxt] (fortis x); (2) *behagt* and *behaart* [bəha:xt] (lenis x); and (3) *Wagen* and *waren* [va:ɾn], *behagen* and *behaaren* [bəha:ɾn], *saugen* and *sauren* [sao:ɾn], *bogen* and *bohren* [bo:ɾn], *verlogen* and *verloren* [fɾlo:ɾn] (lenis ɾ), unless *g* under (3) is raised to a sound intermediate between [ɣ] and [x] in order to prevent mistakes.

Lenis [ɾ] is dropped at the end of a breath-group so that only the preceding murmur-vowel remains, e.g., *Es geht ihm schon besser* [sge:dm ʃom besə].

Fortis [ɾ] at the end of a breath-group is readily raised to [x], especially in exclamations and when otherwise used emphatically, e.g., *Mein Herr! Du Narr! Er hat einen Katarrh*.

[ɾəɾ] > [ɾɾ] (= [ɾ:] with a fresh syllable-impulse within it), e.g., *Lehrer* [le:ɾɾ].

[ɾɾ] > [ɾ], e.g., *Fahrrad* [fa:ɾa:t], *nach Rom* [na:ʔo:m], *verraten* [fəɾa:dn]<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In all cases where identical or approximately identical consonants are contiguous, the immediate repetition of the articulatory movements is avoided as inconvenient and the two consonants merge into one. Cp. Winteler, *Die Kerenzer Mundart*, p. 131.

## 4. [ŋ] back-nasal-voice; [g], [k] back-stops.

The main portion of the tongue is bunched up lengthways by bilateral compression beyond the [u:]-elevation, until in complete contact with the roof of the mouth. Even in the articulation of inner [ŋ], [g], [k], before and after back and back-round vowels, the tongue rises well up on the palatal arch, and in the neighbourhood of front and front-round vowels, the place of the stop-formation lies still further forward.

The essential difference between [k] and [g] lies in the greater air-pressure and stronger articulation of [k]. No effort is made to distinguish between initial *kr* and *gr*, *kl* and *gl*, *kn* and *gn*.—Medially before voiced sounds, all back-stops are levelled to [g], e.g., *Lücke* [lygə], *Roggen* [ɣogŋ], *Ekel* [e:gl], *Paket* [page:t], *Balkon* [bal'goŋ].—*Kuckuck* is pronounced [gugu:k].—*ch* before superlative *-st* is pronounced [k], e.g., *höchst*, *nächste*.

[kk], [kg] > [k], e.g., *zurückkehren* [tsu'ɣyke:ɣŋ], *Rückgrat* [ɣykɣa:t].

Combinations of back-stops with back-nasals. One oral stop-formation serves for two, three, or four sounds in combination, a nasal plosive being substituted for a back-stop before [ŋ], e.g., *Dank* [daŋk], *angenehm* [aŋəne:m], *Haken* [ha:gŋ], *Roggen* [ɣogŋ], *Brückenkopf* [bɣyɡŋkopf], *Brückengeländer* [bɣyɡŋgələndɐ], *denken* [deŋŋ], *Gedankenkreis* [gədəŋŋkɣaes], *Gedankengang* [gədəŋŋgəŋ].

The back-stop is dropped between [ŋ] and [s], [ʃ], [t], e.g., *links* [liŋs], *links schwenkt* [liŋ ʃveŋt].

## 5. [j] front-open-voice; [ç] front-open.

The main portion of the tongue, expanded under the hard palate, is advanced and raised beyond the [i:]-position, until the air-opening is reduced to a friction channel.

After front-round vowels [j] and [ç] partake of the outer lip-rounding and are therefore lip-modified front-open consonants, in the production of which the lip-rounding is prior in time, but the tongue-articulation the predominant feature.

Corresponding to South German back-stop we have after a front or front-round vowel, [ɣ], or [l], (1) [j] medially before a vowel, [ɣ], [l], or nasal, e.g., *Wege*, [ve:jə], *lieg ich* [li:jiç], *ärger* [eɣjɣ], *Hügel* [hy:jl], *balgen* [baljn], *Morgen* [moɣjn]; (2) [ç] before voiceless final consonants and at the absolute end of syllables, e.g., *legst*, *Kriegs*, *vergnügt*, *borgt* [boχçt], *balgt*; *weg*, *Weg*, *wenig*, *König*, *Sieg*, *arg* [aχç], *Balg*.

For *regnet* we find [ʁe:ɣnət] or [ʁe:jnt], according to syllable division; similarly, *eigner* [aeçnɣ] or [aejənɣ]; etc.

Asyllabic front vowels are replaced by [j], e.g., *Lineal* [linja:l], *ideal* [idja:l], *Julius* [ju:ljus], *Asien* [a:sjn], *Italiener* [italje:nɣ], *Staniol* [ʃdanjo:l], *Religion* [ʁeljɔ:n].

The front-open consonant is dropped in *-lich* and *-ig* before an inflectional [ə], e.g., *verherrlichen* [fɣʰeɣliən], *herzliche* [hextsliə], *heiligen* [haeliən], *heiliger* [haeliəɣ].

[ç] is dropped colloquially in *nicht* [nit]; [çt] > [k] in *nichts* [niks].

#### 6. [s] blade-open.

A narrow friction-channel is formed by broadening the blade of the tongue under the alveolar arch, allowing the tip to rest against the upper gums, while the teeth are very nearly closed. Shifting occurs from inner to outer [s], e.g., in *säuseln*.

[ss] > [s], e.g., *aussehen* [aose:n].

[sf] > [ʃf] > [ʃ], e.g., *Hausschlüssel* [haoʃlysl], *Aussprache* [aofbɾa:xə], *was Schönes* [va ʃφ:nəs].

[stʃd] > [ʃd], e.g., *Kunststück* [kunʃdyk].

#### 7. [ʃ] lip-modified blade-open.

The alveolar friction-channel of [s] is somewhat widened, the blade and point of the tongue being lowered. The lips are protruded as far as possible, so that while laterally pressing against the teeth, they are considerably removed from the front teeth. The cheeks and lips thus form, as it were, a speaking trumpet for the sound.

[ʃʃ] > [ʃ], e.g., *Waschschüssel* [vaʃysl].

#### 8. [l] point-lateral-voice; [n] point-nasal-voice; [d], [t] point-stops.

The place of articulation is subject to shifting under the influence of the phonetic environment, although not to the same extent as in [ŋ], [g], [k]. The articulation is inner before the diphthongs [ae], [oy], [ui], and outer after them, e.g., in *nein*, *deute*, *Leiter*, *Leute*, *Luitpold*.

The transition from [l] to point-nasal or point-stop is made by completing the closure which is only partial for [l], e.g., in *Köln*, *alte*. The transition from point-nasal or point-stop to [l] is made by means of lateral explosion only, instead of central and lateral, e.g., in *Anlass*, *edle*, *hoffentlich*, *entlehen*.

[ll] > [l], e.g., *Wohllaut* [vo:laot].

[l] is dropped in the weak forms of *einmal* [əma:], [ma:].

Non-initial [n] is assimilated, as regards place of articulation, to



preceding or following back-nasal or back-stop ([n] > [ŋ]) and lip-consonants ([n] > [m]), e.g., *singen* [siŋŋ] ([ŋŋ] = [ŋ:] with a fresh syllable-impulse within it), *Haken* [ha:ŋ], *Roggen* [ʁoŋŋ], *Unglück* [uŋglyk], *ankommen* [aŋkomm], *nehmen* [ne:mm] ([mm] = [m:] with a fresh syllable-impulse within it), *Lippen* [libm], *Leben* [le:bm] with nasal plosive, *Eisenbahn* [aesmba:n], *ein paar* [m pa:ɾ], *Senf* [semf] and *laufen* [laofm], with bilabio-dental [m].

[n] is protected against the assimilative power of a back-nasal or back-stop or lip-teeth consonant by a neighbouring blade- or point-consonant on its other side, e.g., *jungen Zweig* [juŋn tsvaeç], *meinen Gästen* [maenn gestn], *den Fall* [dn fal], *laufen schon* [laofn son].

The grammatical difference between *den* and *dem*, *in* and *im*, etc. does not prevent the assimilation of [n] > [m]. Thus I say, heedless of grammar: *Ein Eisenbahnzug setzte sich in Bewegung* [aen ʔaesmba:ntsu:x setstə siç im bæve:juŋ], treating *in Bewegung* in the same way as *Eisenbahn*.

The assimilative tendency of [f] ([n] > bilabio-dental [m]) is overruled by the stronger assimilative power of a back-nasal or back-stop on the other side of [n], e.g., *laufen gelassen* [laofŋ gəlasn].

*an*, *in*, *um* are not assimilated to following [f].

[nən], [nn] > [n], e.g., *seinen* [saenn] ([nn] = [n:] with a fresh syllable impulse within it), [saen]; *ihnen*, *einen* [n], *Einnahme* [aena:mə].

Final [n] is dropped in [ne:], dialectally for *nein*.

The essential difference between [t] and [d] lies in the greater air-pressure and stronger articulation of [t].

Initial [d] may be heard in the following: *Taps*, *tappen*, *Tabak*, *Tapete*, *Tante*, *Tanz*, *tanzen*, *Tasse*, *Tasche*, *Tambour*, *Tag*, *Taler*, *Tafel*, *taub*, *Taube*, *taugen*, *tauchen*, *tausend*, *tauschen*, *taufen*, *Teich*, *Teig*, *toll*, *Topf*, *Tochter*, *Tolpatsch*, *teuer*, *Teufel*, *Tod*, *tot*, *toben*, *Tusch*, *Tusche*, *Tüte* [dudə], *tunken*, *tun*, *Teller*, *Teppich*, *Tisch*, *Tinte*, *Tippelchen*, *tief*, *tüchtig*, *Tür*.

Initial *st*, as in *Stein*, *gestehen*, has the value of voiceless [ʃd].

No effort is made to distinguish between initial *tr* and *dr*.

Medially, before voiced sounds, all point-stops are levelled to [d], e.g., *retten* [ɾedn], *raten* [ɾa:dn], *laden* [la:dn], (*Apotheke* [abo'de:gə], *Bibliothek* [biblio'de:k]).

Combinations of point-stops with point-nasals. One oral stop-formation is kept throughout the combination, with nasal instead of oral plosive before [n], e.g., *Hand*, *Linde*, *bitten* [bidn], *Rattentod* [ɾadnto:t], *Guten Tag* [gu:dn'dax], *Renten* [ɾendn], *Linden* [lindn], *entnehmen*



[entne:mm], *Bündner* [byndnʁ], *Rententeil* [ʁendntael], *Lindenduft* [lindnduft].

[dət] > [t] in *schadet* [ʃa:t], [ʃat], *kostet* [kost].

[tt], [td] > [t], [d], e.g., *mitteilen* [mitaeln], *Notdach* [no:daχ], *hast du* [hasdə].

[ndn] > [nn] > [n]: *in den* [indn], [inn], [in], *an den* [andn], [ann], [an].

[dn], [də-n] > [n]: *den, denn* [n], *Guten Tag* [gun'daχ], *Guten Abend* [gu'na:mnt], *Gute Nacht* [gu'naχt], and, through assimilation of [n] to [m], *Guten Morgen* [gu'moʁjɲ].

[dm] > [m]: *dem* [m].

[lts] > [ls], e.g., *Salz* [sals], *hältst* [helst].

[nts] > [ns], e.g., *Landsmann* [lansman], *ganz* [gans].

[ntʃ] > [nʃ], e.g., *Handschuh* [hanʃu:].

The point-stop can be dropped in *ich werd'* and *wir, sie werden*.

The final point-stop is dropped in unemphasised *und, ist, sind, jetzt* (the older form), *braucht*.

A final point-stop is sometimes dropped in rapid conversation before [gə-], e.g., *Hast du den Hans nicht gesehen?* [hasdə dn hans ni gəse:nʔ]

9. [v] lip-open-voice or lip-teeth-open-voice; [f] lip-teeth-open.

Three articulations of [v] occur:

(1) bilabial, i.e., the lips are brought together vertically beyond the outer-lip-rounding of [y:], forming a slit-shaped friction-channel for the expired air;

(2) bilabio-dental, i.e., the lower lip, slightly retracted, is in contact both with the upper lip and with the edge of the upper front teeth;

(3) labio-dental, i.e., the central portion of the lower lip is entirely withdrawn from the upper lip and pressed against the edge of the upper front teeth.

Bilabial [v] is the sound of medial b, preceded and followed by a vowel, [ɣ], or [l], e.g., *habe* [ha:və], *über* [y:vɣ], *Nebel* [ne:vl], (*kapabel, kurabel*); *Erbe* [ɛʁvə], *Elbe* [elvə], *derber* [deʁvɣ], *Wirbel* [viʁvl], *albern* [alvɣn], *Vilbel* [filvl], *hab ich* [ha:viç], *Schreiber* and *schreib ihr* [ʃʁaevɣ], *Obacht, beobachten, Tabak, Übung, lebendig, Lebendigkeit, Arbeit, salbungsvoll*. Before a distinct vowel-quality there is, however, a tendency to fall into the spelling pronunciation of b as a stopped consonant. The stop prevails in *Habicht* (dialectal *Hobch*), *Kibitz* and proper names, e.g., *Laban*.

Bilabial [v] is further the established form of the V-sound after [k] and [ts], e.g., in *Quelle, Hackwalzer, zwei, Zwang, Kurzwaren*.

[v] after [f], as in *aufwärts*, is, of course, labio-dental.

Except in these cases, the provinces of bilabial, bilabio-dental, and labio-dental [v] are not rigidly defined in my speech.

Final [vn] > [bm], with nasal plosive, e.g., *Löwen* [lφ:bm].

[ff] > [f], e.g., *Schiffahrt* [ʃifa:xt].

10. [m] lip-nasal-voice or lip-teeth-nasal-voice; [b], [p] lip-stops or lip-teeth-stops.

The articulation of [m], [b], [p] in the neighbourhood of [v], e.g., in *am Wehr, abwärts*, can be bilabial or bilabio-dental, like the articulation of [v]; in the neighbourhood of [f] it is always bilabio-dental, e.g., in *laufen* [laofm], *am Feuer, Kampf* [kamf], *abfahren* [apfa:ɣn].

[məm] > [mm] (= [m:], with a fresh syllable-impulse within it), e.g., *lahmem* [la:mm]<sup>1</sup>.

[mm], [nm] > [m], e.g., *am Meer* [a'me:ɣ], *unmöglich* [umφ:çliç], (*seinem* [saem]).

[bnd], [bnt] > [mnd], [mnt], owing to premature opening of the nose passage, e.g., *lebendes* [le:mndəs], *Abend* [a:mnt], [n] being protected by the point-stop against the assimilative power of [m].

The essential difference between [p] and [b] lies in the greater air-pressure and stronger articulation of [p].

Initial [p] before a vowel is aspirated.

Initial [b] may be heard in the following:—*Papa, Papier, Pappe, pappen, passen, passieren, patschen, paff* (sprachlos), *paperlapapp, pardanz, Peitsche, Partei, Partie, -possen, -polstern, potztausend, Portion, Poree, pumpen, putzen, purzeln, puffen, Puffärmel, Puppe, Pulle* (Flasche), *-pelz, -pinsel, -pinseln*.

Initial *pf* has the value of [f], e.g., *Pfund* [funt].

Initial *sp*, as in *spitz, besprechen*, has the value of voiceless [ʃb].

No effort is made to distinguish between initial *pr* and *br*, *pl* and *bl*.

Medially before voiced sounds the lip-stops are levelled to [b], e.g., *Lippe* [libə], *Ebbe* [ebə], (*Apotheke* [abo'de:gə], *Teppich* [debiç], but *Bibliothek*<sup>4</sup> [bɪblɪo'tɛk], *Epistel*).

Combinations of <sub>1</sub>-stops with lip-nasals. One oral stop-formation is kept throughout, with nasal instead of oral plosive before [n], e.g., *Han*<sup>4</sup>, *lahmen* [la:mm].—*Raum* [ɣaom], *rauben* [ɣaobm], *Guten Tag* [gu:dn'daɣ], *Rei*<sup>m</sup>.

before [m], e.g., *Lump*, *anpassen* [ampasn], *ein paar* [m pa:γ], *September*, *anbeissen* [ambaesn], *Eisenbahn* [aesmba:n], *Lippen* [libm], *Tropen* [tγo:bm], *Leben* [le:bm], *Löwen* [lφ:bm], *Lippenpaar* [libmpa:γ], *Lampen* [lambm], *Bomben* [bombm], *der Lump muss*, *Lumpenpack* [lumbmpak], *Lampenbeleuchtung* [lambmbəloyçduŋ].

[pp] > [p], e.g., *abpassen* [apasn].

[pb] > [b], [p], e.g., *Abbitte* [abitə], *abbrechen* [apɣeçn].

[mpf] > [mf], e.g., *Kampf* [kamf].

Nasal plosive + [m] > [m], e.g., *gib mir* [gimγ].

JULIUS FREUND.

SHEFFIELD.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### FRAGMENT OF A MIDDLE ENGLISH POEM.

IN the *Modern Language Review* for January, 1909, at p. 236, I am glad to find a piece of a genuine Middle English love-song. The language is certainly, as suggested, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, as the spelling shows. Like many other pieces of that date, it exhibits some Norman misspellings, such as I have noted in my Preface to *Havelok the Dane*.

Examples are: *nk* for *ng*; *sprinkes* for *springes*, i.e., shoots up. Also *icche* for *ich*, I, the Southern form; though *i* occurs also, and suits the verbal suffix *-es* much better; so that, for *icche* we should read *i*. As usual, *ine* is written for *i ne*. The spelling *singge* is phonetic; as *ng* was so pronounced. *Yider* has *y* for the thorn-letter; so it means *thider*. Conversely, *thiif* is an error for *yif*, if. *Sal* is for *shal*. The great difficulty is to show the metre, which is somewhat intricate.

The first three lines form the 'burden' of the song, and are to be taken separately. After that come three stanzas, of seven lines each; but at first sight irregular in form, because the scribe has turned *Als I me rod this ender dai* into *this endre dai als i me rod*. But it so happens that we have a poem of the same period beginning likewise with *Ase y me rod this ender day*; see Böddeker's *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253*; p. 218. This suggests further that the poem may come from the West-Midland (see the same, p. 146, where *wyrhale* means Wirrall). It should therefore be compared, as to grammar, with Morris's Alliterative Poems. There are but few 'hard words'; we may note *seke*, sick, ill; *this ender dai*, this recent day, lately; *wai*, woe; *i*, in; *libben ai*, live always; *drogh*, drew; *herber*, garden; *swote*, sweet; *mai*, maiden; *lemman*, lover; *bi-hot*, promised; *a-newe*, afresh. As for *clot*, it means a mass of clay; and *clinge* is to adhere. The rime shows that *clinges* should be *clinge*; and I take *The clot him clinge* to be an imprecation, 'may the earth adhere over him,' i.e., may he be dead and buried! By *seih*, I mean 'saw.'

As to the word *pleyinge*, i.e., 'amusement,' it is clearly suggested by the poem already alluded to, which begins :

Ase y me rod this ender day  
By grene wode to *seche play*.

I would therefore 'restore' the poem as follows :

NOW SPRINGS THE SPRAY.

Now springes the sprai!—  
Al for loue i am so seke  
That slepen i ne mai!

Als i me rod this ender dai  
O mi [pleyinge],  
S[ei]h i hwar a litel mai  
Bigan to singe:—  
'The clot him clinge!  
Wai es him i loue-longinge  
Shal libben ai!'

Now springes, etc.

Sone i herde that mirie note;  
Thider I drogh;  
I fond hire [in] an herber swote  
Under a bogh,  
With ioie inogh.

Sone I asked—'Thou mirie mai,  
Hwi singes-tou ai?'

Now springes, etc.

Than answerde that maiden swot  
Mid wordes fewe—  
'Mi lemman me haues bi-hot  
Of loue trewe:  
He chaunges a-newe.  
Yif i mai, it shal him rewe  
Bi this dai!'

Now springes, etc.

I take the two last lines to mean—'If I can (contrive it), it shall repent him concerning this day.' This seems better than taking *Bi this dai* as a form of affirmation.

WALTER W. SKEAT.



SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*, III iv 89—92.

I drinke to th' generall ioy o' th' whole Table,  
And to our deere Friend *Banquo*, whom we misse :  
Would he were heere : to all, and him we thirst,  
And all to all.

The First Folio punctuates as above. The Second, Third, and Fourth still further emphasize the pause after *all* by changing the comma into a semicolon, thus :

Would he were heere : to all ; and him we thirst.

Yet the editors, with one consent, tacitly either remove the comma after *all* or insert one after *him*, apparently understanding the passage to mean 'We thirst [i.e. drink] to all and to him.' But the punctuation of the Folios may be retained if we take *thirst* transitively in the sense 'desire,' 'long for.' The sentence would then mean '(I drink) to all, and to him whom we desire,' i.e., 'Banquo, whom we misse' (l. 90).

For *thirst* = 'desire,' cf. Udall, *Paraphrase of Erasmus vpon Luke*, fol. iiii (b) 'hounger and thirst the syncere knowlage of Gods word'; fol. xix 'all suche as do thirst the cummyng of Messias'; fol. xl (b) 'thirste the mystycall sence and meaning.'

W. H. WILLIAMS.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

## DISCUSSIONS.

### MILTON'S HEROIC LINE.

In the *Modern Language Review* for October 1908, Mr T. S. Omond did me the honour to discuss my theory of Milton's epic versification expounded in the three previous numbers for July and October 1907 and April 1908. In reply to these strictures, I should like to offer the following defence of my position which I have delayed till now, not for want of appropriate arguments, but owing to stress of work during the Academic year.

I must at once premise that my theory rests not on the mere fact of personal scansion, which will of course differ with the subjective idiosyncrasy of each metrist, especially at the present day, but on a combination of reasons derived from the history of the language, the history of the decasyllabic metre, the definitions of early metrical theorists and the averred practice of seventeenth century poets and particularly of Milton himself. I attach far less importance to any separate thread of proof taken apart from the rest than to the whole body of evidence at our disposal. Viewing the author's verse 'from an historical standpoint,' I beg to draw attention to the concurrent lines of argument on which I rely to make my case clear. Broadly speaking, my main contention is that 'the more careful utterance with which we naturally read great poetry' (p. 96)<sup>1</sup> is out of place here, if only because Milton was writing in the reign of Charles II. To say that, if we admit the syllabic doctrine, 'Milton favoured colloquial contractions, surely unsuited to his dignified verse' (p. 100) amounts to committing a virtual anachronism. What we now call vulgar and colloquial really represents an earlier and perfectly dignified stage of the language. As usual in all civilised countries, poetry and popular speech in England prove to be more conservative than the polished and high-flown idiom of the cultivated classes.

But my appeal to tradition and history in opposition to our twentieth century usage is also an appeal to the poet himself. When his note on the verse prefixed to *Paradise Lost* mentions as an element of the heroic line a 'fit quantity of syllables,' I feel bound to take it that the expression implies the actual numbering of syllables, not because I have supposed or discovered decasyllabism to be his constant practice, but on account of his very words. The sense of 'quantity' meaning length of

<sup>1</sup> The references are to the pages of the October number (1908) which contains Mr Omond's strictures.

vowel sound is not classical in Latin and would not commend itself to Milton as a consummate Latin scholar. Indeed the more obvious English phrase in such a case would have been a 'fit quantity in syllables' and a careful writer like Milton could hardly have failed to adopt it. Besides the poet was well acquainted with the syllabic theory as the main principle of French, Italian and Spanish versification and would have been less likely than anyone else to insert a misleading or ambiguous term in his metrical manifesto. I may therefore still claim the benefit of Milton's own statement.

May I not even claim Mr Omond's implicit approval, and does he not practically give his case away when he owns that Milton was 'evidently guided by *very strict*<sup>1</sup> principles of metre' and 'achieved his statelier measure by rejecting dramatic laxity' (p. 94), or when he expressly asserts of the decasyllable: 'this is the normal type' (p. 98)? The phrase is on a par with Dr Robert Bridges' declaration that 'in Milton's verse the chief metrical rule is the number of syllables' (*Milton's Prosody*, 1894, p. 68) and such candid admissions are fatal to the pet theories of both metrists. The earliest English critics to deal with the subject are of course still more emphatic. Sir Philip Sidney formally disallows quantity in Elizabethan verse and as concerns stress he speaks of 'some regard' only being paid to the accent (*An Apologie for Poetrie*, Cambridge reprint, 1891, p. 60), while he insists on the number of syllables as the essential factor. George Gascoigne and William Webbe refer to no other<sup>2</sup>, and the same theory held good throughout the seventeenth century and till late in the eighteenth. Naturally enough, Mr Omond replies that the decasyllable is 'the most easily recognizable form of the heroic line' and that 'our prosodians have always tended to lay down rules more strict than the practice of our great singers warranted' (p. 95). But the latter contention sounds strange when we consider that the early metrists derived their definition from the practice of still earlier poets, and that no one of them ever hints at any other possible conception of the line. Surely the bare fact is in itself significant. We hear further of the syllabic rule bringing about an 'absolute monotony of rhythm' (p. 98). But how could it, when every other element of Milton's verse, accent, alliteration and caesura, is shown to be variable and suffices to prevent anything like a dead level? We might as well complain of music as being intolerably flat, because the notes in each successive bar are strictly equivalent. On the other hand if, according to the modern hypothesis, every single factor of poetry is liable to unlimited variation, may we not defy Mr Omond or any of his followers to give a clear and accurate definition of such a hotchpotch as the English heroic line would prove to be?

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> A friendly critic kindly draws my attention to the following passage from Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, Book II, Ch. III, which very clearly expounds the views prevalent in the sixteenth century: 'Meeter and measure is all one, for what the Greekes called μέτρον, the Latines call *Mensura*, and is but the quantitie of a verse, either long or short. This quantitie with them consisteth in the number of their feete; and with us in the number of sillables, which are comprehended in every verse.'

After the formal statements of present day opponents and old day exponents of the syllabic theory is it necessary to insist on the historical data which vouch for its foundation in fact? I fancy I might refer to what I said in the above-mentioned papers on this part of the subject. But it may be as well to add a few words on the vexed question of common contractions in spoken English some 250 years since. If we bear in mind that Milton was a belated Elizabethan, his reducing *innocent* to *inn'cent* (without any slur at all) or *difficulty* in *P.L.*, III, 1021-22, to *diff'culty*, will not strike us as stranger than our own pronunciation of *diff'rent* for *different*. His indeed was the age which had shortened *perilous* to *parlous*, *capitaine* to *captain*, *chapelain* to *chaplain*, *commandement* to *commandment* and similar instances were fully justified by the drift of current speech. Again my reading *No 'dvantage* in *P.R.*, II, 235 does not involve 'a very rapid' enunciation of 'the initial *a*' (p. 97), but its total suppression, and this is confirmed by the well-known derivation of *vanguard* from *avantgarde*. I also fail to see how any case can be made out historically for the 'trisyllabic ripple' (p. 97), when we remember it was never mentioned by one of the ancient metrists or poets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and sins against the very spirit of the older English language. Ample proofs of this are to be found in the present paragraph, in the existence of such doublets as *flour* and *flower*, *spirit* and *sprite*, of such rhymes as *hour*, *power* and *tower* (cf. the French *tour*), and in the formation of compound verbs like *to don* and *to doff*, from *to do on* and *to do off*, where the complete elision is certainly no 'fiction of grammarians' (p. 99). So too we may note that Addison in his papers on *Paradise Lost* and Dean Swift both speak of a contemporary tendency to dock words instead of insisting even slightly on the unaccented syllables, a tendency which is responsible for the introduction of *mob* and *cab* derived from *mobile* and *cabriolet*. This was not the kind of mood that would allow the diphthongs in *Adria* or *Hesperian* (*P.L.*, I, 520) to be split as a matter of course. And in Milton we may trace the concurrent influence of Italian usage which does make dissyllables of *Siena* and *duomo* and without the least slurring will fuse as many as three vowels into one syllable (cf. *P.L.*, VII, 411).

That Cowper took the same view of Miltonian elisions is shown by his remark about the poet's 'cutting short a *the*,' where the words can imply nothing else. But his authority is not needed to answer the question: 'Did people really say *tatone* for *to atone*, *thinsane* for *the insane*, etc.?' (p. 98). Popular survivals like *to swear to't* testify to the former<sup>1</sup> and the contraction of the definite article in Elizabethan times was so current as to appear not in verse only, but in prose. It remains to this day a common practice among Lancashire countrymen. In the preface of Dr W. A. Wright's edition of Shakespeare's *Richard the Third* (Clarendon Press, 1895), I find the following instances which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *t'other* for *the other* in Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite*, Bk. III, l. 472; *t'appease* in Spenser's *Faery Queene*, Bk. II, Canto VIII, st. 26 (ed. 1590), and *t'affect* in Bk. II, Canto XII, st. 28.



occur in the extracts from Hall's *Chronicles* reproduced with the original spelling: *thenuy, thother, therle, thende, thenGLISHmen, thentent*<sup>1</sup>. There are also unelided forms proving the vulgar speech to have been somewhat unsettled in this respect. Such a state of things would just suit the poet who could use either form at will, as Greek and Latin authors did with terms of uncertain quantity, and thus add a fresh element of variety to his line.

We meet with the same facility in the accentuation of compounds and words of Latin origin. Mr Omond declares the question insoluble (p. 99) in the case of *surface, exile, future, prostrate*, etc. Yet it can be decided to a great extent not merely by an application of the well-known traditional rule of the necessary stress on the tenth counted syllable of heroic lines, but by the contemporary rhymes of such careful writers as Cowley, Dryden and later on Pope. This is recognized by the best critics and vouched for in modern editions by the addition of accents to guide the reader. Space fails me to enlarge on the subject, but will Mr Omond kindly consult the Globe edition of Dryden's poetical works where a list of differently stressed terms is given after the introduction with a reference to page and verse enabling us to judge of the accuracy of the older emphasis by means of the measure itself and the final homophony<sup>2</sup>? Nor can the above conclusions be called at all arbitrary. As contractions in the English of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries obey the philological law which enacts the disappearance of the unstressed syllable nearest the strong accent and which historically rules the passage from low Latin to old French, so too the nouns aforesaid, *surface, exile*, etc., merely obey the law of the original French accentuation which gradually and hesitatingly yielded to the analogy of the Teutonic stress bearing on the earlier syllables of words. Similarly forgotten usage and the fact that *the* was at first a demonstrative explain such phrases as 'the Lord Hastings' and the slight emphasis on the article which Mr Omond, in accordance with modern custom, condemns as impossible in *P.L.*, XII, 369 and *P.R.*, IV, 633.

A few remaining points may be more summarily dismissed. The theory I expounded does not, I believe, lie open to the charge of inconsistency. My phrase 'rapidly sounded, but not counted in the line' applied to the extra unstressed syllable after the caesura which is found in the theatrical measure of *Comus* and is extremely rare in the epic. If I retain such an instance as *P.L.*, VIII, 649:

Thy condescension, and shall be honoured ever,

it is because a clashing of four consonants in *cond'scension* would be contrary to Milton's habit of euphony. Nor did I mention abnormalities

<sup>1</sup> Similar contractions are frequent in the works of Milton's master Spenser, e.g., all through his *Faery Queene*.

<sup>2</sup> Here are a few rhymes taken from Dryden's poems: *commerce, universe; cadence, France; essay, pay; conventicle, stickle; perspective, live*. We find *instinct, linkt* in Butler's *Hudibras*, Part I, Can. I, l. 232, and *sheriff* (pronounced *shrieve*), *give* in Oldham's Imitation of Boileau's eighth Satire.



due to haste or negligence except in the case of a light stress on the tenth sounded syllable of the line where a heavy stress would be expected. But on the other hand I must plead guilty to speaking of an *ee* sound in *P.R.*, IV, 411 when I ought to have said: the short sound of *i* in *sit*. I was thinking just then of the distinction between the Continental *i* and the diphthongal *i* in *fine* and not of that between the *i* sounds in *feet* and *fit*. Again it is suggested (p. 100) that I shall find the burden of proof too heavy for me in reference to my statement by the way that present English poets use only feet of two or three syllables. I might perhaps appeal for indulgence in favour of *obiter dicta* that did not come within the immediate scope of my papers. But on second thoughts I still maintain the above view and would press my critic for further explanation. What indeed can a foot of four syllables be? If it implies two accents (as seems most likely from the nature of the English tongue), it resolves itself into ordinary dissyllabic feet. If it takes such forms as  $\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ ,  $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ , or  $\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\text{---}$ , it might represent a pyrrhic tacked on to a trochee or an iambus. Whichever should be preferred, a sequence of three unaccented syllables is one of the rarest things in the language and would make a monstrosity of a foot so composed. On p. 101 Mr Omond has misunderstood my remark about *Comus*, l. 86:

Who with his soft pipe and smooth dittied song,

where the natural stress rests on the fifth syllable instead of the fourth. This is a violation of the iambic rhythm never perpetrated in *P.L.* or *P.R.* But such a line cannot be paralleled by *P.L.*, IV, 830:

Not to know *mé* argues yourselves unknown,

where the fourth syllable *is* regularly accented and where the following trochee comes after a caesura. Lastly, it may interest Mr Omond to know that my views on English metre are not only to be met with outside the Anglo-Saxon world, but that they have been partly expressed, with regard to Chaucer's poetry, by James Russell Lowell in his book entitled *My Study Windows* (London, W. Scott, undated, pp. 240-50). Lowell's linguistic attainments probably helped him to recognize the true derivation and nature of the English heroic line, the old French decasyllable<sup>1</sup> adopted by the author of the *Canterbury Tales* and now misnamed an iambic pentameter.

WALTER THOMAS.

LYONS.

<sup>1</sup> I may perhaps be pardoned for referring to my own study of comparative versification on this very metre in a book called *Le Décasyllabe roman et sa fortune en Europe* (Lille, Le Bigot, 1904).

Prof. Thomas argues his case with the skill and learning that might be expected. I need add only a few observations.

(1) He still prefixes the indefinite article to 'fit quantity of syllables,' which is misleading. If 'a fit number' had been meant, would not Milton have used that word? And why should he name it at all, if the number was fixed by rule? With the term 'quantity,' in its technical sense, Milton must have been quite familiar, as in Latin grammar, so in English literature; and I think that, till now, no one has doubted that it was in this sense he used the term.

(2) Fully granting that contractions were more common in Elizabethan and Jacobean speech than now, I still find lines which cannot be explained by these, and am unable to imagine how the last two vowels of 'Adria' can form a 'diphthong.' Prof. Thomas admits that some lines in *Paradise Lost* contain more than ten (counted) syllables; why not others? Neither the dicta of prosodians, nor the spellings of printers, are final proof; Milton's own spelling I have shown to be inconclusive. One line, quoted by Prof. Saintsbury, seems to put the matter almost beyond dispute, viz. (*P. L.*, IX, 1082):

And rapture so oft beheld? Those heav'nly shapes.

Is it credible that Milton said 'And rapture soft'?

(3) The reference to music seems unfortunate, since, while the total contents of any bar equal those of its neighbours, the number of notes in any is a varying quantity. No one denies that the normal unit of Milton's verse is dissyllabic.

(4) I did not reject such accentuations as *future*, *exile*, etc., but merely called them doubtful. Even in contemporary verse, the intended accentuation of words is often open to question.

(5) Though it is a side-issue, let me assure Prof. Thomas that 4-syllable feet not infrequently occur in recent trisyllabic verse, as in some of older date; and that quadruple metre has been attempted by many writers, in Australia as well as England, though secondary accent is naturally apt to obtrude itself. The objection to 'a sequence of three unaccented syllables' is not shared by poets.

T. S. OMOND.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

#### THE DATE OF 'THE CHANCES.'

In the *Modern Language Review* of July Mr E. K. Chambers raises the question of the date of Fletcher's comedy *The Chances*, in connexion with a passage in Act iii, Sc. 1, in which the Duke of Lorraine and the Pope are mentioned. These allusions he thinks are appropriate to the year 1609 and not to any later date in Fletcher's life-time. At the same

time he admits that there is no reasonable possibility that Fletcher was acquainted with *La Señora Cornelia*, the novel of Cervantes on which the play is based, before 1613, when it was first published in Spanish; and it may be added that he probably knew it first from the French version of d'Audiguier, published in 1615.

But there is evidence in my opinion that *The Chances* belongs to a much later date than this. The prologue, as Mr Chambers is of course aware, refers to the recent death of the author:

ingenious Fletcher made it, he  
Being in himself a perfect Comedy.  
And some sit here, I doubt not, dare aver,  
Living he made that house a theatre  
Which he pleased to frequent; and thus much we  
Could not but pay to his loved memory.

Now it seems to me from internal evidence that this prologue belongs to the first production of the play, rather than to a revival. The manner in which the play is spoken of is that which would be natural in introducing a new entertainment, and there is no reference, such as might naturally be expected, to any previous performance. It seems to me likely that both this comedy and *The Elder Brother*, the prologue of which has a somewhat similar reference, were produced on the stage after Fletcher's death, which took place in August, 1625.

As to the allusions, I do not attach much importance to them as indicating a particular date. The joke about the Pope's bulls being baited in England would be appropriate at almost any time, and not least in 1625, when the papal court was violently irritated by the European policy of Richelieu, with which the English government had definitely associated itself, after throwing over the Spanish marriage. The Duke of Lorraine played no part at all in the events of 1609, though Henry IV, whose brother-in-law he was, no doubt counted on his support. The reference to him is probably a vague one.

It may be added finally that the style of *The Chances* is like that of Fletcher's latest comedies, e.g., *The Wild-Goose Chase* and *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*; and the fact that neither *The Chances* nor *The Elder Brother* are mentioned in Herbert's office-book will not justify us in deciding that they do not belong to 1625 or 1626 until we are more assured than we are at present of the completeness of that record. The suggestion with regard to *The Elder Brother*, that it was left unfinished by Fletcher, and completed by Massinger in 1637, seems to be contradicted by the internal evidence, which points to cooperation.

G. C. MACAULAY.

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## REVIEWS

*The Springs of Helicon. A Study in the Progress of English Poetry from Chaucer to Milton.* By J. W. MACKAIL. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo. xvi + 204 pp.

The design of these six noteworthy lectures on Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, by the Oxford Professor of Poetry, is shadowed forth in the second title. The poets are here to be studied and interpreted not in order to distil the ideas that they express; nor, again, on system and exhaustively, the less together with the greater: for these are the tasks of philosopher and historian; but as *makers*, and to serve 'the appreciation of art itself as a vital energy.' Mr Mackail holds fast to this aim, and does good work in insisting on its importance and distinctness. It is, of course, not separable from those other provinces of study; as his practice shows. For example, he judges and often condemns Spenser upon his thinking; and in skilful, but necessarily brief and incomplete notes he takes the bearings of each of the three great poets in relation to those about them. But most of his criticism is artistic in the strict sense. A fuller survey, which it may be wished that he will one day give, so as to clear up a number of pregnant passages and contestable points, would be of high value, and this instalment of it fills a special place not usurped by other living judges of poetry, few of whom are at once humanists so well-equipped, and votaries of poetry so clear-eyed, as Mr Mackail. It is well, on occasion, to concentrate on the greatest writers, as is done in this book. The chief drawback is that we forget for a moment the multitudinous population of literature, of which each individual, if alive at all, yields us something of his own unshared by the very greatest. It is like looking at the heavens on one of those nights when only the largest stars are to be seen: the host of heaven is almost forgotten. There is also some heed required when the critic, by way of exception, does touch on the place of the poets in the general movement of intellect; which, again, must never be left quite out of hearing, as it is also part of the music of the spheres. A good deal could be urged against the view that 'Milton was in full touch and full intellectual sympathy with the New Learning, with the expanding movement of the human intelligence which was absorbing and annulling the Renaissance' (p. 199). The allusions to Galileo and the new astronomy hardly bear out so large a saying, and generally we might say that Milton was pre-Baconian in his relation to



the new learning and science. But some note on the lectures themselves, unjust as it must be to their variety and what may be called their close serration, will be well.

The best are those on Chaucer. I find matter for disagreement on many a page, but must admire the Chaucerian gaiety and gusto, the finely-tempered sense of different provinces and levels in poetry, and the business-like use that is made of the fruits of Chaucerian scholarship. Throughout the purpose is steadily held in view of separating that part of Chaucer which gives him his place in the higher kingdoms of poetry from that part which is only, though decisively, kept different from prose by the fact of being put into metre. The *Complaint of Queen Anelida*, and *Troilus and Creseide*, are singled out rightly for a praise which has been heard before and must often be heard again, but which, on the lips of each new critic, does not fail of freshness,

anzi rinnova come fa la luna.

It may be thought that praise is even too generous in one passage: 'The book of *Troilus and Creseide* is one of the few large perfect things in our literature' (p. 27). Just words, indeed, are spoken of Chaucer's Cressida; she is compared to 'some of Mr Hardy's frail, passive, wild-rose-blossom women, who, like her, without passion or strength or constancy, have but one power, to hold and break the hearts of men.'

But, after all, Chaucer's story is broken-backed, and it is just in the portraiture of Cressida, at the crisis of her fickleness, that he fails, almost with a rueful humorous consciousness of doing so. He cannot show, he can only mention, her change of faith. His psychology, as perfect in nicety as its expression is lovely, both before and after the dangerous moment, gives out just there. This is the only flaw in the great poem; all the other glories of it remain beyond criticism; and we can pardon even such a flaw, when we see its cause. Chaucer had himself fallen in love with Cressida while he drew her, and had made her so worthy of love that when he came to deal with her as the story demanded, he scrambled round that bad corner as best he might, trusting to redeem himself afterwards. I may add that I cannot join in Mr Mackail's implied reproach (as I read it) against Shakespeare for his handling of this story, and think that the indignant sentiment often spent on his play may easily become uncritical; but this theme would lead too far. It is better to note some further excellences of Mr Mackail's essay:—his useful parallel (p. 48) of the *Canterbury Tales* with *The Earthly Paradise* in respect of build and evolution; his nice remark on the 'unusual accent' of Chaucer's translation from Petrarch and of his other translation (through Boccaccio) of Dante's tercet on the unfolding flowers (p. 14); and finally the comparison of Chaucer with Shakespeare. Mr Mackail's rarest gift, it may be judged, is that of disregarding small confusing differences in the lie of the ground, and rising to the kind of plateau whence the critic can see the larger summits lying before him, in a broad and clear morning light, and in their true outlines.



A few points of difference may be set down, though hardly argued out. I cannot go with Matthew Arnold, or with Mr Mackail when he bluntly says that Wordsworth 'spoilt' the *Prioress' Tale*. In some sense he did; but his version is in a noble style if we can forget Chaucer. There is need, in view of *Filostrato* itself, and of much in the *Decameron*, to qualify the censure (p. 24) that 'heartlessness affects the whole book [*Decameron*], and the whole of Boccaccio's work.' The *Knight's Tale* Chaucer 'just succeeded in bringing to a triumphant conclusion' (p. 26). True, but the fault lies in the stuff of the story, not in its length. The *Knight's Tale* is a bad story, or at least a story (as ten Brink has well explained) on a poor level of romantic interest, and it inspires disaffection because Chaucer's execution is too great and various and splendid for such a theme. On one topic of moment Mr Mackail speaks with a divided voice; at all events, the latter end of his story is needed to supplement the beginning. This is the relationship of narrative gift to poetical gift. At first the argument is, that though Chaucer is 'the first consummate story-teller, as he still remains the best,' nevertheless 'a faculty which is more apparent in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, which is higher in Ovid than in Virgil, which is totally or all but totally absent in some of the greatest poets, cannot be taken as a criterion of poetic quality, or as part of the essence of poetry' (p. 9).

Later, drawing an excellent parallel between the friar's diet in the *Sompnour's Tale* ('a roasted pigges head,' etc.) and Mrs Gamp's ('a little bit of pickled salmon...and a mossel of cheese'), the critic well shows that the use of metre is enough, in Chaucer's hands, to make a 'potential,' if not an actual difference, between the two passages, similar as they are in character though not in their exact bill of fare. Metre, in fact, in Coleridge's words, 'paves the way to other distinctions.' This issue is raised as part of the larger one, How much of Chaucer is really poetry? And the reader may become bewildered, unless he remembers the distinction between poetry and great or high poetry, which, in his strong enthusiasm for the latter, Mr Mackail may not always verbally distinguish. The truth is that every line which Chaucer wrote in metre is poetry of one kind or another, and would lose some of its incommunicable virtue if out of metre. As to story-telling—well, a story is only one of the moulds, like a lyric or a satire, into which a poet may pour his material. He may, like Scott, be a good story-teller and not so good a poet, or, like Wordsworth, a poor story-teller (in spite of his efforts) and yet a good or great poet, or he may be good in both lines, but not equally good at the same time, like Dryden. All honour to *Troilus and Cresside*; but Chaucer is greatest as a story-teller when he is ribald, or at least when high poetry is some distance off. But even here there is poetry; and I believe that Chaucer's most original, inimitable, enduring work is his unromantic, unliterary, homely work, whether we call it poetry or not:—the *Prologue*, the tale of Absalon, and the like, the unequalled excellence of which Mr Mackail seems to admit only with a certain reserve, but in which Chaucer's poetic and his

narrative gift are more satisfactorily fused, and for longer at a time, than anywhere else. If there is an exception to this statement, it is the *Pardoner's Tale*, where (as is well suggested on p. 65) the humour and narrative power do not stand alone, but run up into a note of savage irony, almost of terror—into the strain of the Dance of Death. For more of this, I would sacrifice, certainly most of the feminine and martyr stories, perhaps even most of the *Legend of Good Women*, with its many thin conventional notes. A protest may be added against the imputation of 'cheap sentiment' (p. 22) to Henryson's *Testament of Creseide*. The great recognition-scene in that poem has a touch of romantic dread and wistfulness exceeding anything that Chaucer conceived of the same order. But it would be graceless to end with complaint. Mr Mackail's sketch of Chaucer is the most clear-witted and affectionate one, for its scale, that has been drawn in our time, and only needs an ampler development.

The two lectures on Spenser suffer because, while much that is said in Spenser's dispraise is undeniable, the praise given is incomplete and has an air of reluctance; and if there were no more due to Spenser than this, his admitted influence on the poets would be inexplicable. It is very true that his sense of humour is weak—perhaps the 'Nine Comedies' would not have mended the fault; that he often works in thin, wavering designs, and is far from reality and life; that his ethical notions, for all their brocaded ostentation, are not the best ideas of his own time; and that in his forty and odd thousand lines of verse there are flat and dragging passages: 'the poetic imagination ebbs away, leaving only a sort of bleached rhetorical framework' (p. 110). It is also useful and sound criticism to vindicate Ariosto, who 'accepted life in a large way' (p. 99), as not only richer in humanity than Spenser, but as also—as *therefore*—sounder in his ethical instincts. It is a pity, however, that the critic, in making the comparison, should apply the doubtful, nay unsound test of suitability 'to be read aloud.' It is also partially true that 'Spenser thought (so far as he did think) in images': but only partially; for two of his *Hymns* are the first, and remain the most lucid and poetic exposition in the language of Renaissance Platonism. Whether Spenser 'thinks' in the *Hymns* is perhaps a question of words, since every one of his ideas is borrowed from Greek or Italian sources, as Miss Winstanley, in her excellent edition of these poems, has demonstrated. But the ease, the tessellating power, the many golden lines and stanzas, and above all the supreme evenness of poetic texture, raise them above all Italian or English verse on the same theme. If Spenser did not originate his ideas, or harmonise them, he is all the more representative in another way: and the truly critical presentment of Spenser, which in my own opinion has never yet been made, would involve a careful study of those alternating moods of Renaissance Platonism, pessimism, and puritanism, which the poet seems to have kept in watertight compartments in his mind, while giving to each as it came perfect—nay immortal—expression. Of *The Ruins of Time*, which tells us his intimate conviction (of the moment at least) in lofty

and impassioned form, no mention is made in these lectures. Also the general level of his style appears to be underestimated by Mr Mackail. It is not hard to pick out places where the poetical 'temperature is low.' But it is doubtful whether Spenser wrote more than a few hundred lines, out of the forty thousand, which are unpoetical. He wrote far fewer than are so, in proportion to the whole mass of his work, than any voluminous poet of his time, Shakespeare being certainly included. It is this that separates him from his time, which studied perfection of style so little, and which ranks him with Chaucer and Milton as regards mass of truly poetical writing. It is this that makes him the 'poets' poet.' There may therefore be some implication of false criticism even in the well-earned praise that is doled out to him. 'In the flowing loosely-woven texture of the poem there are many lines and stanzas, and even whole passages, which stand out from the rest in virtue of a concentration, a precision, a dignity which are the qualities of the classics' (p. 116). More generous and accurate is the tribute paid (p. 130) to the lovely episode of 'Pastorella-Perdita'; and the excellent opening sketch (pp. 73—81) of the English Renaissance makes us desire from the writer a leisurely history of English poetry, as seen from his peculiar standpoint.

Space runs out, and the two lectures on Milton cannot be outlined here. The present writer is more struck with the fissures and incongruities in Milton's mind and temper, Mr Mackail with the sacred unity of purpose which runs through his artistic life and is thus the counterpart to his moral self-dedication; and also with his singleness in desiring, and uniqueness in attaining, poetical perfection on the great scale. The two points of view, however, are by no means inconsistent, and the praise of Milton's execution is common ground. It is supported by Mr Mackail with much close analysis, of which little can here be cited. The 'progress of poesy' within Milton's own work; the survivals of his earlier in his later style; the critical lessons taught by his self-echoes and their varieties (pp. 159—161), his gradual drifting into 'a kind of poetical shorthand' (p. 187), and the character of his prosody are all brought into clear and delicate light. It may be added, in brief demur, that the phrase of Phillips about *Paradise Regained* (p. 191) is ambiguous; that the motive suggested (p. 154) for the nature of the contents of the volume of 1645 is conjectural; and that a more leisured exposition would allow of reference to the prose works (see p. 168) for their part in the growth of Milton's imagination. But Mr Mackail's book, with its severity and ardour of outlook, is a good omen for the School of English Literature at Oxford, and worthy of the author's fellow-teachers there, past and present, and for that reason, apart from its wider appeal, must claim its dues from every son of Oxford.

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*The Shakespeare Apocrypha.* Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Bibliography, by C. F. TUCKER BROOKE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 8vo. lvi + 456 pp.

The plays which go to form the so-called Shakespearean Apocrypha have always received an amount of attention which, interesting as they are in themselves, would hardly have been given to them were it not for the fact that they have, at one time or another, been ascribed to Shakespeare. Yet until Mr Tucker Brooke's volume made its appearance, many of these plays were by no means readily accessible. More than half a century ago the late Professor Delius set to work upon a critical edition of the 'doubtful plays,' and what was begun by him was, after the lapse of years, continued by two other German scholars, Warnke and Proescholt. But the work has proceeded slowly and fitfully, and every student of our Elizabethan drama owes, therefore, a great debt of gratitude to Mr Brooke for giving us, what has long been desired, a critical and scholarly edition of the more important apocryphal plays within the compass of a single volume. The work reflects great credit upon its editor, and, indirectly, upon the English School at Oxford, where he has learnt his methods and ripened his critical judgment.

Fourteen plays have been chosen out of the large number of those which Elizabethan publishers, or modern critics, have associated with the name of Shakespeare; and the selection is a judicious one. The list is as follows: *Arden of Feversham*, *Lochrine*, *Edward III*, *Mucedorus*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *The London Prodigal*, *The Puritan*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Fair Em*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Birth of Merlin*, *Sir Thomas More*. The editor has carefully collated the early editions of each of these plays; and, in the case of *Sir Thomas More*, he has had before him the peculiarly interesting MS. of the play, preserved in the Harleian collection, and first edited by Dyce in 1844. Mr Brooke keeps throughout to the old spelling, and furnishes us with a text which is, as near as possible, that of the original quartos. One may perhaps wish that the Delegates of the Clarendon Press had seen their way to issue the volume in a more generous form, on better paper and with clearer type; but, on the other hand, much has been gained by the publication of the work at a price which is within the range of every student of dramatic literature.

In his Introduction (pp. i—lvi), Mr Brooke presents in a lucid manner the literary history of each of the fourteen plays, and treats the question of Shakespearean authorship sanely and judiciously. He is prepared to accept Shakespeare's handiwork in the insurrection scene in *Sir Thomas More*, is sceptical of his share in either *Edward III* or *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and still more so in the case of the other eleven plays. Though the present reviewer is unconvinced that Shakespeare had anything to do with *Sir Thomas More*, the presentation of the case

by Mr Brooke is throughout admirable; and no less admirable are the arguments for the ascription of *The Puritan* to Thomas Middleton. The editor has formed, we think, too low an estimate of the dramatic quality of the Countess of Salisbury episode in *Edward III*; and, in quoting J. A. Symonds' view as to the relation of that episode to Bandello's prose version of it, he fails to recognise the masterly transformation of the story by the dramatist, a transformation which, if not Shakespearean, is worthy of Shakespeare.

Mr Brooke has spent much time and thought on the investigation of the sources of the doubtful plays, and though he has not brought much fresh material to light, he has presented his theme in a clear and scholarly manner. In the case of a few plays, however, this part of the Introduction is not as full as it might have been; and in the hope that Mr Brooke may before long be called upon to produce a second edition of his valuable work, we venture to draw his attention to one or two *lacunae*. In dealing with *Fair Em*, he has omitted all reference to the ballad, entitled *The Miller's Daughter of Manchester*, which was entered upon the Stationers' Register in the year 1581, and is the probable source of that portion of the play which furnishes it with its title. Nor, in referring to the sources of *The Merry Devil*, does he mention the poem, *Fabyl's Ghost*, which is now lost, but was known to Thomas Warton and the poet Collins. In discussing the literary history of *The Birth of Merlin*, reference should have been made to Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough*, of which the Merlin play is both a sequel and an imitation; and, finally, in dealing with *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, notice should have been taken of the fact that there appeared about the same time another dramatisation of the story, viz., George Wilkins' *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*.

The Notes to the plays, though brief, show wide erudition; and the highest praise is due to Mr Brooke for furnishing his volume with a very complete Bibliography: in this he records all known editions of the various plays, and the translations of them into foreign languages, and presents a vast array of critical studies of the subject.

F. W. MOORMAN.

LEEDS.

*A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names.* By R. E. Zachrisson. Lund, 1909. xvi + 171 pp.

This is certainly the most important publication upon the history of English place-names in general that has yet appeared. The number of examples of places dealt with is over 700; and no one can in future neglect this source of information, on account of the value of the numerous phonetic changes that are here explained, for the most part with much success.

It is impossible to give here an adequate account of the contents or



of the abundance of illustration. It will be best to take just one or two examples in which the author has added to our previous knowledge.

In dealing with the place-names of Hertfordshire, the present writer was unable to give any satisfactory origin of the place-name Tring. The solution offered by Mr Zachrisson is new, and I believe it to be quite right. He first of all calls attention to the fact, mentioned in Bardsley's *Dictionary of English Surnames*, that it is a mere variant of Thring. It will easily be seen that Tring is a Norman form of Thring, just as Torp is a Norman spelling of Thorp. Next it is noted that, amongst the various old spellings already given by me, I have missed one of much importance, viz., the form Tredunga in Domesday Book, which also gives the forms Trevinga and Treunga. It must be observed that *e* often appears, in Norman, in place of the English *i*; and it becomes clear, when all the evidence is considered, that Tredunga and Trevinga are to be connected with the Domesday spellings Nor-treding, Sud-treding, Wes-tredinge, which have reference, respectively, to the North Riding, South Riding, and West Riding of Yorkshire. But this Riding is well-known to be a late substitution for Thriding or Thrithing, meaning 'a third part of a shire.' In other words, both Thring and Tring are contracted forms of Thrithing, due to the difficulty which the Normans found in pronouncing the English *th* between two vowels; as exemplified, for instance, in their reduction of Æthelmar and Æthelwine to Aylmer and Aylwin. In connexion with this, the account of the form *trehing*, in Bosworth and Toller, may be consulted. This is the form which the same word assumes in the recorded Laws of Edward the Confessor.

The author makes an excellent point by proving clearly that the name of Grantchester is little better than a late blunder. The old name was certainly Grante-seta, Grante-sete (Domesday), representing an A. S. Grantan-sætan, i.e., 'settlers beside the Granta'; where the suffix is the same as in Dorset and Somerset. Later forms were Gransete, Grancete, which were turned into Grancester after 1300, and we find the spelling Grauncester as late as 1572. I have even found the singular form Graundcetour as late as 1587. The old form should have become Granset; but, as the suffix *-set* was not commonly understood, it was mistaken for *-cester*; and, as this was a known variant of *-chester*, the name was boldly exchanged for that of Grantchester, which was an old name indeed, only it meant Cambridge! As to the latter point, there can be no doubt, when the evidence is considered. It is quite true that the old form of Cambridge was Granta-bridge, or, in the A.S. form, Grantan-brycg; but it is equally clear that it sometimes bore also the alternative name of Grantchester, or (in the spelling of Beda) Grantacæstir. All doubt on the subject disappears when we find that Grancestria was used for the name of the *county* as well as of the town. Examples are: 'in provincia Grantacester,' Birch's *Charters*, 1266; 'in comitatu Grantecestriae,' Kemble, 907; and in Gaimar's *Chronicle*, 1605, *la meite de Grantcestre* means 'the half of Cambridge-shire.' The clearest example is in Henry of Huntingdon, *Mon. Brit.*

692: 'Kairgrant, id est Grantecastria, que modo dicitur Cantebrigia.' It follows that we must look for the site of the old Roman town at Cambridge itself, and not at Grantchester; which is what our antiquaries (as I suppose) practically do.

I do not know why the author, at p. 81, repeats the old identification of Cambridge with 'the Roman Camboricum,' or rather, Camboriturum. I have pointed out once before that this identification was one of Camden's guesses; and he was guided by the apparent similarity of the names, actually confusing the fourteenth century Cam- (which was a broken-down form of Granta) with the British Cambo-, which seems to have meant 'crooked'; and further (by misdivision) confusing -boriturum with the modern English *bridge*; whereas the suffix -ritum, W. *rhyd*, signifies 'a ford,' or a place where no bridge exists. Those who propose to identify Cambridge with Camboriturum must have something better to go upon than the delusive 'similarity' in the sound of the names.

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*Dante's Convivio*. Translated into English, by W. W. JACKSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 12mo. 318 pp.

The *Convivio*, Dante's longest prose work, has had a somewhat chequered fate. It was first printed at Florence in 1490, only eighteen years later than the *editio princeps* of the *Divina Commedia*, and more than eighty years before the appearance of the first printed edition (Florence, 1576) of the *Vita Nuova*. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was three times reprinted at Venice within the space of ten years (in 1521, 1529, and 1531), after which no other edition was issued for nearly two hundred years (1723). Not till the beginning of the nineteenth century was the interest in the treatise revived, when three more or less so-called critical editions were published in Italy within a few years of each other, at Milan (1826), Padua (1827), and Modena (1831), respectively. The first really critical edition of the text, by a scholar who recognised that the authority of the MSS. must not lightly be disregarded, as it had been by previous editors, was that published by Dr Moore in 1894 in the Oxford edition of the complete works of Dante. This text was reissued ten years later in the third edition of the Oxford Dante, in a greatly improved form, Dr Moore having in the interval collated the most obscure passages in all the known MSS. (to the number of thirty-three), with the result that he has been able to produce, if not a final, at any rate a very fairly satisfactory text of what had hitherto been the most corrupt and mutilated of all Dante's works.

The earliest translations of the *Convivio* were the German version by Kannegiesser, and the French by Cesena, published respectively in 1845 and 1852. The first English translation, by Miss Sayer, did not

appear until 1887. This, an unsatisfactory performance, was followed in 1889 by Miss Hillard's version, the style of which is graceful, but which not seldom wholly misrepresents the meaning of the original. In 1903 a third English version was published by Mr Wicksteed, who as a Dantist of many years' standing was in a position to rectify many of the blunders of his predecessors. Mr Wicksteed's translation, however, owing to its uncompromising literalness, is singularly bald and unattractive in style, while the rendering itself is not always unimpeachable. Consequently the announcement of a new translation from the hand of a scholar and translator of repute, who was known to have been engaged upon the task for several years in the intervals of more pressing work, was welcome news to students of Dante. Dr Jackson in his preface renders a graceful tribute to the labours of previous translators, especially to the German version of Kannegiesser, which he justly eulogises on account of its 'insight into the meaning, and its success in conveying a general impression of the original.' Dr Jackson's own version will appeal to all who appreciate good English. As a translation it is faithful without being servile, and it is full of happy renderings of words and phrases which have been stumbling-blocks to his predecessors.

Dr Jackson has naturally followed the best available text, that of the Oxford Dante, but he has not been content to accept it blindly. This is evident from the fact that he has proposed (and introduced in his translation) several important emendations, which we are glad to know have the approval of Dr Moore—a sufficient guarantee of their soundness. None of these involves violent changes, indeed some of them are merely changes of punctuation, but they are none the less important on that score, inasmuch as they substitute sense for nonsense in passages which have hitherto baffled both editors and commentators. An excellent example of this kind of emendation, which has the additional merit of restoring the reading of the MSS., will be found in a passage in the fourteenth chapter of the fourth book, in which the following sentence occurs: 'in loro generazione di nobiltà essere non può.' Owing to a misunderstanding of this sentence, involved in taking the words 'in loro generazione' together, Fraticelli and others were led to alter the MS. reading by omitting *di* before *nobiltà*. Dr Jackson, however, by punctuating 'in loro, generazione di nobiltà essere non può' at once makes the meaning plain and solves the difficulty, without tampering with the text. On the other hand, we have noticed one or two places where corrections made in the last edition of the Oxford text have been overlooked (e.g., in the third chapter of the second book, line 62, where the translation renders 'essendo mezza' instead of 'essendo nuova'; and in the sixth chapter of the same book, line 24, where it renders 'tredici anni' instead of 'quattordici anni'); and one passage (in the twenty-fourth chapter of the fourth book, line 47) in which an emendation (*mesi* for *anni*), which is undoubtedly right, has been introduced *sub silentio*.

Prefixed to the translation is a brief introductory essay, which deals with the relations of the *Convivio* to the *Vita Nuova* and *Commedia*,

and contains a summary but sufficient account of the scholastic philosophy of Dante's day. As Dr Jackson observes, some knowledge of the *Convivio* is indispensable for every one who desires to trace the development of Dante's genius, or to understand his relation to the thought and literature of his age. The object of the treatise, which was 'a layman's book,' is well defined—'it was intended to bring the highest teaching concerning the principles which regulate human conduct in public and private life, as well as a mass of knowledge about the constitution of human nature and of the world, within reach of all who were fitted to receive it.' A very full 'summary of contents' is prefixed to each book of the treatise, which will be of great assistance to students, especially to those who approach the work for the first time, as Dante's numerous digressions make it difficult at times to follow the thread of his argument. A few notes, dealing chiefly with the translator's emendations of the text, are appended, together with a very useful 'index of subject-matter,' the first serious attempt of the kind, which does not include names of persons, or of works cited, or technical terms, but is intended to supply references to the principal thoughts and philosophic opinions expressed in the treatise. It is to be hoped that this scholarly translation, which will assuredly take its place as the standard English version of the *Convivio*, may be followed by similar translations of the rest of the prose works of Dante, none of the existing versions, not even Rossetti's well-known rendering of the *Vita Nuova*, being wholly satisfactory from the point of view of scholarship, and in the light of the most recent textual criticism.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.

*Dante's Divina Commedia*: Vol. I. *Inferno*. Edited and annotated by C. H. GRANDGENT. London: D. C. Heath & Co. Cr. 8vo. xxxvi + 283 pp.

This annotated edition of the Italian text of the *Divina Commedia*, by the Professor of Romance Languages in Harvard University, of which the present volume is the first instalment, 'is intended primarily for the general literary public, though adapted also to academic use.' The editor's aim has been to make it 'so complete that readers will need for the comprehension of the poem no other book save their dictionary.' The notes, which lay no claim to originality, are very largely a compilation from the well-known Italian commentary of Francesco Torraca, which was published four years ago. The editor's 'particular debt' to Torraca is acknowledged in the preface, and a list of other works utilised or referred to is given at the beginning of the volume. It is presumably by an oversight that no mention is made in this list of the present writer's *Dante Dictionary*, which has evidently been laid under contribution pretty frequently. This omission is the more curious inasmuch as at the end of the introduction the work is



recommended among 'volumes of general studies' as 'most useful for reference.' It may be observed that the editions quoted in this list are not always the latest available. For instance, the reader is referred to the fourth edition, published in 1899, of Casini's commentary on the *Commedia*, whereas a fifth and greatly improved edition of this excellent work was issued in 1903.

In his introduction, which is well-written, Professor Grandgent gives a brief sketch of Dante's life, and an estimate of the man and of his work. This account, which is based on the most recent authorities, is in the main accurate, but some of the biographical data appear to be unnecessarily vague. For example, it is stated that Gemma Donati bore Dante two sons, 'and, in all likelihood, two daughters.' The existence of two daughters, Antonia and Beatrice, is attested by documentary evidence. Again, the date of Dante's death is given as 'September 13 or 14.' It is true that in the epitaph ascribed to Giovanni del Virgilio the poet is said to have departed this life 'Septembris idibus'; but the accepted date is that given by Boccaccio in his *Vita di Dante* ('del mese di Settembre negli anni di Cristo 1321, nel dì che la esaltazione della Santa Croce si celebra dalla Chiesa,' i.e., September 14), and repeated in his *Comento sopra la Commedia* ('assai ne consta Dante essere morto negli anni di Cristo 1321 il dì 14 di Settembre'). The phraseology of the notes is not always happy. Such sentences as 'she had them drown the sound with noise' (p. 119), and 'Constantine was thought to have donated etc.,' are needlessly clumsy; while 'an elaborate system of computation by epicycles,' in the explanation of the Ptolemaic system (p. 3), is not very illuminating to the uninstructed. Further, 'bird-hunting' (more than once) is hardly a recognised term for falconry or hawking. The editor has allowed himself occasionally to be misled by Torraca's comment. In a note on *Inferno* v, 48 he writes (on the strength of Torraca's '*traendo guai*: frequentissimo'): 'Dante was exceedingly fond of the expression *trarre guai*.' As a matter of fact Dante only uses the expression four times in the whole range of his works, viz. twice in the *Commedia* and twice in the *Vita Nuova*. The volume for the most part is printed with care, but a few misprints have escaped notice, e.g., 'Via Nuova' (p. viii); 'Plumtre' (p. xxxiv); 'Gan Gemignano' (p. xi); '1233' for 1333 (p. 113); and 'vulto,' 'comitatu' (for 'comitate'), and 'sospites' (for 'hospites') in the quotation from Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* on p. 137.

On the whole the editor's scheme, which includes expository arguments to each canto, is well carried out, and if the two succeeding volumes are up to the same level the work will no doubt be welcome to a certain class of English readers of the *Commedia*; but in view of the fact that Torraca's and Casini's admirable and exhaustive commentaries, together with the whole text of the poem, may be procured for three or four francs apiece, we feel impelled to ask what can be the *raison d'être* of an expensive publication like the present (costing fifteen shillings for the three parts), which avowedly supplies only a minimum of editorial matter, the whole of which in the present volume,



apart from the Italian text, might on a liberal computation be contained within the compass of some eighty pages of the same format. We cannot help thinking that a single volume of notes etc., without the Italian text, which is available in numerous cheap reprints nowadays, would have been more acceptable to the generality of readers and students of Dante's poem.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.

*Molière*. Par EUGÈNE RIGAL. Paris: Hachette et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1908. 2 vols. 8vo. vii + 308 and 333 pp.

*Molière* (Les Grands Écrivains Français). Par GEORGES LAFENESTRE. Paris: Hachette et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1909. 8vo. 202 pp.

Since *Le Moliériste* came to an end in 1889 comparatively little has been written on Molière in France, and there has been no new book dealing with his life and work as a whole. These two publications by Hachette are therefore especially welcome. Widely though they differ in range and scope, they have this in common, that they have both a full share of that common-sense which George Meredith in his delightful *Essay on Comedy* declares to be essential to the comic spirit. M. Rigal's book, which is the outcome of lectures delivered at the University of Montpellier, takes the form of a chronological study of Molière's career, and includes a careful analysis of all his plays, and a considerable amount of quotation. M. Rigal is especially to be commended for his thorough appreciation of Molière's faculty for laughter. He recognises that he was a master of the whole gamut of comedy, from the loud, boisterous tones of *M. de Pourceaugnac* and *Les Fourberies de Scapin* to the gentle laughter of *Le Misanthrope*, which by reason of its delicacy has escaped the notice of some critics. It is true that Molière's view of life was serious at bottom, and sometimes even gloomy. Yet none the less he laughed at the world. He laughed alike at Alceste whom he loved, and Tartuffe whom he loathed, and at Arnolphe whom he pitied. There is nothing paradoxical in this. Ridicule is compatible with love and hate, with sympathy and indignation, and with many deep and serious emotions. Molière saw the tragic side of things as well as the comic. But his genius was comic; he was a comic writer and a comic actor. So he merely hints at the tragedy of life, while it is the comedy which stirs his imagination. M. Rigal finds the starting-point of Molière's dramatic art in the farce, and if he sometimes presses this idea too hard, he is right in the main. For the mediæval farce contained the germ of social satire. Jodelle was on the right track in *Eugène*, and it was a pity that his successors were diverted from it by the influence of Italian comedy. *Les Précieuses ridicules* is farce writ large, and like *Patelin* shows the capability of farce in the hands of a man of genius. Molière owed something too to the Italians, but more to their *commedia dell' arte* than to their regular written comedy. It was from the former that he learnt the importance of

gesture and movement, of comedy in action as well as in speech. With what success he learnt it may be best seen in some of his latest plays, in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, in *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, and in *Le Malade imaginaire*. M. Rigal rightly insists on the fact that Alceste and Tartuffe and Arnolphe are *au fond* comic characters. He might have added that even Don Juan has his ridiculous side. For his readiness to fall in love reaches the point of absurdity, and he cuts a ridiculous figure between Charlotte and Mathurine.

On the question of how far Molière portrays himself in his work M. Rigal is thoroughly sound (c. 1, and esp. pp. 1—5). Though Molière as an artist is purely objective, he was extremely sensitive as a man. His comedies therefore reflect in a general way the phases of his life. The emotion which inspired them was the result not only of the contemplation of social evils, but sometimes also of his own personal troubles. He conceived *Le Misanthrope* in a misanthropic humour, but the idea once engendered, the comic artist that was in him took in hand the work of creation. Alceste is no more Molière than Hamlet is Shakespeare.

Like Brunetière and M. Lavissee, M. Rigal is unduly severe on Molière's character and morality. On this point the judgment of M. Lafenestre is more favourable and more just. He speaks of Molière's *santé morale*; he insists as against Brunetière on his sincerity in claiming a moral aim for his more serious comedies, and he is excellent on the purport of *Tartuffe* and *Don Juan*, which Brunetière, blinded by prejudice, has so completely misunderstood. In his account of Molière's life, which is necessarily brief, but which brings out all the important points, he mentions Molière's marriage without any reference to the scandal about Armande's parentage. This is the proper way of treating it. M. Rigal does not realise how worthless the evidence is for the supposition that Armande was Madeleine's daughter. Moreover after speaking on one page of 'a current opinion in the seventeenth century,' he changes this on the next to 'the opinion of the seventeenth century,' which it most certainly was not.

On Molière's faculty for laughter M. Lafenestre has an eloquent passage (p. 115), and he effectively answers the accusation sometimes brought against him that his characters are abstract types rather than realities. There rise in protest not only great figures like Alceste and Tartuffe and Don Juan and Célimène, but a crowd of minor characters who, as M. Lafenestre says, 'become alive the moment they appear on the stage.' As in all great creative writers, this illusion of life is partly the effect of style. Whatever faults may be detected in Molière's style by pedants and purists, all who have had any experience of the stage are unanimous in their testimony that no dramatic style—M. Lafenestre on this point happily quotes Sarcey—was ever more natural, more effective, more potent to convey to the reader or the spectator an impression of reality and life.

A. TILLEY.

*Bürgers Gedichte in zwei Teilen.* Herausgegeben mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von ERNST CONSENTIUS. Berlin, Bong und Co. 1909. 8vo. cxxxii+248+367 pp.

Mit Freuden schick ich mich an, diese neue Bürgerausgabe zu besprechen. Der Gesamteindruck ist ein durchaus günstiger. Obgleich die Ausgaben von Sauer und Berger völlig genügen in dem Sinne, dass sie uns das zur Erkenntnis von Bürgers dichterischer Eigenart notwendige Material in die Hand geben, fernere Ausgaben also das Gesamtbild von Bürgers poetischer Tätigkeit nie werden modificieren können: so bleibt diesen immerhin die dankbare Aufgabe, das seit dem Erscheinen ihrer Vorgängerinnen ans Licht oder wieder ans Licht getretene Material zu sammeln und es in das Werk einzufügen, sei's auch nur um vor den Augen jener bibliographischen Kleinkrämer Gnade zu finden, die sich alles gefallen lassen, nur nicht das Auslassen des unbedeutendsten Stammbuchsblatts.

So finden wir bei Consentius nicht weniger als neunzehn neue Stücke, die von Bürger sind oder von ihm sein sollen, zusammen etwa 400 Verse, und im Anhang weitere vier mit über hundert Versen. In diesen Anhang aber hätten *alle* die Stücke aufgenommen werden sollen, die nicht *zweifellos* als Bürgerisch bezeugt sind. Ich denke da besonders an die beiden Festgedichte für den Herzog von Gloucester (S. 103) und Georg III (S. 107), deren Aufnahme Seite bei Seite mit den Oden an die englischen Prinzen und an den Herzog von York allerdings für den sehr naheliegt, der von ihrem Bürgerischen Ursprung durchdrungen ist. Ich aber gebe nicht mehr zu als: sie *können* von Bürger sein, weil wir sie einem andern nicht mit Sicherheit zuschreiben dürfen. Das ist recht wenig: aber mehr beweisen weder Ebsteins noch Consentius' Ausführungen. Es stehen ihnen sogar gewichtige Bedenken entgegen.

Die Ode an Gloucester könne nicht von Gotter sein, sagt Ebstein (*Hannoverland*, 1907, Juliheft), weil dieser 'in Redlichs *Chiffrenlexicon* nicht mit "G-r" (so ist das Gedicht bei seinem zweiten Abdruck, in den *Unterhaltungen* unterzeichnet) aufträte.' So etwas zu sagen ist doch recht bedenklich; hat denn Redlichs Arbeit die Bedeutung einer Quelle oder eines Dokumentes? Nicht einmal als Untersuchung ist sie unanfechtbar. Man erwartet nun aber, dass Bürger als 'G-r' bei Redlich auftrete. Nichts davon! Was haben weiter die Chiffrenverhältnisse des *Göttinger Almanachs*—der *Vossische*, der für 1776 zum ersten Male ausgegeben wurde, scheidet ganz aus—mit denen der *Unterhaltungen* zu tun? Ich lasse es bis auf weiteres dahingestellt, ob nun wirklich Gotter der Verfasser ist, oder Bürger, oder irgend jemand anders, der Herausgeber der *Hamburger Unterhaltungen* hat ihn vielleicht selbst nur vermutet: unter keinen Umständen durfte sich Ebstein auf jenen Brief Bürgers an Kästner stützen, in dem er von seiner Ode auf den Herzog von Gloucester spricht, ohne einwandsfrei nachzuweisen oder wenigstens wahrscheinlich zu machen, dass es wirklich



dies Gedicht ist, auf das die des Briefes Angaben zutreffen. Er hätte auseinandersetzen müssen, inwiefern das Gedicht nun eine 'Fiktion' ist, in dem Sinne wie Waller das Wort dem englischen König gegenüber braucht und Bürger es Kästnern gegenüber citiert. Viel wichtiger als die Notizen über Waller und die Vermutung über Bürgers Bekanntschaft mit ihm, die man doch nicht mit dem Satz 'dass Waller's Oden Bürger als Vorbild für diese "Fiktion" gedient haben können, scheint mir nicht unwahrscheinlich' nachweisen kann, wäre es in diesem Zusammenhange gewesen, nachzuweisen, woher Bürger die Anekdote kannte! Verstehe ich sie richtig, so enthält sie eine Schmeichelei für Karl II: 'für das Mindergutgeraten der Lobeshymnen, die Du erhältst, mag Dich das Bewusstsein trösten, dass sie von mir ehrlich gemeint, von Dir also verdient sind; die Cromwell bekommt, mögen als Gedichte mitunter besser sein, dafür aber sind sie nicht ernst gemeint; er hat sie nicht verdient.' Das englische Wortspiel könnten wir etwa mit 'gedichtet—erdichtet' wiedergeben. Von der Anwendung des Ausdrucks 'Fiktion' auf das angeblich von Bürger gelieferte Gedicht hat also die Untersuchung in jedem Fall auszugehn. Man müsste denn annehmen, dass Bürger, nur um mit literarischen Kenntnissen zu prunken, den gewandten Causeur zu spielen, oder aus ähnlichen äusserlichen Gründen (Ebstein setzt das Gedicht ja auch in Bürger's Renommierjahre), das Geschichtchen erzähle, seinen Fall mit dem andern gar nicht voll verglichen, ja nicht einmal den Schluss wirklich gezogen haben wolle, der doch nahegelegt wird: dass sein Gedicht auch gut und er darum ebenfalls ein Poet sei; dass er vielmehr weiter nichts als den Begriff 'Poet' gewinnen wolle, um sich als solcher vorzustellen; und dass er das Wort 'Fiktion' einfach brauche im Sinne von 'Ode auf jemanden, die doch dem Betreffenden gar nicht zu Gesicht kommen wird'—vielleicht in der heimlichen Hoffnung, dass sie für würdige befunden werden möge, *mehr* als Fiktion zu werden, d.h. als wirkliche Festode zu dienen und dem Angedichteten überreicht zu werden. Oder man könnte sagen: mit dem Ausdruck 'Fiktion' und dem Hinweis auf jene Anekdote beuge Bürger sehr gewandt den skeptischen Bemerkungen vor, deren er sich gerade von Seiten des ironischen Kästner hätte versehen müssen, und mit dem selbstironisirenden 'ohne Zweifel also mir auch' dem Vergleich, zu dem wiederum der Hinweis auf die Anekdote herausfordern musste, dem Vergleich zwischen dem bekannten und anerkannten Hofdichter Waller und dem homo ignotus und Studiosen Gottfried August Bürger aus Molmerschwende. Zu dem Epitheton 'garstig' aber, das hier in Wirklichkeit nicht mehr sein *könne* und in Wahrheit auch nicht mehr heissen *solle* als 'im Ausdruck verfehlt,' greife Bürger in unterwürfigem Erinnern an die vielen tadelnden Bemerkungen, die sein ganzes Auftreten, vor allem aber seine burschikose Ausdrucksweise, zumal von Seiten der Mitglieder der Deutschen Gesellschaft, hervorgerufen hatten<sup>1</sup>. Kurz das Gedicht sei nicht als das anzusehen was die Eingangssphrase des Briefs 'nur pour

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. z. B. die Randbemerkungen derselben zu Bürgers Aufnahmeschrift, *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, xii (1884), 70 ff.

passer le tems' glauben machen wolle, sondern als eine in voller Absicht und zu ganz bestimmtem Zweck unternommene Arbeit, und die legere Haltung, in der Bürger eingangs des Briefes auftrete, als eine natürlich scheinen sollende, in Wirklichkeit aber genau einstudierte Pose. Auch in seinem spätern Leben habe Bürger noch häufig solche streberhaften Einfälle gehabt.—Ich überlasse es den Kennern Bürgers, zwischen diesen Einwänden und der folgenden, weniger gewundenen, Überlegung zu entscheiden. Nehmen wir wiederum an, das Gedicht sei mit dem in dem Briefe erwähnten identisch, dann ergäbe sich folgender Tatbestand: Bürger setzt die beiden Brüder, den Herzog und den König, in Verhältnisse hinein, dichtet ihnen Eigenschaften an, weist ihnen Verdienste zu, die entweder lediglich seiner Phantasie entstammen oder von denen er direkt weiss, dass sie nicht vorhanden sind, oder sogar, dass sie den tatsächlich vorhandenen entgegengesetzt sind. Die beiden letzten Möglichkeiten nun scheiden von vornherein aus; historisch richtig, wenn auch nach höfischer Manier etwas übertrieben, ist der Hinweis auf die schwierigen politischen Verhältnisse, unter denen Georg III den Thron bestiegen, auf die Verdienste, die er sich um die Pacificierung Europas im Pariser und Hubertusburger Frieden erworben, auf die Unterstützung, die er seitdem Künsten und Wissenschaften in England wie in Hannover hatte angedeihen lassen; den Tatsachen von Anbeginn entspricht ferner das enge brüderliche Verhältnis, wie es im Gedichte als zwischen dem Könige und Gloucester bestehend dargestellt wird, und die Abneigung des ersteren gegen die persönliche Teilnahme an kriegerischen Unternehmungen. Hier wird auch nichts behauptet, das dem widerspricht, was Bürger 1769 von den beiden Fürsten *wissen konnte*, worauf, wie man mir erwidern könnte, es allein ankomme. Dagegen ist das, was in einigen Versen über die zukünftige Bestimmung des jungen Herzogs bemerkt wird, allerdings eitel Fiktion, Phantasiegebilde, auch durch die Geschichte später noch in schärferem Sinne als Fiktion erwiesen. Indessen sieht man sofort, dass es sich hier ebenfalls um nichts mehr, als eine harmlose Ausmalung und Ausdeutung des bestehenden tatsächlichen Verhältnisses handelt, eine Erinnerung an das bekannte Kulturbild, wo der eine den Pflug führt, indessen der andere mit dem Schwerte die Arbeit schützt. Man wird zugeben: es ist recht unwahrscheinlich, dass sich Bürger's Worte auf dies Gedicht bezogen haben, recht unwahrscheinlich, dass er ein solches Werk überhaupt mit dem leichtfertigen Signum 'Fiktion' versehen habe.

Noch grössere Bedenken habe ich gegen die Aufnahme des andern Festgedichts unter die unzweifelhaft Bürgerischen Stücke. Sicherlich hat ja Consentius Recht, auf seine intime Verwandtschaft mit dem *Hohen Liede* hinzuweisen. Und weit mehr noch als die Ähnlichkeit im Versmass, in der Reimverschlingung und in der Strophenform, auf die er hinweist, fallen für diese Verwandtschaft die innern Ähnlichkeiten ins Gewicht. Man vergleiche, um nur einige zu erwähnen, die erste Strophe des *Festgedichts* (FG) mit den Versen 9 f. 21 ff. 56 ff. 231 ff. 321 ff. des *Hohen Lieds* (HL); oder FG vss 61–80 mit HL 41–50;



FG Strr. 2-7 mit HL vss 51 ff.; FG vss 89 f. mit HL 40; FG 107 ff. mit HL 31 ff.; FG 171 mit HL 109; FG 116 ff. mit HL 131 ff.; FG 123 mit HL 284; die Reime düften—klüften—grüften in den ersten Versen des FG mit duft—gruft—luft HL 6 ff. und 270 ff.; bogen—wogen—gezogen FG 61 ff. mit HL 31 ff.; geschmückt—entzückt—beglückt FG 117 ff. und 37 ff. mit HL 132 ff.; FG 101 ff. mit HL 41 ff.; FG 107 ff. mit HL 272 ff. u.s.w. Solche Ähnlichkeiten aber machen es für mich so gut wie sicher, dass Bürger *nicht* der Verfasser war. Er hat nie sich selbst nachgedichtet: auf den Eindruck, den eine Imitation der eignen Manier den Verehrern und Kennern seiner Muse gemacht hätte, braucht darum gar nicht hingewiesen zu werden. Und denkt man an alles, was er selbst in jener Zeit über sein Gedicht gesagt hat, an die schmerzlichstolzen Worte, mit denen er die Freunde auf seinen 'liebsten, seinen teuersten Gesang, sein Meisterstück' aufmerksam macht, an die Schlussstrophe des *Hohen Liedes* selbst, an die gänzliche Gleichgültigkeit, ja Abneigung, mit der Bürger von jeher allem höfischen Wesen gegenüberstand, vor allem aber an seine Stimmung der Universitt und dem Hofe gegenüber gerade zu jener Zeit, an seine Absicht, Göttingen je eher je lieber den Rücken zu kehren; so wird man meinem starken Zweifel an Bürgers Autorschaft zustimmen. Zudem war Bürger, wie Consentius selbst angibt, im Mai 1789 gar nicht in Göttingen, er war in grösster Eile am 20sten oder 21sten April, dem Tage, wo er das erste frische Exemplar der neuen Ausgabe seiner Gedichte in der Hand gehabt und das Gedicht an Althoff fertiggemacht hatte, hinweggeeilt. In den Gedichtkladden, die gerade für jene Zeit von höchster biographischer Wichtigkeit sind, findet sich auch nicht eine Spur dieses grossen Gedichts. Auf der Reise kann es, wie an andrer Stelle nachgewiesen werden soll, kaum entstanden sein. Mit dem Hinweis auf die Zahl der Teilnehmer an der Feier—in Wirklichkeit kennt man die gar nicht, und die geringe Zahl der dem gedruckten Gedichte angehängten Namen, 128, lässt eher auf das Gegenteil schliessen—kann man doch kaum wahrscheinlich machen, dass die Feier seit langem vorbereitet gewesen sei. Zudem lauteten die Nachrichten über des Königs Befinden bis weit ins Jahr 1789 hinein durchaus nicht so, dass man auf eine völlige Genesung auch nur hätte rechnen können—dem gegenüber die Nachricht von einer momentanen Besserung im December 1788 wenig besagen will. Vor allem aber fällt auf, dass Bürger des Gedichts nirgends erwähnt, nirgends es wieder abdruckt, nicht in den Musenahnanachen, für die er Material sehr gut brauchen konnte, noch sonstwo; dass er es nicht für die dritte Gedichtausgabe bestimmt: und das alles, obgleich er sich seiner viel weniger hätte zu schämen brauchen als mancher andern Gedichte und der Festoden, die er wiederholt zum Abdruck brachte. Ich glaube fest an Schlegels Verfasserschaft. Verstand es einer, Bürger nachzuahmen, so war er's. Man denke doch an seine Oden aus dem Jahre 1789, an Bürgers eigne Worte über diesen poetischen Sohn, an die verständnisvolle Würdigung des *Hohen Liedes*, ermöglicht durch sein eminent nachempfindendes und nachschaffendes Talent und seinen

im intimsten geistigen Verkehr mit Bürger gewonnenen Einblick in dessen Arbeitsweise. Schlegel habe, sagt der Herausgeber, bei der Besprechung des *Hohen Liedes* auf das *Individuelle* des Versmasses hingewiesen; wer den Schlegel jener Zeit genau kennt, wird ihm die Nachahmung desselben um so eher zutrauen! Wohl aber ist es möglich, dass Bürger allen als der Verfasser gegolten hat, ja dass Schlegel dies gar bezweckt hatte: trat er doch als sein dichterischer und persönlicher Anwalt auch noch bei andern Gelegenheiten während Bürgers langer Abwesenheit auf. Wer weiss denn, ob nicht der junge Mann dem verehrten älteren Freunde einen Dienst erweisen wollte? denn ohne Zweifel waren um die Prinzen gewisse Autoritäten versammelt. Tatsache ist doch, dass Bürger bald (September) nach seiner Rückkehr (Juli) zum Professor ernannt wurde und sich dann in den devotesten Ausdrücken bei den Hannoverischen Decernenten bedankte. Und weiter Tatsache, dass Schlegel durch seinen Vater mit diesen in Fühlung stand.

*Die schöne Bäckerin* list nicht aufgenommen: der jüngst<sup>1</sup> gelieferte Nachweis, sie sei von Becker, nicht von Bürger, entscheidet fast mit Sicherheit. Wie bezeichnend aber, dass alle Welt sofort auf Bürger als Verfasser gekommen war. Ich besitze eine gleichzeitige handschriftliche Sammlung erotischer Gedichte, in der er ebenfalls als Verfasser genannt wird, und in der eine weitere Reihe von Stücken, darunter auch die obscene Parodie auf *Das Mädel, das ich meine* ihm zugeschrieben werden<sup>2</sup>. Die Verhöhnung der Pfaffen in der Schlussstrophe tritt auch in der *Europa* auf, und in der bekannten Priapischen Ode, die ich trotz Bürgers lahmer Abwehr für sein eigen halte, wofür sich gewichtige Gründe anführen lassen.

Doch gehen wir zur Anordnung der Gedichte über. Ein Blick auf die Anmerkungen zeigt, dass die Ausgabe in erster Linie populäre Zwecke verfolgt. Aber von populärem Standpunkte kann ich ebenso wenig wie vom wissenschaftlichen aus der Anordnung zustimmen, die Consentius getroffen hat: Abdruck der 1789er Ausgabe im ersten Teile, Anfügung alles Weiteren in einer nach dem Vorbilde jener disponierten Nachlese. Ich weiss, dass gewichtige Gründe den Herausgeber bestimmt haben, an Sauers Anordnung festzuhalten. Aber sie sind mir nicht gewichtig genug. Was wird denn mit dieser Anordnung erreicht? Der Leser erhält in der 1789er Ausgabe eine Sammlung, die durchaus nicht das geworden ist, was sie ursprünglich hatte werden sollen<sup>3</sup>, eine Sammlung, immer auf Strecken hin und jedesmal unter andern Verhältnissen, in andern Stimmungen, unter andern Gesichtspunkten zusammengestellt, zuerst den Charakter einer Auswahl tragend, zuletzt den einer Sammlung *aller* Gedichte, die in den der Veröffentlichung vorangehenden Monaten entstanden sind. Gewiss, sie bleibt ein biographisches Dokument ohne gleichen: aber dem Forscher ersetzt der Abdruck nie den Gebrauch des Originals, und

<sup>1</sup> *Probefahrten*, xvi, 232.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *Euphoriön*, 3. Ergänzungsheft, 1897, 101, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Strodtmann, III, 170.

auf den Laien wirkt das Arrangement nur in *dem* Teile, der die Mollygedichte bringt, womit er ein Dokument von Bürgers seelischer Stimmung während *zweier* Jahre erhält! Wieviel wichtiger ist es auch für ihn, das wahre Bild des *gesamten* Entwicklungsganges des Dichters zu erhalten, um so mehr, als der biographisch wichtigste Teil der 1789er Ausgabe innerhalb desselben fast in derselben Gestalt wie dort auftreten würde! Nein: kann überhaupt eine Anordnung befriedigen, so ist es die chronologische; sie wäre für populäre Zwecke auch darum wohlgeeignet gewesen, weil sie die Möglichkeit bot, alle die Gedichte im Text zu wiederholen, die später eine durchgreifende Umarbeitung erfahren haben. Im Einzelnen ist der Text so behandelt, wie es einem Dichter gegenüber am Platze ist, der mehr als alle andern aus theoretischen Erkenntnissen heraus schuf, und seine eignen geistigen Produkte wiederum zu Objekten solchen Studiums machte. Schon Sauer hatte da die richtigen Wege gewiesen.

In den Anmerkungen, die dem Verständnis der Gedichte dienen, ist der Herausgeber entschieden über seine Vorgänger hinausgekommen. Das verdient als das Wichtigste hervorgehoben zu werden. Man tut uns einen weit grössern Gefallen, wenn man die Quellen nachweist, aus denen die bekannten, wichtigen Gedichte geschöpft sind, als wenn man uns mit Schnitzeln beschenkt, die ein paar neue Verse bringen. Die bibliographischen Angaben wiederum sind mir zu reichlich ausgefallen. Es werden z. B. bei der Beschreibung der drei Ausgaben auch die Nachdrucke angeführt. Cui bono? In Wirklichkeit existieren aber auch weit mehr als Consentius kennt. Ich besitze selbst von der ersten Ausgabe noch Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1781, 1782, 1787, 1788, von der zweiten neben vielen andern die in Antiqua gedruckte und sehr hübsch ausgestattete Wien (Schrämbel) 1789, von der dritten die in sechs Bänden ebenfalls in Wien (Funk) erschienene von 1796–99, die auch in Antiqua gedruckt ist, und chronologisch zwischen die ordinäre Göttinger (1796–8) und die Velinausgabe (1796–1802) gehört, wie ein Blick auf die Einordnung der *Frau Schnips* zeigt. Auch die Liste der Recensionen hätte sich bedeutend vermehren lassen. Aber ich sage nochmals: Wem ist mit solchen Angaben gedient? Lediglich den Antiquaren, und denen braucht man die Arbeit wahrhaftig nicht zu erleichtern. Die bibliographischen Funde, die ein jeder machen kann, wenn er nur das nötige Geld besitzt, sich das Material zusammenzukaufen, die nötige Ausdauer, um das eine Reihe von Jahren hindurch fortzusetzen, dann aber vor allem den nötigen Stumpfsinn, sich mit den Künsten der Setzer und Korrektoren, den Geschäftskniffen der Verleger oder Händler, oder den Schwindeleien gewinnstüchtiger Sammler abzugeben, bringen nur in den allerseltensten Fällen etwas zutage, das dem Forscher nützt, nie etwas, an dem der Geniessende seine Freude haben kann. Freuen wir uns darum des Gesamteindrucks dieser neuen Bürgerausgabe: einer ernsten auf das würdige Ziel des Verständnisses hinarbeitenden Leistung.

Sie bildet einen Teil der 'Goldenen Klassikerbibliothek' worin die alten und bewährten Hempelschen Ausgaben neuerdings umgetauft

sind. Man weiss nicht, ob die *Klassiker* das Epitheton 'ornans' tragen sollen, oder die *Bibliothek*, wahrscheinlich die letztere, nach dem goldstrotzenden Einbände zu urteilen. Wenn der Verleger, sobald die Sammlung abgeschlossen, dann noch das Regal in Eiche oder Nussbaum liefert, wird sie sich mit Recht populär nennen und 'in keinem Hause fehlen' dürfen. Hoffentlich entspricht dem grossen Umsatz dann auch der Lohn für die fleissige Arbeit des Herausgebers!

G. SCHAAFFS,

ST ANDREWS.

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The Malone Society, founded in the autumn of 1906 for the printing of early English plays and documents illustrative of dramatic history, is now in its third year of active life and has a membership of about 215. The Council have decided to exercise the powers granted them at the Annual Meeting last spring, and announce that the Roll of Membership will be closed on March 20, 1910. After that date candidates will only be admitted as vacancies occur and on payment of an entrance fee. Anyone desiring further information is invited to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Mr Arundell Esdaile, British Museum, London, W.C.



## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June—October, 1909.

### GENERAL.

- BUGGE, S., Das Verhältniß der Etrusker zu den Indogermanen und der vorgriechischen Bevölkerung Kleinasiens und Griechenlands. Sprachliche Untersuchungen. Herausg. von A. Torp. Strassburg, Trübner. 7 M. 50.
- BUSSE, C., Geschichte der Weltliteratur. 1. Band. Bielefeld, Velhagen und Klasing. 4 M.
- ISELIN, E., Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende aus orientalischen Quellen erschlossen. Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M. 60.
- MEILLET, A., Einführung in die vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Übersetzt von W. Printz. Leipzig, Teubner. 7 M.
- NENCIONI, E., Nuovi saggi critici di letterature straniere, e altri scritti. Con prefazione di F. Martini. Florence, Le Monnier. 4 L.
- SCHLAG, H., Das Drama. Wesen, Theorie und Technik des Dramas. Essen, Fredebeul und Koenen. 4 M.
- TROMBETTI, A., Saggi di glottologia generale comparata. 1. I pronomini personali. Bologna, Beltrami. 18 L.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### General.

- Bibliotheca romanica. 71, 72. Le cento novelle antiche. Il novellino. 73, 74. Calderon, El magico prodigioso. 75—77. A. Lamartine, Premières méditations poétiques. 78, 79. G. B. Strozzi, Madrigali. 80. P. Corneille, Polyeucte. 81—83. H. de Balzac, Eugénie Grandet. 84. Boileau, L'Art poétique. 85, 86. Boccaccio, Decameron, VI, VII. 87, 88. Voltaire, Zadig. 89, 90. Boccaccio, Decameron, VIII. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no. 40 pf.
- Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur. XIV. Altitalienische Heiligenlegenden. Nach der Hs. xxxviii. 110 der Bibl. Nat. Centrale in Florenz. Herausg. von W. Friedmann. 10 M. XVII. G. Bertoni, Rambertino Buratelli, trovatore Bolognese e le sue rime provenzali. 3 M. XVIII. Le romans de la Dame à la Lyorne et du biau Chevalier au Lyon. Herausg. von F. Gennrich. 14 M. XIX. Jehan, Les Merveilles de Rigomer. Herausg. von W. Foerster. 20 M. Halle, Niemeyer.



**Latin.**

EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM. The Latin Text with an English Rendering, Notes and an Historical Introduction by F. G. Stokes. London, Chatto and Windus. 25s. net.

**Italian.**

ARIOSTO, L., Orlando Furioso, secondo le stampe del 1516, 1521, 1523, rivedute dall' autore. Reproduzione letterale a cura di F. Ermini. Vol. I. Rome, Loescher. 35 L.

BASILE, G., Das Märchen aller Märchen oder das Pentameron. Unter Zugrundelegung der Übersetzung von F. Liebrecht, neu bearbeitet von H. Floerke. 2 vols. Munich, G. Müller. 32 M.

BERTANA, E., In Arcadia : saggi e profili. Naples, Perrella. 5 L.

BORGESE, G. A., G. D'Annunzio. Naples, Ricciardi. 2 L. 50.

CALABRESE, G., Origini del melodramma sacro in Roma. Gravina di Puglia, Attolini. 4 L.

COLLISON-MORLEY, L., G. Baretti. With an account of the literary friendships and feuds in Italy and England in the days of Dr Johnson. London, Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

DANTE ALIGHIERI, La Divina Commedia. Vol. I. Inferno. Edited by C. H. Grandgent. London, D. C. Heath and Co. 5s. net.

DANTE'S CONVIVIO. Translated into English by W. W. Jackson. London, Frowde. 3s. 6d. net.

DORO, F., Studi Maffeiiani. Torino, Bocca. 4 L.

HASSE, E., Dantes göttliche Komödie. Das Epos vom inneren Menschen. Eine Auslegung. Kempten, Kösel. 5 M. 40.

HUTTON, E., G. Boccaccio : a Biographical Study. London, Lane. 16s. net.

JERROLD, M. F., Francesco Petrarca, Poet and Humanist. London, Dent. 12s. 6d. net.

LEOPARDI, G., Poems. Edited by F. Brooks. London, Sherratt and Hughes. 3s. 6d. net.

MARASCA, A., Le origini del romanticismo italiano. Rome, Loescher. 3 L.

MASI, E., Conferenze fiorentine sulla vita italiana. Milan, Soc. editr. D. Alighieri. 4 L.

MORTILLARO, I., Le figure femminile nella poesia di T. Tasso. Palermo, Reber. 3 L.

PALÉOLOGUE, M., Dante. Essai sur son caractère et son génie. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 3 fr. 50.

RUGGIERI, N., Maffio Venier, arcivescovo e letterato veneziano del cinquecento : studio storico-critico. Udine, Gambierasi. 2 L. 50.

SETTEMBRINI, L., Dialoghi, a cura di F. Torraca. Naples, Soc. comm. Libreria. 3 L.

TOMMASINI-MATTINUCCI, P., Il pensiero di C. Cattaneo e di G. Mazzini nelle poesie di G. Carducci. Città di Castello, S. Lapi. 2 L. 50.

**Spanish.**

CALDERON DE LA BARCA, P., La Vida es sueño. Edited by M. A. Buchanan. Vol. I. Toronto, Univ. of Toronto Library.

CERVANTES, M. DE, Selections from Don Quixote. Edited by J. D. M. Ford. Boston, Heath; London, Harrap. 2s. 6d. net.

GOER, JOAN, Confesion del Amante. Spanische Übersetzung von John Gowers Confessio Amantis aus dem Vermächtnis von H. Kunst nach der Hs. im Escorial. Herausg. von A. Birch-Hirschfeld. Leipzig, Seele und Co. 16 M.

PITOLLET, C., La querelle caldéronienne de Johan Nikolas Böhl von Faber et José Jaquin de Mora, reconstituée d'après des documents originaux. Paris, Alcan. 15 fr.

**Portuguese.**

ALMEIDA GARRETT, J. B. DE S. DE. The Brother Luiz de Sousa. Transl. by E. Prestage. London, Elkin Matthews. 3s. net.

**French.**

(a) *Language.*

BALLY, CH., Traité de stylistique française. Tome I. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, II, 3.) Heidelberg, Winter. 4 M. 80.

HAAS, I., Neuf französische Syntax. (Sammlung kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, IV.) Halle, Niemeyer. 9 M.

LEDIEU, A., Petite grammaire du patois picard. Paris, Gamber. 3 fr.

MANZ, G., Das Verbum nach den französischen Grammatiken von 1500—1750. Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M.

(b) *Old French.*

KRISTIAN VON TROYES, Erec et Enide. Herausg. von W. Foerster. (Romanische Bibliothek, XIII.) 2. gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M.

RAOUL VON HOUDENC, Sämtliche Werke. Herausg. von M. Friedwagner. II. La vengeance Raguidel. Halle, Niemeyer. 16 M.

(c) *Modern French.*

DEDIEU, J., Montesquieu et la tradition politique anglaise en France. Les sources anglaises de l'Esprit des lois. Paris, V. Lecoffre. 6 fr.

DUCLAUX, M., The French Procession. London, F. Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

GRIBBLE, F., Chateaubriand and his Court of Women. London, Chapman and Hall. 15s. net.

GUNNELL, D., Stendhal et l'Angleterre. Paris, C. Bosse. 6 fr.

GÜNTHER, L., L'œuvre dramatique de Sedaine. Paris, Larose. 6 fr.

HUGO, V., Œuvres complètes. Tome XVI. Paris, Ollendorff. 20 fr.

JOUBERT, J., Correspondance précédée d'une notice sur sa vie, son caractère et ses travaux par P. de Raynal. Paris, Perrin. 3 fr. 50.

LAMENNAIS, F. DE, Le Prêtre et l'ami. Lettres inédites de Lamennais à la baronne Cattu, 1818—54, notes par le comte d'Haussonville. Paris, Perrin. 5 fr.

LE POITTEVIN, A., Un ami de Flaubert. Œuvres inédites, avec introduction sur sa vie par R. Descharmes. Paris, Ferroud. 6 fr.

MONTAIGNE, M. DE, Essais, notes par F. Strowski. Tome II. Paris, Hachette. 25 fr.

- MUSSET, A. DE, Œuvres complètes. Nouv. édition. Tome v. Paris, Garnier frères. 3 fr.
- PAILLERON, E., Théâtre complet. Tome I. Paris, Calmann-Lévy. 3 fr. 50.
- PÉNICAUD, L., Histoire de l'histoire des grands et des petits théâtres de Paris pendant la Révolution, le Consulat et l'Empire. Tome II. Paris, E. Joret. 5 fr.
- SAINT-EVREMOND, C. M. DE, Œuvres mêlées. Notice de R. de Gourmont. Paris, Mercure de France. 3 fr. 50.

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

- HEUSLER, A., Geschichtliches und Mythisches in der germanischen Heldensage. (Aus Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad. der Wiss.) Berlin, G. Reimer. 1 M.
- Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie herausg. von der Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie in Berlin. XXIX. Band. Leipzig, Reisland. 10 M.
- PAUL, H., Grundriss der germanischen Philologie. 2 Aufl. II. i. 6. Lief. Strassburg, Trübner. 5 M.

**Gothic.**

- BRAUNE, W., Gotische Grammatik. 7. Auflage. (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, 1.) Halle, Niemeyer. 2 M. 80.
- FEIST, S., Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache mit Einschluss des sogenannten Krimgotischen. II. M—Z. Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M.

**Scandinavian.**

- Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek. XIV. Háls Saga ok Hálsrekka. Herausg. von A. Le Roy Andrews. Halle, Niemeyer. 4 M.
- FALK, H. S., und A. TORP, Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, bearbeitet von H. Davidsen. 11. und 12. Lief. Heidelberg, Winter. Each 1 M. 50.
- FEILBERG, H. F., Bidrag til en Ordbog over jyske Almuesmaal. XXXIV. Hefte. Copenhagen, Akad. Boghandel. 2 kr. 50.
- HOLBERGS Komedier udgivne af J. Martensen. XIII. Bind. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 4 kr.
- IBSEN, H., Efterladte Skrifter. Udgivne af H. Koht og J. Elias. 3 Bind. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 30 kr. (German translation, 4 vols. Berlin, Fischer. 24 M.)
- Islandica. An Annual relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University Library, edited by G. W. Harris. II. The Northmen in America, by H. Hermannsson. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell Univ. 1 dol.
- JAKOBSEN, J., Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog paa Shetland. II. Hefte. Copenhagen. 5 kr.
- KIERKEGAARD, S., Papirer. Udgivne af P. A. Heiberg og V. Kuhr. I. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 7 kr. 50.
- KLEIN, V. og P. A. ROSENBERG, Mindeskraft over Rasmus Nielsen. Udgivet paa Hundredeaarsdagen efter hans Födsel. Copenhagen, Schönborg. 1 kr.

LIND, E. H., Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden. Samlade och utgifna. iv. Upsala, Lindequist. 2 kr.

STRINDBERG, A., Werke. Deutsche Gesamtausgabe. iv. 5. Lebensgeschichte. Munich, G. Müller. 3 M. 50.

**English.**

(a) *General.*

Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by S. Lee. Vols. xvi-xx. London, Smith, Elder. Each 15s. net.

JESPERSEN, O., A Modern English Grammar on historical principles. Part I. Sounds and Spellings. (Germanische Bibliothek, i. ix.) Heidelberg, Winter. 8 M.

JONES, D., The Pronunciation of English. Phonetics and Phonetic Transcriptions. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 2s. 6d. net.

LOUNSBURY, T. R., English Spelling and Spelling Reform. London, Harper. 6s. net.

New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Sir J. A. H. Murray. Vol. vii. O—P. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 65s.

Royal Society of Literature. Transactions. Vol. 29. Part I. London, Asher. 3s. net.

(b) *Old and Middle English.*

CLAIRSON, L. H., The Gest of Robin Hood. University of Toronto Studies. Toronto, University.

GADOW, W., Das mittlenglische Streitgedicht Eule und Nachtigall, nach beiden Handschriften neu herausg. (Palaestra, LXV.) Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 9 M.

GÄRRETT, R. M., Precious Stones in Old English Literature. (Münchener Beiträge zur roman. und englischen Philologie, XLVII.) Leipzig, Deichert. 3 M. 25.

GOMME, E. E. C. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle translated. London, Bell. 6s. net.

HOFFMANN, P., Das grammatische Genus in Layamons Brut. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, XXXVI.) Halle, Niemeyer. 2 M.

Lambeth-Psalter, Der. Eine altenglische Interlinearversion des Psalters in der Hs. 427 der erzbischöfl. Lambeth Palace Library, zum ersten Male vollständig herausg. von N. Lindelöf. i. Text und Glossar. (Acta societatis scientiarum fennicae, XXXV, 1.) Helsingfors. 10 M.

PAUES, A. C., A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version, consisting of a Prologue and Parts of the New Testament. (Cheaper re-issue.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 6s. net.

SCHMITT, F., Die mittlenglische Version des Elucidariums des Honorius Augustodunensis. (Progr.) Passau, M. Waldbauer. 1 M.

ZACHRISSON, R. E., Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names. Lund, Ohlsson.

(c) *Modern English.*

ALBRIGHT, V. E., The Shakespearian Stage. London, Macmillan. 8s. net.

BRANDL, L., Erasmus Darwins Botanic Garden. (Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, XXX.) Vienna, Braumüller. 5 M.

- CANBY, H. S., *The Short Story in English*. London, G. Bell and Sons. 6s. net.
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ITALIAN COURTESY-BOOKS OF THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE native forerunners of the sixteenth century Italian courtesy-books are few and of little mark. But as an illustration of the headway made by Italy in domestic refinement, it is to be noted that while the first English treatise of this kind is of the date 1450, the first Italian one—or rather a courtesy-section of an Italian book—appeared two centuries earlier, in 1265. This is the speech of the Lady Courtesy in Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*. It is largely concerned with manners in conversation, a subject which in the sixteenth century courtesy-books was to be dealt with minutely. The rules given are commonplace, and include precepts for intercourse with equals, superiors, and inferiors, as in the following:

I say first  
That in thy speech thou be circumspect;  
Be not too great a talker, and think beforehand  
What thou wouldst be saying<sup>1</sup>.

Good usage, or conventional manners, are touched on, and the passage concludes:

Therefore at all hours  
Hold fast to good usage, for that advances thee  
In credit and honour, and makes thee better,  
And gives fair seeming; for a good nature  
Becomes the clearer if it follows good habits.

True nobility and honour are touched on, and the conclusion is come to, as in most of the later treatises, that they depend not only on good birth but on a life of virtue, though if two men are equal in good deeds, the man of noble birth is the more esteemed. The section closes with varied advice for conduct in the street, on horseback, or in company: as, not to ride loose-reined, which is boorish; to lend when asked, and to be circumspect and modest towards women. The whole passage is a

<sup>1</sup> The translations are Mr W. M. Rossetti's, in his *Early Italian Courtesy Books* (Early English Text Soc., Extra Series, No. 8).



curiosity, and has little literary interest in the story of courtesy-books, but it contains hints as to the lines on which they were to develope.

*The Fifty Courtesies of the Table*, written by a cleric, Fra Bonvexino da Riva, is remarkable for the precision of its detail in one important aspect of good behaviour. It dates from 1290, and is in couplets. Historically interesting as being one of the first poems in the Milanese or Lombard dialect, it is also valuable in pointing forward to the *Galateo* in its treatment of table-manners. Each 'courtesy' is described in four lines, and the book includes, with rules, needless now by reason of advances in refinement, many precepts applicable at the present day. The ruling motive in behaviour should be a consideration for others such as is insisted on in the *Galateo*. For instance:

Tell no bad news  
In order that those who are with thee may not eat out of spirit.  
Shouldst thou see in the viands  
Any disagreeable thing, tell it not the others.

The *Documenti d' Amore* of Francesco da Barberino, a long treatise of some 8500 lines, deals in much the same spirit with table-courtesies, and with the rules to be observed by servants when waiting at meals. But a second section treats of courtesy in general, with many canons of conversation. The idea appearing afterwards in the *Cortegiano*, that one's conduct should vary with time, place and circumstance, is developed here. Barberino's other work, *Del reggimento e dei costumi delle Donne*, discusses minutely a woman's conduct as maid, wife, or widow. So far, these treatises are crude in form, and unconcerned with the finer graces of life. The figure they paint is merely the ordinary well-mannered person, unadorned with the bodily graces and finer accomplishments demanded later from the model courtier.

Nearer to the *Cortegiano* both in subject and execution is Matteo Palmieri's *Vita Civile*, in which may be found the germs of much that Castiglione and his followers afterwards developed at length. The theme of the discourse is the education of a youth to take his place in the government of the State, and there are certain points of contact between the two works. Stress is laid on bodily exercise, 'In order to exercise the body, military sports, as mock fighting, jousting, and horseback riding, are valuable.' Letters are to be the basis of the youth's education, without which foundation all learning fails. The accomplishments of the youth are those of the courtier; knowledge of music, painting, sculpture and architecture, with a correct taste in their appreciation, are demanded by Palmieri. Following Aristotle

he requires the several virtues of Temperance, Courage, and Justice, and deals with Friendship in much the same spirit as Castiglione. Apart from these details, the *Vita Civile* is the only treatise in any measure worthy to be classed as a herald of the *Cortegiano* in expression. Omitting the lists of isolated rules of conduct which filled the earlier works, it is a closely knit and harmoniously developed dissertation, without, however, the artistic decoration of the *Cortegiano*.

The supremacy of this latter work is the more striking when we realise the dearth of native models and the crude nature of those existing. The *Cortegiano*, the Bible of the Renaissance courtier, did not come at the culmination of a literary movement; it was at once almost the first of its kind, and the finest. The aspiring courtier took it as his pattern, and, besides being the standard of cultured conduct, the work is among the foremost of those having any great influence on European literature in the period. Its author, Baldassare Castiglione, was one of the brilliant party of Urbinate courtiers whose life he paints so vividly; although by a modest fiction<sup>1</sup>, he suggests that he was absent from the dialogues recorded in the *Cortegiano*. His career<sup>2</sup> and personality are typical of the soldierly man of affairs and scholar which is the special product of the Renaissance. Born at Casatico, in Mantuan territory, in 1478, he was sent—after a partial education from his parents—to the court of the Sforza at Milan. On his father's death, Castiglione returned to Mantua and entered the service of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, by whom he was sent on an embassy to Milan, and afterwards, in 1503, to Rome. Here he met Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, whose train he joined, remaining till that prince's death. His military life began at Cesena, where he fought in the Papal forces against Venice. In 1506, after accompanying the Duke on various diplomatic missions, he went to England to receive the insignia of the Garter for his master. His stay was brief—from November 1, 1506 to February 9, 1507—and little evidence remains of his proceedings at the court of Henry VII. On his return he was made ambassador to Louis XII in Milan. Diplomatic offices, in fact, occupied his life; in the latter part of it he was ambassador to the Sacred College, while in 1524 Clement VII sent him into Spain to negotiate with Charles V. But his efforts to avert the sack of Rome were useless, and he died at Toledo in 1529.

<sup>1</sup> *Cort.*, I, 2: 'benché io non v' intervenissi presenzialmente per ritrovarmi...in Inghilterra.'

<sup>2</sup> For Castiglione's life, more especially in connection with the history of his time, the most recent and the best authority is Martinati, *Notizie Storico-Biografiche intorno al Conte Bald. Castiglione*, Firenze, 1890.

Cavalier in the best sense of the word, Castiglione inherited the spirit of his father Cristoforo, who had fought at Fornovo; diplomat and man of affairs, counsellor and friend of princes, he was the living embodiment of his own ideal figure. *Il Cortegiano* was conceived in 1508, but not published until 1528—a delay due to the constant polishing exercised upon it. The occasion of these dialogues was the visit of Julius II to Urbino on his way to Rome, in March, 1507<sup>1</sup>. He was received with jousts and pageantry, and the mingling of his train with the household of the Gonzagas in courtly intercourse gave the germ of the discourses composing the book.

In the evening, the gathered company sit at their ease in a circle, much as Boccaccio's men and women had done, and after choosing a leader, or 'queen,' proposed various questions as subjects for conversation<sup>2</sup>. Several are rejected, till that of Frederic Fregoso, Bishop of Gubbio, is finally chosen. 'I would have such a pastime for this night, that one of the company might be picked out who should take in hand to shape in words a good courtier, specifying all such conditions and particular qualities, as of necessity must be in him that deserveth this name<sup>3</sup>.' Each aspect of the courtier's life is to be treated by a different speaker; his accomplishments, the circumstances in which he may display them, the nature of his services to the Prince, and what he may demand in return, are the chief divisions of the discourses; and the character of the court-lady, and the behaviour of courtier and court-lady when in love, are the chief minor themes.

The pattern courtier, then, must be 'a Gentleman born and of a good house<sup>4</sup>,' since it is less likely that such a man would smirch by baseness the good name of his ancestors; he is furnished with an example such as the man of base origin lacks. This question of birth was to preoccupy all succeeding writers, who followed, in the main, the arguments of Dante. He, however, is inconsistent. While in the *De Monarchia* he accepts the Aristotelian definition of nobility as 'Virtue and ancient wealth<sup>5</sup>,' and further affirms that 'Men are ennobled by merit of virtue, their own to wit, or that of their forbears<sup>6</sup>'; in the

<sup>1</sup> *Cort.*, I, 7: 'Passò per Urbino, dove quanto era possibile onoratamente, e con quel più magnifico e splendido apparato che si avesse potuto fare in qualsivòglia altra nobil città d' Italia, fu ricevuto.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *The Book of the Courtier*, tr. Hoby, in *Tudor Translations*, No. xxiii. London, 1900, p. 42. *Cort.*, I, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Hoby, ed. cit., p. 44. *Cort.*, I, 14: 'che questo Cortegiano sia nato nobile, e di generosa famiglia.'

<sup>5</sup> *De Monarchia*, II, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

*Convito* he denies this. 'He errs who affirms ancient wealth to be the basis of nobility<sup>1</sup>.' Again, in the canzone 'Le dolci rime d' amor,' on which the fourth part of the *Convito* is a commentary, he says, 'Nobility exists wherever Virtue is<sup>2</sup>,' and 'Riches neither bestow Nobility nor take it away<sup>3</sup>.' Castiglione, however, in the person of Canossa, seems to take it for granted that noble birth is essential in his ideal, and parries an objection with the Horatian reminiscence, 'It standeth with reason that good should spring of good<sup>4</sup>.' In person he should be comely, neither too short nor too tall; of pleasing expression, and displaying 'a certain grace, and as they say, a hew<sup>5</sup>.' This effluence of personality will affect favourably all with whom he comes into contact. It is the distinguishing mark of the cultured man, the essential difference lifting him above the common herd, and informing equally his gesture, exercise and intellectual accomplishments. The Renaissance realised the body's dignity, and the conception of the cultured man inevitably involved physical training. Hunting and tournaments, the sports most similar to serious war, will be his chief pastimes; he is to ride perfectly, fence, and have knowledge of the causes and conduct of duels, swim, leap, wrestle, and 'cast the stone<sup>6</sup>.' All these are but to fit him for the one profession worthy the attention of the perfect courtier, that of arms<sup>7</sup>. This is constantly impressed; indeed, a courtier's excellence may be gauged by his prowess in the field<sup>8</sup>.

But this is only one of the facets of a many-sided personality. The finer spiritual graces of the court are of equal weight. Intellectual occupations fitting him for the gentle intercourse of scholars and ladies, are to fill the time of relaxation from strenuous warfare and exercise. Here the new ideal of scholar-gentleman finds expression. Humane learning in all its branches is to be the basis of his culture; he is to be well acquainted with the Greek and Latin poets, orators, and historians, and with vernacular literature<sup>9</sup>. Drawing and painting are desirable<sup>10</sup>, though not so essential as other accomplishments. The newer ideals of culture are now combining with older ones of utility, for, says Castiglione, these arts, besides being useful to the soldier in drawing

<sup>1</sup> *Convito*, iv, 2.

<sup>2</sup> l. 101.

<sup>3</sup> l. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Hoby, ed. cit., p. 47. Cf. Hor. *Od.*, iv, 4: 'Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.'

<sup>5</sup> *Cort.*, i, 14; Hoby, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, i, 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Cort.*, i, 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*: 'Quanto più adunque sara eccellente il nostro C. in questa arte, tanto più sara degno di laude.'

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, i, 43—44.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, i, 49.



plans and perspectives of battlefields<sup>1</sup>, assist him in appreciating natural scenery, and bodily beauties<sup>2</sup>. The group of courtiers gathered at Urbino were passionate lovers of artistic expression in any form, and being in constant touch with painters of merit, they became amateurs and connoisseurs of so exquisite a taste that they were sound critics and even advisers of the professional artist. Thus it is not strange that Castiglione desired painting and drawing among the courtier's accomplishments. Music, 'ease of the labours and medicines of feeble minds<sup>3</sup>,' is necessary; and this may be understood when we remember how Urbino might almost be called the musical centre of Northern Italy. Castiglione's Duchess and her train both played and sang, while professed musicians were received into the circle of her friendship.

The courtier's conversation—a subject which was to provide matter for a separate treatise later<sup>4</sup>—is dealt with by Castiglione at such length and in such minute detail that it must be considered a very weighty element in cultured behaviour. Long passages are devoted to the language to be used<sup>5</sup>, and to the comparative merits of archaic and modern vocabularies<sup>6</sup>, while in a lighter manner are described in detail from Cicero the various kinds of wit worthy of being used by the courtier<sup>7</sup>. Sober and modest in dress, he must, as in all things, avoid extremes of severity and lavishness<sup>8</sup>. Finally, in morals the perfect courtier is a copy of Aristotle's virtuous man, endowed with prudence, liberality, courage, temperance, 'and all those attributes which belong to so honourable a condition<sup>9</sup>.' These in brief are the chief ornaments of Castiglione's ideal figure. It remains to show how, and with what aim, they are to be used. The all-informing 'grace,' a thing not to be taught by rule, must accompany every action; affectation, the opposite vice, is the mark of imperfection. This affectation is really the anxiety to excel which sometimes appears, but which the true courtier resolutely conceals<sup>10</sup>. Thus the courtier will not play the lute like a professional, nor fight and joust as if he were a soldier of fortune. Everything is done with 'sprezzatura<sup>11</sup>,' which makes each

<sup>1</sup> *Cort.*, I, 49: 'e massimamente nella guerra, per disegnar paesi, siti, fiumi, ponti, ròcche, fortezze, e tai cose.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*: 'chè la machina del mondo...e nel mezzo la terra dai mari cinta, di monti, valli e fiumi variata.'

<sup>3</sup> Hoby, ed. cit., p. 89. *Cort.*, I, 47: 'riposo di fatiche e medicina d' animi infermi.'

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Cort.*, I, 29—39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, I, 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, II, 43.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, II, 27: 'non estremi in alcuna parte; che tendano un poco più al grave e riposato.'

<sup>9</sup> *Cort.*, I, 41: 'e tutte l' altre conditioni che a così onorato nome si convengono.'

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, I, 22; II, 7, 10, etc.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, I, 22.



action appear one done as pastime<sup>1</sup>, and success appear a matter of course. The one aim to be pursued is the honourable service of the Prince<sup>2</sup>, and, incidentally, the good opinion of the ladies and knights with whom the courtier comes into contact<sup>3</sup>. The Prince himself, to whom he is attached, is as much honoured in receiving service, as the courtier is in serving. Castiglione dwells at length upon various aspects of this service; how far the commands of the Prince may be obeyed, what advice the courtier should give, and various details of his conduct when in the presence<sup>4</sup>. But in effect, it is almost suggested that the Prince and his court exist as a setting for the ideal courtier, rather than he for the court; for he is so supremely endowed with all the gifts of the perfect ruler as to throw into the shade both the Prince and every member of the circle in which he moves.

The court-lady is a companion picture to that of the courtier, and all the refinement and grace demanded in the one are equally requisite in the other<sup>5</sup>. When we consider the level which Renaissance culture had reached in the women of the courts of Mantua, Ferrara and Urbino, we feel that the figure is not overdrawn. Finally, a large part of the last book of the treatise is taken up with the subject of the courtier's love, and by a natural transition, the revived Platonism of Pico and Ficino finds, in Pietro Bembo, its foremost expositor.

Such is the bare skeleton of the *Cortegiano*. It remains to indicate why the book is one of the supreme documents of the Renaissance spirit and the reason of its enormous influence, both in its own department of literature and also generally. In the first place, it is the highest expression of that dominant note in the Renaissance—the discovery and exploration of man's intrinsic worth. The new type of soldierly scholar-gentleman, equally removed from scholastic pedantry and mere military prowess, became the ideal, and Castiglione's presentation of it in all its phases was also a guide to realisation. The *Cortegiano* included every aspect of the subject; theory and practice went hand in hand, so that succeeding treatises took as their text one or more of the book's divisions. Permeated as it is with classic influence, it is nevertheless far removed from the dry appeals to antique authority into which many of Castiglione's followers sink, for he had his being in exactly the surroundings he describes, and in an atmosphere charged with the transformed classicism of the Renaissance. Yet his actual

<sup>1</sup> *Cort.*, II, 10: 'faccia il nostro C. come cosa che sua professione non sia...né si conosca che molto studio o tempo vi metta.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, 4 *et seq.*

classic debt is enormous, and he is quite conscious of it. The whole treatise, including its dialogue form, is modelled upon Cicero's description of the Orator. Indeed, the opening sentences of Book I may be closely paralleled by the introduction to the *Orator*<sup>1</sup>. Much of the discourse on 'Facezie' is direct translation<sup>2</sup>, while the amatory advice given to the court-lady is Ovid in an Italian dress<sup>3</sup>. The Politics and Ethics are largely drawn on; the latter is the source from which Castiglione takes the moral excellence of the courtier. Classic illustration from the historians and elsewhere is used at every point, and the whole treatise is a mine of reminiscence of classic phrase or wording<sup>4</sup>. The Platonic colouring of Bembo's most fervid outbursts though largely from Ficino's commentary on the Dialogues, owes something also to the originals. In form, also, the *Cortegiano* is classic; its precedents are the dialogues of Plato, Cicero, and Lucian.

But the *Cortegiano* is supreme in its kind apart from the intrinsic value of the matter discussed. The delicate art displayed in painting the brilliant round of court-life in Urbino, and in portraying, by a few vivid strokes, the varied temperaments of the contrasted members of the household, links the discourses into an admirable whole. The frequent interruptions, by giving opportunity for rapid cross-fires of wit, retorts courteous and semi-serious abuse, the dramatic machinery asserting itself on occasion, as in the sudden arrival of the Papal Prefect in the midst of Cesare Gonzaga's balanced periods in praise of woman—these digressions, in addition to breaking the monotony of a long series of philosophic dissertations, help also to give a definite unity to the book. Indeed, it is upon this framework of the 'game' that Castiglione

<sup>1</sup> *Cort.*, I, 1: 'Fra me stesso lungamente ho dubitato, Messer Alfonso carissimo, qual di due cose più difficile mi fosse; o il negarvi quel che con tanta istanza più volte m'avete richiesto, o il farlo.' Cf. 'Utrum difficilius aut maius esset negare tibi saepius idem roganti an efficere id, quod rogares diu multumque, Brute, dubitavi' (*Orator ad M. Brutum*, I, 1). Also cf. I, 1: 'Noi in questi libri' etc. and *Orator*, I, vi, 22: 'Non complectar in his libris amplius' etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, 42, 43. Cf. 'Però, acciò non paia che in compagnia così degna' etc. with 'Quare Cæsar, ego quoque hoc a te peto' etc. (*Orat.*, II, 57); 'Le facezie e i motti sono più presto dono e grazia di natura che d'arte' with [jocus et facetiæ] 'quæ, etiamsi alia omnia tradi arte possunt, naturæ sunt propria certe, neque ullam artem desiderant' (*Orat.*, II, 54). Cf. 'e diventano insulsi' etc., 'est hominibus facietis et dicacibus difficillimum' etc. (*Ib.*, II, 54).

<sup>3</sup> *Cort.*, III, 50. Cf. 'Con silenzio di parole, ma con gli occhi che parlano';

'Atque oculis spectare fatentibus ignem

Sæpe tacens vocem verbaque vultus habet'

(Ov., *Ars Amandi*, I, 573—4).

Cf. 'Col viso afflitto e languido con quegli accesi sospiri, spesso con abundantissime lacrime';

Palleat omnis amans: hic est color aptus amanti. *Ib.*, I, 573—4.

Et lacrimæ prosunt: lacrimis adamanta movebis. *Ib.*, I, 659.

<sup>4</sup> *Cort.*, I, 47, etc.

expended his greatest care, for it mirrors exactly the life of his circle; the diverse figures—cleric, scholar, artist, soldier, diplomatist, or cultured lady—with their prejudices and personal idiosyncrasies, are as real as similar figures in Shakespeare's higher comedies. The propriety with which parts are assigned to speakers is noticeable throughout. Pallavicino, who poses as woman-hater, keeps up a running fire of depreciation with Emilia Pia, the leaders of the 'game,' and with all who venture to grant any virtue in the sex. Bembo, whose dialogues on Love, *Gli Asolani*, had appeared in 1503, treats of perfect love and defends Letters as the highest courtly ornament. The grace and exquisite polish of the dialogue, the dignity of expression felt when the theme rises to towering heights as in Bembo's apostrophe to Love, the courtly sincerity of Castiglione's praises of the princes he had served, are all beyond praise. In conclusion, the *Cortegiano* is a lasting monument of the artistic splendours, the literary passion, and the intellectually refined intercourse of Italy's most glorious age.

The treatises following in the wake of the *Cortegiano* are all indebted to it, either for matter or for details of form. The first was *Il Nennio*<sup>1</sup>, by Giovambattista Nenna of Bari, 'that famous doctor and worthy knight.' Its machinery is a curious combination of the dream-theme of the *Roman de la Rose* and its species, of the *Decameron*, and of the Provençal *tenzone*. The writer, fleeing with his friends from the plague in the 'city of Antenor,' arrives at an ancient city in Puglia, by the waves of the Adriatic. Falling asleep here one day, he dreams he is walking in a green valley when a troop of damsels and knights appears, led by a lady of sovereign authority, who advises him to flee the place before the arrival of the French. On waking, the narrator resolves to accept the advice, and with the friends of his circle retires to a country grange. Here they entertain Virginia, a noble lady, and her train, and on her departure she takes a gold ring, richly wrought, from her finger, and gives it as a prize to the man amongst her hosts who can prove himself the most noble. Possidonio and Fabricio, two of the company, undertake the challenge, agree to argue their claims, and appoint Nennio, a wise old man, as judge. At sunset therefore the party, pleasantly tired with hunting and hawking, descend to the garden and sit circlewise upon the thin grass.

The method adopted by Nenna in the discourses is simple. Possidonio brings forward all the arguments for noble birth being the essential cause of Nobility; Fabricio replies to them in order, and

<sup>1</sup> Venice, 1542, unpagéd.

Nennio sums up and delivers judgment. As the general drift of the arguments is common to several treatises, it would be well to give them in brief detail. According to Possidonio, then, true Nobility is a quality left by famous ancestors as a hereditary gift to their descendants, for a man's valour illumines not only himself, but his sons and grandsons<sup>1</sup>. The analogy from animal creation, hinted at in the *Cortegiano*<sup>2</sup>, is here expanded at more length: 'each species to which Nature has given power of reproduction, brings forth fruit in quality like itself.' A digression follows on the part played by woman in carrying on nobility of blood, but it is concluded that she is as much less worthy than man as matter is inferior to form. The subject of Letters is touched on; Possidonio declares them to be rather an added ornament than an essential cause of nobility. After enumerating his own possessions in houses and furniture, flocks and herds, silver and gold, he proceeds to develop the theme that, without wealth, mere nobility of birth is almost useless. 'Riches do away with melancholy, relieve every bodily ill, strengthen friendship, and make their owner's reputation the more brilliant<sup>3</sup>.'

These are the chief points in Possidonio's plea; the following day, Fabricio proceeds to demolish them. He sets out with the argument of Dante concerning Adam. 'If Adam was noble, we are all noble; if he was "volgare e vile," so are we all<sup>4</sup>.' But whereas Dante goes on to show that Adam was neither nobly nor ignobly born, Fabricio contents himself merely with the beginning of the passage as authority for his view. As black or white complexion is a bodily disposition, so true nobility is a hidden attribute of the mind. 'For of what advantage is it if noble blood is rendered nugatory by vice; and how can lowly birth affect individual virtue?' So in true nobility, there is no question of high or mean generation. Continuing, Fabricio takes Possidonio's arguments in turn, and presents a picture in heightened colours of the opposite view of the case. He eulogises learning; 'for who rules, who governs, who conducts the affairs of the world, if not the learned men? It is they who should be honoured, not the nobly born, bare of virtue and ignorant.' Wealth, again, is the root of evil, and the wealthy man's lot is not an enviable one. 'If he is eating, he fears poison; he fears war, he fears danger from water, air and fire; in short, fear is never absent from his mind.' Having thus disposed of Possidonio's arguments, he outlines his own ideal. Neither spacious palaces, fair

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Cort.*, I, 14.<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Cort.*, IV, 36.<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, I, 15.<sup>4</sup> *Conv.*, IV, 2.



gardens, fertile fields, rich clothing, nor abundant gold and silver can bestow nobility, since they are but temporary gifts of fortune. Resplendent virtue, and that only, is the essential cause, 'for the attributes of the virtuous mind, since it is immortal, are themselves immortal.' Aristotle's ideal in the *Ethics* is the truly noble man, and an education in the Humanities is the means to realisation. 'I gave myself up,' says Fabricio, 'to the pleasing study of humane letters, where I gathered not only history and fables, but a knowledge of life.'

In giving judgment for Fabricio, Nennio divides Nobility into three main classes. First is that of birth, 'a certain quality proceeding from the noble blood of ancestors, continuing in the sons; and of the greater reputation among the vulgar according to its antiquity.' Nobility of the mind is the second kind: 'a glowing brightness which proceeds from virtuous action, rendering its possessor noble and illustrious.' The perfect Nobility, 'Nobiltà composta,' as being derived from two sources, is the third: 'a quality proceeding from the good birth of our ancestors, adorned with the good usages and praiseworthy virtues arising from our own minds.' As a subsidiary kind is Civil Nobility, bestowed by princes and kings, who may or may not allow it to be hereditary.

From this outline, it will be seen how the *Nennio* differs from the *Cortegiano*. It isolates and expands but one aspect of the subject, and ignores the graces and accomplishments demanded by Castiglione. The ideal figure is the virtuous man, considered individually, and never in relation to his surroundings and companions. The character is summed up by Nennio in his judgment as follows. 'The man born of noble blood must be wholly virtuous, wise, prudent, just and temperate; in conversation honest, free and moderate, since modesty in any action bestows grace. He must not be ambitious, proud, arrogant or haughty, since such things breed rancour, hate and disdain.' Except that humane learning and the Aristotelian virtues are required in the true nobleman, there is hardly a point of contact with the more worldly-gracious figure in the *Cortegiano*. But in form, *Il Nennio* is greatly indebted to it; the machinery is the same, with intervals of word-combat and quick retort breaking the tedium of the long philosophic discourses. Brisk descriptions of outdoor pastimes and short illustrative anecdotes are inset, and the whole is a very pleasing picture of Italian country life. Scholastic precision of reasoning takes the place of the high rhetoric of the *Cortegiano*, as for instance in Fabricio's argument logically defining true Nobility by a process of exhaustion. Constant reference to classical and Biblical authority occurs throughout. Aristotle's theory



of each virtue being a mean between two extremes is expounded at length. Fabricio bases much of his argument upon the lowly birth of the Apostles, Peter especially, and adduces the stock examples of Alexander and Philip of Macedon in illustration of the honours paid by princes to Letters. On the whole, *Il Nennio* is, in its limited range, comparable in style to the *Cortegiano*. Its language is lively and flowing, while at times it strikes a deeper note, as in the depreciation of riches and mere noble birth, in the catalogues of evils to which they give rise, and in the warm eulogy of learning. Many of its arguments are taken over bodily by successors, and it will be seen below how the same themes and the same illustrations reappear in later works.

From Nenna's theoretical considerations of nobility we turn to more practical affairs in the *Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa, a treatise in its kind of equal reputation with the *Cortegiano*. Its author was one of the polished clerics of the Renaissance, such as took part in the debates at Urbino,

The courtly Christian, not so much Saint Paul  
As a saint in Caesar's household.

Of good Florentine stock, he was born, probably at Mugello, in 1503, studied law at Padua, and, after taking orders, was high in the favour of Cosimo I and of Alessandro Farnese, afterwards Paul III. In the latter's service he was Apostolic Commissary to Florence, and probably had some hand in the formation of the Academy. He became, in 1544, Archbishop of Benevento and Papal Nuntio to Venice, where he undertook much delicate business. During the pontificate of Paul IV he was Secretary of State, but died in 1557 during the negotiations preliminary to his receiving the cardinal's hat. Much of his work in prose and verse, Latin and Italian, was composed during periods of relaxation from clerical and diplomatic duties. 'Well read in humane letters, and more than ordinarily in divinity' is the verdict of Cardinal Pallavicino on this scholarly and courtly cleric.

*Galateo*<sup>1</sup>, the best-known of his vernacular works, is a treatise on manners, and takes its name from what slight machinery it possesses. In Verona lived a bishop noted for his hospitality. Having entertained one day a certain Count Ricciardo, well-mannered except in one particular, that of noisy eating, he sends a courteous old gentleman, Messer Galateo, to accompany him on his departure. The discourse of the two provides the germ for the whole work.

<sup>1</sup> Venice, 1555.

Della Casa takes as his text the theory that customary usage is the rule to which all gentlemanly conduct should conform<sup>1</sup>. His business is to deal, not with the crimes of men, but with their errors in behaviour, since, though such virtues as fortitude and justice are necessary, the occasions for displaying them are less frequent than the every-day necessity for good manners. The fundamental law is that a gentleman must 'regulate and order his behaviour, not according to personal caprice, but to please those with whom he comes into daily contact<sup>2</sup>.' This is insisted on throughout. 'I should wish,' he writes, 'our every action to show some reverence or respect for the company in which we are.' By this rule he measures all his code of behaviour. At table, his advice is generally that of the *Documenti d' Amore*; he shows how various discourteous acts offend one or other of the five senses. Points of conduct, as reading a letter in company, singing if one has an unmusical voice, are all referred to this standard. The question of clothes<sup>3</sup> is treated at some length, the rule being that a gentleman should always dress well, since otherwise it would appear as if he disdained his companions. But in addition, his choice of clothes must be determined by the region in which he dwells; in Germany, he will dress as the Germans do; in Italy, as the Italians. In conversation, again, it is necessary always to please; della Casa gives examples of subjects to be avoided. 'The material for your conversation should be neither vain nor unworthy<sup>4</sup>'; never such as to bring a blush to a girl's cheek, never blasphemy, or light speaking of God and the Saints. At table, the talk should be of pleasing things; no sad stories of plague and death should be recounted. Vainglorious boasting and the belittling of oneself are equally annoying to a man's companions.

A large portion of the treatise is taken up with Ceremonies, 'vain titles of honour and reverence towards him to whom they are applied<sup>5</sup>.' They are of three kinds; those used to gain some benefit from a person, those useless and unnecessary, and those used in pursuance of general custom. Only the last kind are permissible, since 'they proceed not from our own inclination, nor from our own free judgment, but are laid down by law and common usage.' As for the other kinds, they are mere adulation<sup>6</sup>. In this connection, stress is laid on the differences in ceremonies in various States, and the consequent necessity of a man conforming to the custom of the country. 'Facezie' are discussed, and

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Italian Classics, 1803.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 158. Cf. *Cort.*, II, 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. cit., p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 191.

the kinds worthy of being used by a gentleman are pointed out. It is necessary that no shame, or scorn, or reproach should rest on any of the company, though from a joke, and grave matters must not be dealt with in a 'flyting' spirit. A gentleman should take heed to his choice of words; they should be easily understood, not obsolete, well-sounding, and reminiscent of no evil associations. Double meanings, indecent or bitter words should be avoided. Tales vividly related are acceptable in all company; and finally, a man, if he wishes to be distinguished in conversation, must make his voice neither strident nor rough. In general, the gentleman's every action is invested with a certain 'grace,' for 'grace is as it were a certain light shining abroad from well-ordered actions; without it, the good is not beautiful, and beauty is not pleasing'.

Thus the *Galateo* approaches nearer to the *Cortegiano* than to the *Nennio*. Abstract questions concerning virtue and the true nature of nobility are ignored; the author's aim is merely to make a man pleasing in company. The relatively light stress laid on the Aristotelian virtues by Castiglione is matched by della Casa frankly avowing their little importance in daily intercourse. But the gentleman of the *Galateo* is a more superficially polished personage than the ideal of the *Cortegiano*. Bodily and intellectual accomplishments are never mentioned, learning is not requisite, and the gentleman of the *Galateo* is the well-mannered man in a merely worldly aspect. In a way, the treatise goes back to the predecessors of the *Cortegiano*. Barberino's *Documenti d' Amore* supplies many of the rules of conduct at table and elsewhere, and though della Casa probably never saw the *Fifty Courtesies of the Table*, Bonvexino da Riva has a similar maxim to della Casa concerning sad stories at meals<sup>2</sup>. The classic element is, however, fairly large, the *de Officiis* of Cicero being used at many points. Dante and Boccaccio are also drawn upon for example and illustration.

The *Gentilhuomo*<sup>3</sup> of Girolamo Muzio (1571) is another abstract discussion of virtue and true nobility, somewhat on the lines of *Il Nennio*. Its foundations are chiefly Aristotle and Seneca, its framework a Socratic dialogue between Nobile, who upholds the claims of noble birth and ancient wealth, and Eugenio, the champion of virtue as the sole cause of true nobility.

The arguments are those common to Aristotle, Dante and Nenna; and naturally the same conclusions follow. Nobility 'is, as it were, a

<sup>1</sup> Ed. cit., p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Venice, 1571, unpagged.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, p. 146.

shining light proceeding from Virtue<sup>1</sup>. This is the text, and Eugenio hammers at it insistently. 'I must affirm and re-affirm that the true foundation of nobility is virtue.' 'Virtú,' according to Muzio, is simply an endowment of Aristotelian virtues, and he paraphrases the doctrine of the mean in illustration. 'Virtue is a certain habit consisting in mediocrity; and each separate virtue is a mean, of which vices are the extremes.' Dante's derivation of 'nobile' from 'non-vile' is rejected, and the correct one, 'notabile' ('worthy of being known,' by reason of virtue), substituted<sup>2</sup>. Unlike Castiglione, Muzio does not demand graceful bodily endowments in his gentleman; Horatius Cocles and Mutius Scaevola are given as examples in support of this.

Good birth has nothing to do with true nobility; it is desirable, 'but that only the nobly-born are endowed with graces, is surely not accordant to truth<sup>3</sup>.' Here the degeneration of well-born men from the virtuous standards of their ancestors is illustrated by classic and contemporary examples. Riches, as in the *Nennio*, are discussed, and with the same conclusions. 'They make men neither noble, nor perfect of mind'; but though they are the root of evil, at the same time they are an aid to the virtue of liberality, 'if rightly used<sup>4</sup>. In this connection, the question is raised whether commerce is a fit occupation for the gentleman<sup>5</sup>. Muzio, probably with a direct reminiscence of the merchant-princes of Venice or Florence, declares that it is, 'so long as he uses his accumulated riches to good ends, for public and private benefit, by raising stately buildings, providing dowries for poor girls, aiding poor scholars, and keeping open and hospitable house.' Of the nobility of women, he merely remarks that they take rank according to that of their husbands. 'Marriage both bestows nobility on women, and takes it away<sup>6</sup>.'

Among the various issues treated in passing is the old contest between Arms and Letters<sup>7</sup>, and, as usual, Letters prevail, Muzio giving a long eulogy to the labours of literary men. 'Their labours are the more honourable, in that they are principally exercises of the mind, which is the principal part of a man, or even man himself; rather than exercises of the body, which is common to the beasts.' Again Muzio, like Nenna, attempts a classification of nobility, but recognises two kinds only. 'The first is natural nobility, the second civil. The former arises from perfection of nature, which is virtue;

<sup>1</sup> Venice, 1571, Bk I.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Bk I.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, Bk II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Cf. Dante, *De Monarchia*, II, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Il Nennio*, Bk I, ante, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, Bk II.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, Bk III.



the latter belongs to families called noble, and ordinarily is conferred by princes or cities<sup>1</sup>.

Finally, may be cited Muzio's character-portrait of the ideal gentleman. 'An upright man, of gentle manners, clean-living and modest, not envious, nor evil-speaking; faithful to his sworn word, a lover of right and duty, loyal in the preservation of things placed in his care, whether money or secrets; lover of truth, and never departing from it, never consenting to evil; religious, and liberal as far as his estates permit; and, to sum up, an enemy of every vice and a friend of virtue<sup>2</sup>.'

From this it may be seen how different Muzio's ideal is from that of Castiglione. To the latter, external graces and pleasing accomplishments are everything, while Muzio, evidently following Aristotle, describes the virtuous man and labels him 'gentleman.' Of advice on purely worldly conduct, of precepts to be followed in every-day intercourse, there is nothing, and the result is that while the 'Courtier' lives and breathes, the 'Gentleman' is a mere cold model and paragon of the moral virtues. Similarly in respect of style, while we forgive Castiglione his long and rather barren philosophical digressions for the clear descriptions of contemporary life and worthies, and for his passages of high-ringing rhetoric, the Aristotelian transcriptions of Muzio, his long lists of classic and biblical examples, and his incessant harping on the one string of virtue become wearisome enough.

The importance of conversation as a courtly accomplishment is shown in a whole treatise. This is the *Civil Conversation*<sup>3</sup> of Stephano Guazzo, published in 1575. The dialogue-form is still adhered to, though there are only two speakers—a knight, who in the opening defends solitude, and Annibale, who puts forward arguments for urbane intercourse. The knight praises monastic life, philosophic retreat, and the retirement of the ancient fathers from the world, for solitude is the one great aid to religious study, while conversation is merely a device to avoid divine contemplation. With better worldly wisdom, Annibale refutes such arguments and examples. The city, instead of being the home of all vice, was instituted to strengthen the hands of law and justice, and to make perfect a formerly dissolute life. He inveighs against such philosophers as, through mere laziness, have sought solitude in order to avoid the burden of civic responsibility. Having thus vindicated human intercourse, Annibale proceeds to lay down rules with regard to it.

In words very reminiscent of Castiglione, Guazzo states the purpose

<sup>1</sup> *Il Gentilhuomo*, Bk II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, Bk II.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1575, Venice.



of conversation to be 'to move people's affections,' and 'to acquire favour, good feeling, and grace.' To attain these ends, moderation must be always used<sup>1</sup>. Harshness of voice, obscure words and phrases, coarse colloquialisms and undignified gesture must all be avoided. Here the author pays his tribute to the *Galateo*<sup>2</sup>, which, he says, has fully treated of these things; while, as Dante had done, he reviews the dialects of Italy and their defects. In the fashion of the old strings of precepts, miscellaneous advice is given on conduct in conversation: as not to interrupt, to be in no hurry to reply, to know when to refrain—for we have two ears, and only one mouth—to talk soberly and with reserve of things outside one's province, and to avoid disputes.

After these general remarks, Guazzo proceeds to outline the various things to be observed in conversation between nobles and commons, princes and subjects, clerics and laymen, and other classes. Here the chief interest for us is the digression on the causes of nobility<sup>3</sup>. Rejecting the three usually-accepted classes of Nenna and others, he makes three main divisions—semi-nobili, nobili, and nobilissimi<sup>4</sup>. Of the first class, there are further divisions: first, the noble by birth, having no real virtue, nor any appearance of nobility. The inevitable example of the degeneration of noble blood appears here again; for families, like fruit-trees, become sterile, and slaves may be descended from kings. Second are those ennobled by virtue, and—in so far as the mind is a nobler part of man than the body—so these are noble in a correspondingly higher degree than the first class. Third are those ennobled by the custom of a country or town, as soldiers and rich merchants, who are not esteemed really noble except in the State which confers their honour. The 'nobili' are those in whom noble birth joins with virtue, for high birth unaccompanied by learning and moral worth is no more than the body deprived of the soul. Nobility, indeed, is the daughter of learning, and knowledge confers it no less than valour in arms. But the 'nobilissimi,' the perfectly noble, are those 'who to nobility of birth and virtue add riches and magnificence, which aid greatly to the preservation and support of nobility,' although they cannot of themselves make a man noble.

After this digression, Guazzo returns to his main subject, conversation, beginning with that of nobles and commons, and princes and their subjects<sup>5</sup>. Princes and nobles should show themselves

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1575, Venice, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 220. Cf. *Nennio*, Bk II; *Gentiluomo*, Bk II.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 226 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 259. Cf. *Cort.*, IV, 18 *et seq.*

humane, gracious, and civil, and by their speech and actions prove the nobility of their minds; while inferiors should know and acknowledge their inferiority, and not arrogate nobility to themselves. Subjects should, if possible, avoid conversation with their prince, but if invited, they should be careful how they bear themselves, neither haughtily nor arrogantly. Indeed, the greater the favour and attention they receive from the prince, the more reverently and humbly must they comport themselves. If entrusted by a prince with high office, commoners must never, whether through fear or through hope of advancement, consent to injustice, much less propose such a course. This is evidently a reminiscence of Castiglione's passage on the courtier's duty in advising the prince. In treating of the conversation between learned and ignorant persons, Guazzo insists again on the nobility of letters, adducing, like all his predecessors, their power in conferring immortality, with the classic instance of Petrarch's sonnet on Alexander at Achilles' tomb. A digression on ceremonies follows, in which he shows the absurdity of many people whilst using them. Rightly conducted, however, ceremony begets goodwill in friends, and shows a man to be civil and urbane. Finally, to converse well it is necessary to be candid and sincere, without any veil of deceit.

In passing, Guazzo discusses the two kinds of love, while treating of conversation between man and woman. In a passage evidently modelled on Bembo's oration in the *Cortegiano*, he describes the effect of lust<sup>1</sup>; 'it begins in fear, is carried on in sin, and ends in pain and annoyance,' while pure love, platonic love, 'the desire for the beautiful,' is 'life's most perfect ornament.' The last book of the treatise is a pattern conversation between five men and five women at the court of Casale, in which one lady is made Queen, and a 'game' proposed. The conversation is on subjects as varied as love and drinking, rules of health and contentment with one's lot, while lively quips and repartee fly back and forth.

The *Civil Conversation* brightly written, not overburdened with classic or biblical instances, is a worthy follower of the *Cortegiano*, upon which it is obviously based. The machinery, however, is less interesting; there is no dramatic element, no lively description of contemporary manners, and as the whole burden of the discussion is borne by one man, there is no opportunity for brisk dialogue or witty word-play. At the same time, it avoids the long and often dull philosophic digressions of the type of the *Gentiluomo*. It is probably

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1575, Venice, p. 300.

a true picture of sixteenth century Italy, where urbane life had reached a pitch of perfection unattained by other countries of Western Europe, while its popularity is shown by the number of editions and translations which followed its first appearance.

With the exception of a few semi-technical treatises on the Duel and the Art of War, which are only 'Courtesy-books' in part and incidentally, the last of these more general works is the *Discorsi* of Annibale Romei<sup>1</sup>, of Ferrara, a man of whom little is known except that he served under Guidobaldo II, and was his ambassador to Gregory XII. The dialogues of which the book consists are supposed to take place at the seaside retreat of the Ferrarese court in 1584, and the speakers are the actual courtiers. Except for the fact that the subjects of discussion are more definitely marked off from each other than in the *Cortegiano*, the *Discorsi* is the nearest approach in spirit and execution to Castiglione's work. Divided into seven 'giornate,' each recording the conversation of one sitting, the book includes practically every subject of which previous writers had treated, though they do not preserve the more natural and spontaneous order of the *Cortegiano*. It may be better, therefore, to speak of them rather out of their actual sequence.

The fifth 'giornata'<sup>2</sup> is taken up with a discussion of nobility, and after various opinions, including those of Muzio and Aristotle, have been brought forward, they are dismissed as either wrong or not wholly inclusive of the necessary attributes of nobility. As in the *Cortegiano*, birth from noble ancestry is regarded as essential; indeed, three generations of noble blood are necessary to make a man noble. 'Thus, for a man to be noble, it is necessary that, besides his own splendour, he should have that of at least three predecessors in his family<sup>3</sup>.' Riches and magnificence are, however, also desirable. But the really noble man, in addition to good birth, must have other and finer attributes. The humane studies, bodily exercise of all kinds, the art of war, and the study of law, are all necessary to his aim, which, in short, is the service of his country<sup>4</sup>. Merchants, granted they are of noble birth, may also be accounted truly noble if their trade does not interfere with their occupation of liberal study, and so long as it is carried on by agents. The old idea of the merchant-prince being a public benefactor is again expressed; the aim of a trader, if he desires to be noble, must always be the good of his country, rather than his

<sup>1</sup> Venice, 1585. Ed. Angelo Solerti, in *Ferrara e la Corte Estense*, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. cit., p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 199.

own private profit<sup>1</sup>. The nobility of woman is touched on, and opinion is divided as to her comparative worth.

Honour, a subject not much regarded before, except in the treatises concerning duelling, is the matter of the third day's discussion. It is here defined, with a hint of the chivalric code, as 'that ardour which urges the human mind to do glorious deeds, and which makes it brave against its enemies<sup>2</sup>.' It urges the true gentleman to redress injuries, and even to undertake unjust quarrels, if otherwise he would become dishonoured. Once lost, it is never regained, for to be honoured involves the opinion that one has never failed in valour or justice.

The fourth day's discussion is on the subject of the Duel, and resolves itself into an examination of the generally accepted rules and an ethical explanation of them. The conclusion is that single combat is unjust and repugnant to all law, human and divine; it is unnatural, as it destroys instead of preserving, and irrational, as it sets out to prove truth by means of mere physical strength.

The conclusion of the sixth discussion, on 'Riches,' is the common one, namely, that they are not only an instrument of happiness, but also the chief worldly good and a predisposition to virtue.

The seventh day's subject is the oft-discussed one of the precedence of letters over arms. Here the respective sides are taken by Patrizio and Brancaccio, the latter being a veteran in the service of Ferrara. The trend of Patrizio's argument is, that happiness being man's true end, and intellect being the means by which that end is attained, the profession which demonstrates to mankind the functions of the intellect is more noble than one which depends entirely on bodily force. The reply to this is made up of the stock arguments so often met with before, such as the necessity of a long war to ensure a lasting peace, and the more frequent deification of soldiers in antiquity.

The first two 'giornate,' in conclusion, are highly rhetorical paraphrases of the Platonic theories of beauty and love, evidently inspired by Bembo's oration in the *Cortegiano*. They are of interest as having many points in common with Spenser's *Hymns*.

A group of semi-technical works, 'courtesy-books' only so far as they deal in places with nobility, honour, and kindred subjects, remains to be treated. Among them are three by Domenico Mora, a Bolognese soldier in the service of Poland, in which the writer is at pains to defend the profession of arms against that of letters. *Il Cavaliere*<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. cit., p. 201. Cf. *Gentilhuomo*, Bk II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Vilna, 1589.



the last of these to appear, is avowedly a reply to the *Gentilhuomo* of Muzio, but the other two, the *Tre Quesiti*<sup>1</sup> and *Il Soldato*<sup>2</sup>, also bear some hand in the dispute. They may, however, be dismissed summarily. In them, Muzio's arguments are taken in order, and refuted. As becomes one 'who has not made Letters his profession,' Mora argues very simply, and chops little logic; his statements go straight to the point. The greater part of these two books is purely technical, treating of tactics and fortification.

*Il Cavaliere* is, however, much more interesting in its delightfully sweeping judgments and its downright, uncompromising statements. Mora is no philosopher, but a keenly observant soldier who has seen that ancient birth, wealth, and the nobility acquired by martial service go a long way in bringing a man to high honour. And so these are his requirements for the character of the gentleman. 'Indeed, I would go so far as to affirm that a man born of an honoured house, should be always reckoned noble<sup>3</sup>.' Taking a poll of the nations of Europe, he finds that the majority of them regard wealth as the supreme happiness, rather than knowledge or abstract virtue. Therefore his conclusion is that 'it is riches that make men noble, for nothing makes a man so ridiculous or so much despised as poverty<sup>4</sup>.' This is by way of introduction; Mora proceeds to outline the character of the true knight, and to show how supreme nobility is found in him. 'I affirm without hesitation that every perfection which should and can exist in an honourable gentleman is to be found in the valorous soldier<sup>5</sup>.' He accounts for the decay of Italy by pointing to the disrepute into which the military art had fallen, and to the accompanying reliance on letters, which had made her a prey to native and foreign destroyers.

The old, much-debated case of the power of Rome was one eminently adapted to serve the ends of either party in the dispute between Arms and Letters; Muzio had cited it, and Mora does so to support the opposite view. Rome, he says, was mistress of the world 'by reason of the valour of men she bore and fostered, as Caesar, Pompey and Sulla, and not through the knowledge of Cicero and Sallust<sup>6</sup>.'

As a partial contrast to Castiglione's ideal lady, we may set Mora's description of the woman he desires to mother his perfect knight<sup>7</sup>. She must manage her house well and honourably, dispensing daily the needful articles to servants and dependents. Her children are to be brought up in the fear of God; they are to be well-mannered, cultured,

<sup>1</sup> Venice, 1567.<sup>2</sup> Venice, 1570.<sup>3</sup> *Il Cavaliere*, p. 29.<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 9.<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 40.<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 105.<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 123.



and gracious in every way. She herself is to cause scandal by none of her actions, neither in dress, conversation, nor in any of her daily proceedings. Thus her virtues are purely domestic; she need have none of the polished graces of Castiglione's court-lady.

Of this group, there remains to be noticed *Il Duello*<sup>1</sup>, a treatise widely known in Europe in its day, and frequently quoted, alluded to, and translated. It was the accepted text-book and work of reference for all nice points of the duelling code; but apart from this, it is also a valuable contribution to the literature of honour and the true nobility. Though confused in plan, philosophic digressions following lists of minute regulations for the ordering of duels, *Il Duello* is nevertheless interesting both intrinsically and for its vogue in England. In brief, its contents are these. A definition of the duel opens the work; it is 'a fight, body to body, to determine the truth<sup>2</sup>.' The causes of quarrel, the technical 'lie' and its species, the method of challenge and reply, the etiquette to be observed by both challenging and challenged parties, and a description of the arms permissible, are given in order<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Venice, 1551.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 8 b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 56 b.

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## YARINGTON'S 'TWO LAMENTABLE TRAGEDIES.'

'Two Lamentable | Tragedies. | The one, of the Murther of Mai-  
ster Beech *A Chaundler* in | Thames-streete, and his boye, | done by  
*Thomas Merry*. | *The other of a Young childe mur-* | thered in a Wood  
by two Ruffins, | *with the consent of his Vnckle* | By Rob. Yarrington. |  
LONDON. | Printed for *Mathew Lawe*, and are to be solde at | *his Shop*  
*in Paules Church-yarde neere vnto* | *S. Austines Gate, at the signe* | *of*  
*the Foxe*. 1601.'

So runs the title-page of an Elizabethan play, exceedingly crude in form, and little known to-day<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless for several reasons this play deserves attention. Its first plot, the murder by Merry of Beech and his apprentice, Winchester, is the occasion for a seemingly exact representation of an actual crime that occurred in London, in August, 1594. Before the eyes of the audience Merry slays Beech and Winchester with a hammer. Then to conceal his crime he cuts up Beech's body on the stage, and places certain fragments in a sack, which he conceals, hiding the other parts elsewhere. The audience later on has the pleasure of seeing these mangled limbs fitted together to make 'among them all a sound and solid man.' Merry and his sister are finally arrested, tried, and actually hanged on the stage. Remembering that contemporary records prove these events to be historical, I do not know any play which presents more literally one side of the life and interests of the London populace during Shakespeare's young manhood.

The second tragedy, scenes of which alternate with those of the first, is unconnected with the Merry plot except through the Induction and Choruses between the acts. Its story is essentially that of 'The Babes in the Wood' with two important differences. Only one child, instead of two, is murdered by order of the cruel uncle, and the scene is laid in Italy, not Norfolk. Thus the dating of the play involves the history of the ballad licensed on October 15, 1595.

<sup>1</sup> Frequently referred to by the running head of the text, *Two Tragedies in One*.

<sup>2</sup> It would probably be inaccessible to modern students of the drama had not Mr A. H. Bullen reprinted it in his *Old English Plays*, Vol. iv, on which reprint this study is based.

A third subject of interest in the play is the nature of the stage directions. These chiefly concern the Merry tragedy, and imply that both the upper and the lower story of Merry's residence, as well as Beech's shop on the same street, are simultaneously represented on the stage<sup>1</sup>. Some of the most remarkable of the directions follow:

*Merry begins to cut the body, and bindes the armes behinde his back with Beeches garters; leaves out the body, covers the head and legs againe<sup>2</sup>.*

*When the boy goeth into the shoppe Merrie striketh six blowes on his head and with the seaventh leaves the hammer sticking in his head; the boy groaning must be heard by a maide who must crye to her Maister. Merry flieth<sup>3</sup>.*

*Bringes him forth in a chaire with a hammer sticking in his head<sup>4</sup>.*

The absolute realism of one of these plots and the intrinsic interest possessed by the other, together with the nature of the stage directions, then, will form my apology for seriously discussing the date and authorship of a play admittedly gruesome and crude beyond redemption.

## I.

The most recent word as to the composition of this curious drama has been said by my friend, Mr W. W. Greg, in his excellent edition of *Henslowe's Diary*<sup>5</sup>. Mr Greg there shows that certain entries of broad-side ballads in the Stationers' Register for August and September, 1594, prove Merry's murder of Beech and his servant to have taken place on August 23, 1594. He also notes, as had been previously pointed out by Fleay and other scholars, that several payments made by Henslowe in 1599 and 1600 to the playwrights, Day and Haughton, for 'Thomas Merry' or 'Beech's Tragedy' evidently had to do with the incidents of this crime. Again following Fleay, Mr Greg calls attention to Henslowe's payments about the same time to Chettle for the 'Orphans' Tragedy,' and to Day for some nameless 'Italian Tragedy.' Mr Greg's theory as to the composition of the play bearing Yarington's name is slightly modified from that of Fleay. It is that the Merry portion of the *Two Lamentable Tragedies* was originally written by Haughton and Day; that the other part was the joint product of Chettle and Day. But as 'there is certainly no trace of [Day's] hand now remaining,' Mr Greg continues, 'I conjecture that Day contributed

<sup>1</sup> Dr G. F. Reynolds touches on these and other points in the play in the course of a suggestive article 'Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging,' *Modern Philology*, II, pp. 581—614; III, pp. 69—97.

<sup>2</sup> Bullen, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Bullen, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Bullen, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Pt II, *Commentary* (London, 1908), pp. 208 f.

a more or less independent underplot to each, and that these were dropt when the main plots were amalgamated.' The amalgamation, he supposes on the basis of another payment by Henslowe, was the work of Chettle, though from the style of the Induction, that part may 'have originally belonged to *Thomas Merry*, and have only been altered by Chettle to fit the composite play. The piece as we have it was certainly copied out, and to some extent edited by one hand, for the curious direction "to the people" for "aside" occurs in both parts, and certain peculiarities of spelling run throughout. These are due, I believe, not to Chettle, but to Yarrington, the scribe, as I take it, who placed his name at the end of the MS. whence it found its [way] on to the title-page'. Then Mr Greg courteously refers to the fact that my own conclusions are different from his, but have not yet been published.

In other words, if I understand him aright, Mr Greg thinks that this excessively crude play, marked on its title-page and at its end with the name of Rob. Yarrington, is primarily not Yarrington's work at all, but the composite product of four men, three of them experienced playwrights; and, further, that most or all of that written by the best one of these dramatists was dropped from the play in the amalgamation of its two chief plots. On its face such a complex theory, even though tentatively suggested by a scholar of Mr Greg's standing, will not readily be accepted.

## II.

One may surmise that two reasons have led Mr Greg to the position just stated. The first is a desire to explain the successive payments of Henslowe, on behalf of the Admiral's company of actors, to Day and Haughton from November 21 to December 6, 1599, for 'Thomas Merry' or 'Beech's Tragedy'; and also certain payments made about the same time, on behalf of the same company, to Chettle for the 'Orphans' Tragedy'. The second reason is that Mr Greg sees in the printed *Two Lamentable Tragedies* certain marked stylistic differences between the two plots.

That Day and Haughton wrote for the Admiral's men a tragedy on the subject of the murder of Beech by Merry, that they completed the

<sup>1</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, Pt II, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot myself see why much should be made of the fact that Day (not Chettle) was then being paid for 'a nameless "Italian tragedy."' Surely Italian tragedies were common enough in that day to obviate necessity for this identification with the second plot of the Yarrington play. *Romeo and Juliet* or *Othello*, to go no further, might have been so described by Henslowe.

play, and that it was licensed the next month<sup>1</sup>, cannot be disputed. But that this tragedy is identical with the Merry portion of the Yarington play is evidently questioned even by Mr Greg, who sees that that part is not long enough alone to form a complete play, and can find 'no trace of [Day's] hand now remaining' in either plot. Hence comes the somewhat implausible suggestion that Day's 'more or less independent underplot' was dropped out of the play later. It is by no means certain that Chettle's 'Orphans' Tragedy' treats the second theme of our play<sup>2</sup>. But granting that Chettle was writing a play, or part of a play on the subject of the 'Babes in the Wood,' the record of Henslowe indicates that he received for his work far less than did Day and Haughton, even though he is supposed to have amalgamated the two plots. But the record does not show that his tragedy was ever licensed, or even finished. A more natural inference is that Chettle never completed the play for which he received these sums in advance, and what we know of Chettle's character does not destroy the suspicion.

In arguing as to style Mr Greg appears to be surer of his ground. He says: 'In the extant play it is evident that the two plots are the work of different writers, though I cannot trace more than one hand in each as one would expect to from Henslowe's entries....The Merry part is written in an extraordinary wooden bombast of grotesque commonplace, which it would be difficult to parallel except from some broadside ballads, and which one may well hesitate to father on any one. I suppose, however, that it must have had an author, and of Haughton's work we know little. The "Orphans" part, though feeble enough, is much better written, the author having feeling and some notion of poetry. He actually uses rime and classical allusions, both of which are wholly foreign to the style of his collaborator. There is plenty of rant but it is upon more promising subjects than privies and ditches. On the whole it is quite good enough to be by Chettle<sup>3</sup>.'

On such a subject one must allow for the personal equation. Now in reading the play I do not feel to such an extent as does Mr Greg, these supposed differences in style between the two parts. Several passages in the Orphan tragedy, like the hunting scene of the Duke and his companions near Padua, Allenso's lament over Pertillo's corpse, and the dialogue between the disguised shepherds, strike a higher note,

<sup>1</sup> They were paid 'in full, £5' on December 6, 1599. Henslowe paid seven shillings for licensing the play in January. Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> I am informed that there exists a thrilling American 'dime novel' entitled, *Seven Buckets of Blood, or The Orphan Hack-Driver's Revenge*. Such a story might have furnished Chettle with his theme and title. The orphans are always with us.

<sup>3</sup> p. 209.



I admit, than do any parts of the Merry tragedy. But it is somewhat easier to treat imaginatively, even poetically, the incidents connected with the slaying of an innocent child in Italy at some indefinite time, than the widely discussed events of a certain notorious, brutal murder of a shop-keeper which has recently taken place in the very city where the drama is to be acted, and the subsequent events of the hanging, witnessed by many spectators of the play.

That certain passages in the two plots are not wholly unlike in style must be acknowledged by any one who has read the concluding scene to each tragedy. The situations in both are very similar. In each case not only the murderer but an innocent relative who has helped to conceal the criminal after his act, is condemned to execution. All four culprits in long laments, precisely in keeping with the style of the broadside ballad, acknowledge their sins, pray God for forgiveness, and announce their readiness for death.

There are further resemblances of style. Let the following passages be compared. The first five lines below are taken from the Merry portion of the Yarrington play, concluding Act iv, Scene 5. The second quotation, beginning Act iv, Scene 6, is from the Orphan tragedy, but immediately follows the first in the printed play. I think I distinguish the same writer in both.

## 1.

*Rachel.* Rest still in calme secure tranquillitie,  
And over-blowe this storme of mightie feare  
With pleasant gales of hoped quietnesse.  
Go when you will; I will attend, and pray  
To send this wofull night a cheerfull day.

## 2.

*Fallerio.* Passe ore these rugged furrowes of laments  
And come to plainer pathes of cheerefulness;  
Cease thy continuall showers of thy woe<sup>1</sup>.

To the Orphan plot Mr Greg has done more than justice in his comments on it. Two or three more quotations from one scene in this part of the Yarrington play will not gratify æsthetic tastes, but may serve to show that its rant is on no more elevated subjects than is that of the Merry tragedy:

1 *Mur.* Grace me no graces, I respect no grace,  
But with a grace, to give a gracelesse stab;  
To chop folkes legges and armes off by the stumpes,  
To see what shift theile make to scramble home;  
Pick out mens eyes, and tell them thats the sport  
Of hood-man-blinde, without all sportivenesse<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bullen, pp. 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

You are too shallow; if you gull me so,  
Chop of my head to make a Sowsing-tub,  
And fill it full of tripes and chitterlinges<sup>1</sup>.

2 *mu.* Feare not, sweet child, he shall not murther thee.

1 *mu.* No, but my sword shall let his puddings forth<sup>2</sup>.

1 *mur.* Swoones, I am peppered, I had need have salt,  
Or else to morrow I shall yeeld a stincke  
Worse then a heape of dirty excrements<sup>3</sup>.

Of the Merry plot Mr Greg states that rime is 'wholly foreign to the style' of the author. Surely this assertion was a slip, for rimed couplets are not infrequent in that part of the play<sup>4</sup>. Examples follow:

Then since no meanes can make my sorrowes lesse,  
Suffer me waile a woe which wants redresse<sup>5</sup>.

I would endeavour all my comming dayes  
To please my maker and exalt his praise<sup>6</sup>.

*Corv.* Why, now you fall into your auncient vaine.

*Wil.* Tis vaine to urge me from this silent vaine;

I will conceale it, though it breed my paine<sup>7</sup>.

Indeed, so far from agreeing with Mr Greg that the two plots are evidently the work of different authors, I can find no sufficient evidence to support his theory, but much to show the same bungling, inexperienced hand in both parts.

A more positive objection, however, to this theory of composition seems to have been entirely overlooked by Mr Greg, as well as by Fleay. The Induction to the printed play, in alluding to the two murders involved, reads:

The one was done in famous London late,  
Within that streete whose side the River Thames  
Doth strive to wash from all impuritie.....  
The most here present, know this to be true<sup>8</sup>.

Later on the Chorus refers to the hanging of Merry and his sister, about to be enacted on the stage:

Your eyes shall wnesse of their shaded tipes  
Which many heere did see perform'd indeed<sup>9</sup>.

Now to my mind the inference is clear that these lines were written very soon after the murder and the execution, when the events were fresh in the minds of London citizens. But entries in the Stationers'

<sup>1</sup> Bullen, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Greg likewise declares 'classical allusions' wholly foreign to this author's style. But he says that 'the Induction...rather resembles the Merry part in style.' Yet we have in the Induction and Choruses references to Elisium, Alcides, Zoilus, and Tantalus.

<sup>5</sup> Bullen, p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Register, cited by Mr Greg, show that the murder occurred August 23, 1594, and the execution of the Merrys on September 6, 1594. Day and Haughton, however, did not write *Thomas Merry* until the end of 1599, and it was 1601 before Chettle composed these choruses, if it was he who 'effected the conjunction' between the two plots. Considering the frequency of murders and executions in London at that time, I cannot believe that the language quoted alludes to events more than six years past.

Until stronger evidence to the contrary is presented, my own conviction will remain that the play as we have it was written in the latter part of 1594 by Rob. Yarrington, the author named on the title page. To paraphrase Mr Greg's words, 'One may well hesitate to father [the *Two Lamentable Tragedies*] on any one. I suppose, however, that it must have had an author, and of [Yarrington's] work we know little'—in fact, nothing at all beyond this play. But to compose even the 'Babes in the Wood' part would not require extraordinary genius.

It is not the primary purpose of this paper to interpret the entries in Henslowe. In my opinion neither Day's nor Haughton's work is preserved under Yarrington's name. I believe they wrote another tragedy on this subject, perhaps a revamping of Yarrington's earlier work. Chettle may have had as his task the revision of the second plot, though that is doubtful. No one acquainted with the history of Elizabethan quartos will think it strange that a play written in 1594 was not printed till 1601. The manuscript probably did not fall into the printer's hands until the later date.

The section which follows is in no wise dependent on what has gone before, but it is believed that it will strengthen the case for conclusions already reached.

### III.

In April, 1594, as we learn again from *Henslowe's Diary*, a play of 'kinge leare' was acted for several nights by 'the Quenes men & my lord of Sussex to geather<sup>1</sup>.' Presumably it was the same play, registered as the 'historye of Leire kinge of England and his Three Daughters,' by the printer, Edward White, on May 14 of that year<sup>2</sup>. This latter date will be noted as more than three months before the night of the murder on which the Merry tragedy is based. Unfortunately no copy of White's 1594 edition of the *Leir* is preserved to us, but among those

<sup>1</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, I, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Register*, II, p. 649.

who have investigated the subject there is unanimous agreement that the anonymous *Leir* play printed by Stafford for Wright in 1605 is really that which was on the stage and registered in 1594<sup>1</sup>. Hence, regardless of all theories as to authorship of either play, we may feel reasonably certain that the *Leir* as printed was written at least several months earlier than the Merry part of the *Two Lamentable Tragedies*.

Now a year or two ago I called attention to the fact<sup>2</sup> that one unusual line is common to both these plays. The line runs:

Ah, do not so disconsolate your selfe<sup>3</sup>.

The peculiar use of the verb would render futile any contention that the identity of the two lines is fortuitous. Personally I have no doubt that Yarington took the words from the earlier play.

But the line in question occurs in the Merry portion of the *Two Lamentable Tragedies*. Between certain lines from the Orphan tragedy and other lines from the *Leir* the similarity is scarcely less marked. This fact will be best brought out by the use of parallel columns:

*Two Lamentable Tragedies.*

*King Leir.*

1 *Ruf.* Be not so bitter; we are they  
indeede,

That would deprive our fathers of their  
lives,

So we were sure to have a benefit:

I way no more the murthring of a child,  
Drag'd from the sucking bosome of his  
mother,

Then I respect to quaffe a boule of wine,  
Unto his health, that dearely loveth me.

2 *Ruff*...Ide hang my brother for to  
wear his coate,

That all that saw me might have cause  
to say,

There is a hart more firme than Adamant,  
To practise execrable butcheries.

*Fall*...There is a thicket ten miles  
from this place,

Whose secret ambush and unused wayes  
Doth seeme to ioyne with our conspiracie:  
There murther him....

1 *Ruff.* Swones her's rewards would  
make one kill himselfe,

To leave his progenie so rich a prize!

*Mes.* I haue a hart compact of  
Adamant

Which neuer knew what melting pittie  
meant.

I weigh no more the murdring of a  
man,

Then I respect the cracking of a Flea,  
When I doe catch her byting on my skin.

If you will haue your husband or your  
father,

Or both of them sent to another world,  
Do but commaund me doo't, it shall be  
done<sup>4</sup>.

*Rag.* To morrow morning ere the  
breake of day,

I by a wyle will send them to the thicket,  
That is about some two myles from the  
Court...

This is ynough, I know, they will not  
fayle,

And then be ready for to play thy part<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Evidence for this conclusion is largely internal and cannot be reproduced here. Some external evidence I presented in a short article, 'On the Date of King Lear,' *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, Vol. xxi, pp. 462-477, June, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> In *Modern Language Notes*, xxiii, pp. 94 f., March, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, Bullen, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 36; *King Leir*, ed. Greg, *Malone Society Reprints*, 1907, l. 866.

<sup>4</sup> ll. 1212-1219.

<sup>5</sup> ll. 1332-4, 1338 f.

Were twentie lives engadged for this coine,  
Ide end them all, to have the money  
mine.

2 *Ruff*....Two hundred markes to give  
a paltrie stab!

.....  
*Fall*. Why man, he hath no father  
left alive....

2 *Ruff*. Why, then his little sonne is  
much to blame  
That doth not keepe his father company.

When shall we have deliverie of the boy?  
*Fall*. To morrow morning by the  
breake of day<sup>4</sup>.

*Duke*. Stand close awhile, and over-  
heare his wordes;  
He seemes much over-gone with passion<sup>6</sup>.

*Fall*. Never the like impietie was  
done  
Amother slaine, with terror of the sonne<sup>8</sup>!

*Mes*. I could teare ten in pieces with  
my teeth,  
So in my mouth yould put a purse of  
gold<sup>1</sup>.

*Mes*. I, this is it will make me do the  
deed:  
Oh, had I euery day such customers,  
This were the gainefulst trade in Chris-  
tendome!  
A purse of gold giu'n for a paltry  
stabbe<sup>2</sup>!

*Mes*. Why, he must go along with you  
to heaven:  
It were not good you should go all alone.  
*Leir*. No doubt, he shal, when by the  
course of nature,  
He must surrender up his due to death:  
But that time shall not come, till God  
permit.  
*Mes*. Nay, presently, to beare you  
company.  
I haue a Pasport for him in my pocket,  
Already seald, and he must needs ride  
Poste.

*Shew a bagge of money*<sup>3</sup>.

*Mes*. But in what maner must it be  
effected?  
*Rag*. To morrow morning ere the  
breake of day,  
I by a wyle will send them to the  
thicket<sup>5</sup>.

Nay, prithy do not, they do seeme to be  
Men much o'regone with grieve and  
misery.  
Let's stand aside, and harken what they  
say<sup>7</sup>.

*King*. Nor neuer like impiety was  
done,  
Since the creation of the world begun<sup>9</sup>.

While significance may not attach to some of the parallels cited, if they are taken alone, yet at least a half-dozen lines of the Yarrington play so closely resemble the wording of the *Leir* that the agreement cannot be set down to chance. It has been noted that the one identical line appears in the Merry tragedy, but that all the other lines come from the Orphan plot, and most of them from a scene which ends on the same printed page as the identical line just noted. The bearing of this fact on the theory of separate authorship for the two plots is

<sup>1</sup> ll. 1329 f.

<sup>4</sup> Bullen, pp. 34 f.

<sup>7</sup> ll. 2109—2111.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 1223—6.

<sup>5</sup> ll. 1331—3.

<sup>8</sup> p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> ll. 1675—82.

<sup>6</sup> p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> ll. 2281 f.



obvious<sup>1</sup>. In some cases the similarity shows in thought, but more frequently it is in the language used, the expression of a commonplace idea. The phrasing of the older play seems to have been retained in memory, and to have been reproduced in the later drama more or less unconsciously.

Are we, then, to believe that the two plays had a common author? I think a careful study of them both by any student will at once produce a negative answer to the query. The *Leir* as a whole, and in the scenes just quoted, is so far superior to the Yarington play in plotting, in characterization, and in sense of form that it cannot possibly be accounted an earlier work of the same dramatist. Moreover there is evidence of more borrowing on Yarington's part from at least one other contemporary drama. Fallerio, in the Orphan plot, addresses his father, a conscienceless villain but not a hunchback, as

Thou raw-bonde lumpe of foule deformitie<sup>2</sup>.

Compare Anne's speech to Gloucester, *Richard III*, I, ii, 57 :

Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity.

The originator here will scarcely be doubted, but it is worthy of remark that *Richard III* like *King Leir* was probably on the stage in 1594<sup>3</sup>.

In my opinion, then, we have in the *Two Lamentable Tragedies* a play written towards the end of 1594, soon after the execution of Thomas and Rachel Merry. Its author, who calls himself Rob. Yarington, I take to have been some obscure hanger-on at the theatres, perhaps an actor, or even a ballad-writer, if we may judge from the style of his verse. The *Two Tragedies* may have been his first and last attempt at playwriting. Perhaps this play later fell into the hands of Henslowe, who set Day, Haughton, and Chettle at work to make out of it two tragedies no longer extant. But if there is objection to this last theory, I am not ready to defend it.

<sup>1</sup> But if Yarington wrote the entire play, why did he borrow so much more from the *Leir* in the Orphan tragedy than in the other part? Perhaps the answer may be found in the perfect literalism of the Merry plot, providing situations far different from the romantic *Leir*. The lines imitated from the *Leir* come chiefly from four scenes—three in which Gonorill or Ragan plots with the Messenger to slay their father and Perillus, and one in which the attempted murder fails. The latter scene resembles in many details the one in the Yarington play where the orphan Pertillo is killed. Practically all lines cited above from the Orphan plot have to do with Pertillo's death.

<sup>2</sup> Bullen, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> So probably was Greene's *James IV*, which was licensed for printing in 1594. Now the matter is scarcely worth mention in the text, but I think it more natural that Greene should have Sir Bartram, a Scot, declare, 'By sweet S. Andrew and may sale I sweare' (Manly, *Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, II, p. 347) than that Fallerio, an Italian, in Yarington's play should swear, 'By sweete S. Andrew and my fathers soule.' (Bullen, p. 71.)

If both parts were composed, as I believe they were, in 1594, the unconventional stage directions belong to a date seven years earlier than that usually assigned to the play. At the same time the Orphan plot must be taken as antedating the ballad of *The Children in the Wood*, which was licensed in 1595<sup>1</sup>. With one orphan victim and the scene laid near Padua, the play probably preserves the older version of the story. The anonymous composer of the ballad, possessed of a finer poetic sense than Yarrington dreamed of, shifted the events to Norfolk in order to bring their pathos home to his English readers.

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<sup>1</sup> This question as to priority of composition has been mooted ever since the days of Percy, who observes (*Reliques*, III, p. 171), 'Whoever compares the play with the ballad will have no doubt that the former is the original: the language is far more obsolete, and such a vein of simplicity runs through the whole that had the ballad been written first, there is no doubt but every circumstance of it would have been received into the drama.' Ritson supposed that he completely refuted this statement in pointing out that the ballad was entered in 1595, while the play was not published till 1601. But if Yarrington wrote his work in 1594, Percy's opinion is correct. See also Furness, *Variorum Shakespeare, Richard III*, pp. 611—617; Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, pp. 346 f.

## EINE MITTELNIEDERLÄNDISCHE MYSTIKER- HANDSCHRIFT.

Vor einiger Zeit zeigte mir der Londoner Antiquar J. Tregaskis eine zierliche nl. Handschrift und erlaubte mir breitwilligst eine Beschreibung davon zu nehmen. Seither ist, wie ich erfahre, die Handschrift nach Holland verkauft worden. Da sie m.W. bisher keine nähere Beachtung erfahren hat, ihr Inhalt jedoch für das Kapitel: mystische Theologie interessant ist, so mag die Veröffentlichung meiner damals genommenen kurzen Notizen hier am Platze sein.

Der unsignierte Codex vereinigt unter einem modernen roten Sammeteinband drei durch Beschneiden der Ränder auf denselben Umfang d.i. 13·6 cm. × 9·9 cm. gebrachte Handschriften, deren jede durchaus von je einer Hand wohl um die Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts geschrieben ist. Ich behandle also die Teile I—III getrennt:

I. Eine Pergamentlage von 16 Blättern + einer Vordercustode. Als Schmuck zeigt sich auf dem ersten Blatt eine blaurote Initiale mit farbiger Verzierung und Randwerk; ausserdem blaue und rote Kapitale und rote Überschriften. Die Schrift steht auf und zwischen Linien.

Inhalt: DIE SIEBEN BUSSPSALMEN in der Übertragung Gheert Grootes, vgl. Moll in *Verhandelg. d. Acad. d. Wetenschap., Afd. Letterkde.*, XIII (1880), S. 53 ff.

*Hier beghinnē die seuen psalmen* (rot).

*Here in dijne verbolghenheit enstraffe mi niet noch in dinen toerne en beruspe mi niet* —

Es folgt *Die Letanie* (rot), vgl. Moll, a. a. O., S. 9 ff. und *Die Collect* (rot).

Schluss: *Gode segghe wi danc. Alle ghelouighe sielen moeten rusten in vrede. Amen.*

II. Eine Papierhs., und zwar eine Lage zu 12 Bll. und sieben Lagen zu je 8 Bll. Als Schmuck finden sich rote, kunstlose Initialen, rotdurchstrichene grosse Buchstaben, rote Absatzzeichen ¶ und schliess-

lich eine rote Subscriptio: *Och leert steruen*. Dass dieser Teil des Codex wenigstens — wahrscheinlich aber der ganze — von weiblicher Hand angefertigt ward, ergibt sich aus den unten gedruckten Schreiber-verse: *Voer den scriffter nu wilt oec bidden | dat si mach comen totter cribben* etc. Des Inhalts wegen könnte man an Entstehung in einem der Häuser der Schwestern vom gemeinen Leben oder an eines der Frauenklöster der Windesheimer Kongregation denken. Für den Gebrauch in den Frauenhäusern waren ja auch die in 1 angeführten Übersetzungen Grootes in erster Linie bestimmt.

#### Inhalt:

Ein mnl. Tractat in Briefform (*Die Epistole dē novicien ēn den ionghen gheestelike psonē te leren*); er wird von dem Verfasser der ihm folgenden und durch ihn veranlassten Reimerei GHEERT GROOTE zugeschrieben; unter den bekannten Schriften des Meisters steht er, soviel ich sehen kann, nicht.

Anfang: *Hier beghint dat<sup>1</sup> prologus in der epistolen dē nouicien ēn den ionghen gheestelike psonē te leren*.

*IN xpo ihesu, alre liefste, du hebste my langhe tijt ghebeden ēn mit ghestadigh' anhanghen van mi begheert di wat te scriuen te leringhe tot salicheit dijnre zielen — (Rückseite des 1. Bl.) datti dit behaghet ond' correctie ēn v'beteringhe eens anders van betere leringhe*.

Anfang der Epistel: ¶ *Hoe hem een te rechte bereyde sal te gaen in der oerde. Teerst capittel*.

*Alre liefste, wantu in eenre heiligher oerden gaen wilste aennemende een heilige beghinsel eens waerachtich gheestelix leuens ēn mitten viant alre dogheden<sup>2</sup> ēn alle goeder werkē te stride gaen, so ist ti eerst noet ēn oerbarlic, alle wleyschelike mīne, begheerte ēn toeneighen van dijnre harten te doen etc.*

Die Epistel zerfällt in 38 Kapitel, deren letztes die Überschrift hat: *Hoe men niet arbeiden en sel om diensten of hoeghen staet te vercrighen, ēn hoemen scuwen sel vermetenht ēn groet willen te schinen*.

Den Schluss bildet folgendes Nachwort:

*Dit hebbe ic di ghescreuen om dijnre anhanghender begheerte ēn om dijnre mīnen willen ēn hebt mit groten arbeit vollbrocht als onse lieue h'e verleende, ēn hebbe sommighe dinghen om d' corthheit over gheslaghen. Daer om rade ic di dattu dicwyl leeste ēn weder leeste dat spiegel d' moniken, dat spiegel sinte bernaerts<sup>3</sup>, die epistel totten broederē in den*

<sup>1</sup> Über der Zeile ergänzt.

<sup>2</sup> Davor *doech* durchstrichen.

<sup>3</sup> Eine mnl. Übersetzung s. in *Tijdschr. v. Ned. Taal- en Letterk.*, Deel xiv, 20—25. Ist sie Gheert Grootte zuzuschreiben?

berghe gods, profectus en sinte Iheronimus steruen. In welken ic hoepe, dattu vele dinghen selste vindē, di di noet syn tot salicheit dijnre zielen. Nu alre liefste, ic hebbe mi seluen onwijs en dwaes ghemaect om dine salicheit en hebbe my meester ghemaect, eer ic discipel te rechte gheworden bin. En hebbe mi onder wonden and'en menschē te leren · het hadde mi saligher gheweest, dat ic mi seluen gheleert hadde, want ic heb di gheleert te houden dat ic selue leyder niet en doe, ende hebbe di gheleert somighe dinghe te laten, di ic selue alle daghe doe. Nochtan ic nu apset en wil mi mitti beteren en werden oec discipel in mijns selfs leringhe..... Ic beuele mi dijnre ghestadigher ghebeden · en als ic doot bin, so wil mi niet vergheten in dijnre memorien in der missen. Onse lieue heer moet di bewaren en di volstandicheit gheuen tot enen salighen eynde toe, want so wie volstandich is tot in den eynden toe, die sel behouden bliuden. Dis gunne di en ons allen mitti die vader, die soen en die heilighe gheest. **AMEN.**

Darauf folgt, ohne durch eine besondere Initiale hervorgehoben zu sein, die oben angezogene Reimerei in abgesetzten Zeilen, so zwar, dass der erste Buchstabe der ungeraden Zeilen gross geschrieben und rot gestrichelt ist. Sie verrät freilich mehr guten Willen und Andacht als dichterische Begabung:

*Een scoen epistel is hier ghescreuen,  
na welken ons god nu gheef te leuen,  
Welc epistel oec heeft ghemaect  
meester ghert die groet van staet,*

5 *Allen nuwen voertgaende lude  
scriuende, lerende, roepende lude*

*Dat leuen xpi mit herten te volghen,  
op dat hi niet en werde werbolghen,  
Als hi ten oerdel sel comen rechten*

10 *en alle dinghen warachtelic slechten,  
Den sondighen menschen dat ewighe vier  
te gheuen als sie verdienen hier,  
Den lāmeren staende te rechter hant  
tonfanghen so guetelic in sijnre hant.*

15 *Och! of ic nu so machte leuen,  
als in der epistelen staet ghescreuen  
En si ons leert tot alre stont:  
te reynighen dat herte al inder gront,*

14. *tonfanghen*, das übergeschriebene *t* von jüngerer Hand.



- Vrolic eñ blide soud ic wesen  
 20 eñ alle mijnen druc seer wel ghenesen,  
 Want voer den oerdel so soud ic staen  
 sonder enighe sonde bevaen.  
 Wat isser oec blider nv in der tijt  
 der consciencien ghene strijt  
 25 Inder herten nv te draghen,  
 daer luttel menschen nv om vraghen,  
 Eñ inder aerden also te leuen  
 also ment wilt nemen eñ gheuen?  
 Och! of si alle nv wouden merken  
 30 haer leuen, haer woerden eñ werken  
 Die te regieren eñ te schicken  
 in alle manieren eñ sticken  
 Als dese epistel ons allen nv leert,  
 si souden gheringhe al worden bekeert  
 35 Tot compunctien eñ tot suchten  
 van haren sonden daer si voer duchten;  
 Mer si en vordēn niet als te veel,  
 al lesen die scriften si al gheheel.  
 Wat mach die zaec al hier of wesen  
 40 so luttel te vorderen, als sise lesen?  
 Die sake daer of die moghē wi ramē,  
 als ons die scriften daer of vernamen,  
 Die sake daer of, also ic meen,  
 die macher of wesen oec nv aleen  
 45 Dat wys niet zeer tot herten en trecken  
 eñ onse ziel so seer beulecken,  
 Oec onse herten so sijn versteent,  
 wat die scrifte daer mede meent,  
 Niet ouer en legghen in onse ghemoede,  
 50 so datse mocht comen tot allen goede;  
 Mer die scriuer en heuet te min,  
 al ist dat wi daer ghene sin  
 Noch ru en hebben noch cōnen verstaen  
 ghelyc een blint mensch in der maen.  
 55 Hier om wāneer wi scriften lesen,  
 laet ons altoes mit herten vresen

23. in der, davor inder ausgestrichen. 41. daer, davor die ausgestrichen.  
 42. vernamen] vermen. 45. tot aus te korrigiert. 51. l. die scriftuer?  
 54. maen] n aus r korrigiert.

- Eñ eder cauwen in onser zielen,  
 en willen wijs anders niet vernielē.  
 Want wat wi lesen of wat wi scriuē,  
 60 wi moetent in onser herten wriuen  
 Een gheestelic broot daer of te makē,  
 dat onse zielen wel mach smaken;  
 Mit welken brode wi worden gheuoet  
 eñ so sterc in onse ghemoet  
 65 Teghens den viant tot allen tiden  
 manlic te vechten eñ te striden,  
 Oec mede te wanderen totten throen,  
 daer die enghelen singhen so scoen.  
 Laet ons nv bidden mit naersticheit  
 70 gode van den hemel mit ynnicheit,  
 Marien onser lieuer vrouwen,  
 dattet ons allen moet ghewouden  
 Mit allen heilighen daer toe mede,  
 dat wi nv moeten hebben vreden  
 75 Eñ twoert gods so moeten ontfanghen,  
 dat wi altoes daer na verlanghen  
 Mit herte, mit ziele dat te plegghen,  
 om te vorderen in onsen leuen  
 Tot volmaectheit der heiliger doghedē  
 80 eñ te leuen mit alre vrogheden.  
 Die coninc der glorien die moet ons gheue  
 een salich einde na desen leuen. Amen.*

Der Rest des Blattes (2 Zeilen) ist leer, auf dem nächsten folgen acht Schreiberverse, die ihrem Tone nach wohl auch vom Verfasser des Gedichtes herrühren werden. Sie lauten:

- Voer den scriffter nv wilt oec bidden,  
 dat si mach comen totter cribben  
 Ihesu xpi des menschen soen,  
 mit hem to hebben dat grote loen,  
 5 Dat hi belouet sinen vriendē  
 in der aerden, die hem dienen:  
 Sijn loen moet sijn dat ewighe leuen,  
 dat ihesus xps ons allen moet gheue.  
 Amen.*

Darunter der häufige Vers:

*Een cort iolijt in deser tyt v'corē  
dats zekerlijc voer hemelrijc te veel v'lorē.*

Nach dem *si* in v. 2 zu urteilen handelte es sich also um eine geistliche Frau als Verfasserin der Reimerei und obiger Schlussverse; allein das *den scriffter* (st. *de scrijverse*) in v. 1 und das an und für sich zwar nicht unmögliche *sijn* (st. *haer*) in v. 7 weisen doch zu deutlich auf einen Mann als Schreiber und Reimer der Vorlage, dessen Arbeit jene nur eben kopierte und dabei *\*hi* in *si* änderte. Auf welche Autorität sich der Schreiber der Vorlage stützte, als er den Traktat, der seine gutgemeinten Verse auslöste, Gheert Groote zuschrieb, können wir nicht wissen. Seine Vorlage mag den Namen enthalten haben, er kann ihm aber auch durch Hörensagen vermittelt worden sein.

Zwei Prosagebete zu *Christus* und je ein Spruch des hl. *Gregorius* und *Augustinus* bringen diesen Teil des Codex zum Abschluss.

III. Pergament; fünf Lagen zu je 8 Bl., doch fehlt der vierten Bl. 2 und 3. Blaue, rot ausgezierte Initialen eröffnen jedes selbständige Stück; sonst finden sich einfach rote und blaue Kapitale, rot durchstrichene grosse Buchstaben, rot unterstrichene Wörter, rote Überschriften und rote Absatzzeichen. Die Schrift steht auf und zwischen mit Röteln gezogenen Linien.

Folgendes ist der Inhalt:

1. *Eene guede dagelixe oefeninge in die weke* (rot).

*Alle die werelt is in enē quaden geset dat is in een vuyr der begeerlicheit deser nedersten dingen..... Hier om ist noot dat die mensche elle dage enē voirworp der oefeninge voirneme dair sūn harte mede geuangen werde dattet bi gode in eenvoudicheden bliuen moge. Des Sonnendages* (rot). *Ten eersten is: des sonnēdages seltu dencken an dinē scepper etc.* Betrachtungen für jeden Tag bis *des sat'dages*.

2. *Dit is van guet exempel te geuē* (rot).

*Sinte pouwels scriuet aldus tot dien van corinthen. Wir voirsien guede dingen niet allene voir gode mar oic voir die lude. — Die lieue heer geue ons allen gereichte kennisse ende mynne ende bidde voir mi blinde ende coude mensche.*

*Hier endet van hoe anxtelic dattet is and' lude quaet exempel te geuē off te scandalisierē.*

3. Ohne Titel: *Die heilige leraer sinte pouwels spreect dat dat rike goods dat bynnē ons is dat is gerechtiz; vrede ende bliscap in den heiligen gheest. wie wil mit gode vmmermeer regnieren off tot gode comen off dat god in hē woene, die moet dese drie in hem voelen of dair na pinen, dat hi se crige na sünre macht.* Der Traktat füllt 5 Bll. und scheint abzu-  
brechen mit: *Och armen, hoe wort menich mensch ontstecken int harte, in tonge, in lyue mit gruwelikē helschē zweren ende scelden om een cleyn woirt redelic off onredelic dat sȳ naeste sprecket.* Die Rückseite dieses Blattes und die Vorderseite des nächsten sind leer, darauf folgt als letztes Stück:

4. Eine Predigt *H. Seuses* auf Cant. Cantic. 1, 15:

*Lectulus nost' floridus. Dese woirde staen gescreuen ind' mynnen boke — ēn dat si sonder alle middel vā gode in dat ewige leuen ontfangen wair. Daer brenge ons die mynre der reynicheit, die geuer der salicheit, die troester ind' gelatenheit ihesus cristus. Amen.*

Vgl. Bihlmeyer, Heinrich Seuse, *Deutsche Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1907, S. 505—8; über die Verbreitung der Predigt im Niederländischen, wofür unsere Hs. ein neues Zeugnis ist, W. Dolch, *Die Verbreitung oberländischer Mystikerwerke im Niederländischen*, Leipziger Dissertation, 1909, I. S. 80.

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## THE 'TRACTATUS ORTHOGRAPHIAE' OF T. H., PARISII STUDENTIS.

Two of the extant treatises on French Orthography compiled in the Middle Ages for the benefit of the inhabitants 'in partibus cismarinis' have been already published: the *Orthographia Gallica*<sup>1</sup> and its commentaries, and the *Tractatus Orthographiae*<sup>2</sup> of Coyfurelly, Doctor in law of Orleans, a remaniement, as the compiler himself tells us, of the work of a certain 'T. H., student of Paris.'

The short treatise published below is contained in the manuscript Addit. 17716, f. 88—91, of the British Museum. It did not escape the notice of the editor of the *Orthographia Gallica*, but the terms in which he mentions it in his preface are so misleading that its importance has been consistently overlooked. 'Coyfurelly's Traktat,' he remarks<sup>3</sup>, 'steht in einem 2. MS....Der Text weicht öfter vom Oxforder MS. ab.'

The view of the relationship between the two treatises implied in these words is, we venture to think, entirely erroneous. The short treatise contained in the MS. of the British Museum is not merely another version of the *Tractatus Orthographiae* of Coyfurelly; it is the original on which his treatise is based, i.e., the work of T. H., the Parisian student, and may even, we believe, dispute the claim of the *Orthographia Gallica* to be considered the earliest extant orthographical treatise on the French language.

The detailed comparison of the two treatises leaves no doubt as to the relationship that exists between them.

<sup>1</sup> *Orthographia Gallica, Ältester Traktat über französische Aussprache und Orthographie*, published by Stürzinger in the *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Stengel in the *Zeitschrift für neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur*, vol. I, pp. 16—22.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction, p. iii.



(1) The British Museum treatise is no mere abridgement of Coyfreully's work, for though considerably shorter it yet contains precepts omitted in his *Tractatus*. These are as follows:

- (a) Under § 2 (b) the remark on *v* in *avray*.
- (b) § 10 the use of *m* in the termination of the 1st pers. pl. and the pronunciation of *m* + consonant.
- (c) § 12 the use of *k* for *qu*.
- (d) § 18 (b) the remark on *doulz*.
- (e) § 19 (a) the remark on the suppression of *c* in *soloncque*.
- (f) § 25 the difference between *si* and *se*.
- (g) § 26 the remark on the conformity to Latin orthography.

We may note also that Coyfreully has nothing to correspond to sections 5 and 16, which repeat in substance rules given elsewhere.

(2) The additions and alterations in the *Tractatus* are too thorough-going and above all too systematic to be explicable on any theory of scribal carelessness or error. They indicate clearly a deliberate recasting of the older treatise. We may group them under four heads:

(a) Additional examples to rules common to both treatises, e.g., the sections dealing with final *t* and *s* mute.

(b) Amplification, codification, a correction of rules contained in the British Museum treatise, e.g., the section deals with *ll*, *l* final, *s*, *t*, *x*.

(c) New rules or remarks, e.g., pronunciation of *e* fem. (replacing § 5), *n* of third plural (replacing § 10), *k* hard, *p* final, and on the graphy *ngn*.

(d) Remarks on dialectal pronunciation and orthography, mainly Picard, e.g., *ai*, *ie*, *k*, *l*, *p* + cons., *s*, *qu* and the retention of declension<sup>1</sup>.

The aim Coyfreully set before himself in introducing these changes was clearly twofold. He wished to supply fuller information about the Picard dialect, much in vogue at his time, and, more particularly, to bring the earlier treatise up to date.

It is notoriously difficult to date the changes in mediaeval French with any accuracy, but there is no doubt that the additions and omissions

<sup>1</sup> Completely misunderstood by Coyfreully.

combined mark a very considerable advance in pronunciation and in its observation. Coyfurelly's new rules run as follows:

(1) *E* vero sonum fere tenebit sicut *a* littera et principaliter in fine dictionis cum brevi et acuto accentu pronunciandum, verbi gracia: *Je vien i endrois. Veicy belle chose*, p. 17, ll. 14—16.

(2) *N* autem posita inter vocalem et consonantem in fine alicuius dictionis, que sit verbum tercię persone pluralis numeri modi indicativi vel optativi, cuiuscumque temporis fuerit, de jure non sonabitur, verbi gratia *ils aiment, ils lisent, ils dient; ils amoient, ils lisoient, ils disoient; ils amerent, ils listrent, ils distrent, ils amassent, ils laissent* et huiusmodi, tamen ista verba excipiuntur, sicut *vont, ont, sont, font, avoient, eurent, estoient, furent, fesoient et firent* cum omnibus eorum compositis, ut *envont, enont, enfont, ensont, enavoient* et huiusmodi, in quibus *n* sonum proprium totaliter reservabit. p. 18, ll. 15—23.

(3) *P* vero posita in fine dictionis, consonante immediate sequente sonum suum penitus omittere debet, verbi gracia *ne massez ja trop grand avoir*, exceptis propriis nominibus in *p* desinentibus ut *Philip*; set si vocalis immediate sequatur sonum suum plenarie reservabit, ut *mieux vaut assez que trop avoir*. Item ista nomina *dras, tens, cors sine p* sunt scribenda, prout rectus sonus exigit in hac parte. Tamen Romanici non tenent illam regulam, quia pro majori parte *p* in huiusmodi semper scribunt. Et in gallico bene potest itaque scribi, ut *draps, temps, corps*. p. 18, ll. 24—31.

(4) *G* autem posita in medio dictionis inter vocalem et consonantem habebit sonum quasi *n* et *g* ut *compaignon, compaignie, moigne et maigne*. Tamen Gallici pro majori parte scribunt *n* in medio, ut *compaignnon, compaignnie, moingne, maingne*, quod melius est. p. 17, ll. 17—20.

The modern character of these additions is obvious. With Coyfurelly's omissions we are on less sure ground<sup>1</sup>, but the more important of them are evidently occasioned by some change of pronunciation or orthography. Thus §§ 10 and 12 deal with two A.N. usages that fell into desuetude at a comparatively early date: the use of *m* in the termination of the 1st person plural, a survival of the old Western termination *om* or *um*, and the graphy *k*, described as archaic in the *Orthographia Gallica*<sup>2</sup>. § 25, on *si* and *se*, is directed against a usage too well established in Coyfurelly's time to be combated usefully by him<sup>3</sup>.

The general significance, then, of the changes introduced by Coyfurelly and the relationship between the two treatises is unmistakable. The *Tractatus* is a remaniement of the British Museum treatise and this latter work may without temerity be ascribed to the Parisian student T. H.

A further question is not without interest.

Coyfurelly's treatise was composed presumably in the latter part of

<sup>1</sup> Partly because the significance of the rule is not always clear. Cf. § 18 (b).

<sup>2</sup> § XII.

<sup>3</sup> *Si* is frequent in A.N. from the twelfth century on; cf. Rydberg, *Zur Geschichte des Französischen*, II, § 198.

the reign of Edward IV or under Richard II<sup>1</sup>. Obviously if T. H.'s work then stood in need of recasting it must have been composed some time earlier. What then is its position with regard to the *Orthographia Gallica*?

Stürzinger, it may be remembered, placed this treatise at the turn of the thirteenth century for the following reasons<sup>2</sup>:

- (1) Absence of any mention of the orthography *aun* for *an*.
- (2) The note on *k* for *qu*.
- (3) The use of *gn* for *ngn*.
- (4) The beginning of the use of *y*.
- (5) The use of round *s*.

On no single point touched on in these rules do the precepts of T. H. mark any advance in pronunciation, and in one case already noted—the use of *k* for *qu*—the usage indicated is distinctly more archaic, T. H. allowing a graphy that the *Orthographia* considers out of date. Of T. H.'s other rules the only one that seems to be based upon more modern pronunciation is the dictum on *s* + consonant (§ 14). The *Orthographia*, it will be remembered, assimilates *st* to *ght*, i.e., indicates the slightly aspirated pronunciation that preceded the suppression of this sound, while T. H.'s rule demands complete suppression. A careful scrutiny of the example given however, and more particularly of the long list of exceptions, shows that it is the formulation of the rule in T. H. that is here at fault, or at any rate too sweeping, and that the modernity of his pronunciation of this sound is more apparent than real. The examples in support of the rule all fall under the head of *s* + sonant, i.e., they illustrate the suppression of the sound in conditions under which it had long since become mute; the exceptions consist either of borrowed words, or more largely of words in which *s* stands before *t*, *p*, *c*, *ch*, i.e., in the conditions mentioned in the *Orthographia*, those under which it longest retained its sibilant character. Thus T. H. in making no mention of aspiration in these words at all, attests a pronunciation if anything more archaic than that indicated by the remark in the other treatise.

Since then T. H.'s work contains no rule attesting a pronunciation more modern than that described in the *Orthographia Gallica*, and one certainly based on earlier orthographical custom, it is not unreasonable to conclude that his treatise was the first in the field, and that it is to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stengel, *loc. cit.*, p. 23. The evidence relied upon is the mention of the Duke of Lancaster's name among the examples.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, pp. xxxix—xliv.

T. H., the Parisian student, that we must ascribe the honour of having compiled the first orthographical treatise on Northern French.

Fol. 88 r<sup>o</sup>. Cuiuslibet<sup>1</sup> creature auxilio indigentis in terris relevare ubi sperat celerius obtinere et quoniam nonnulli sunt desiderantes diversis facultatibus florescere in iuventute sicut viridarium diversis arboribus et virtutibus herbarum nobiliter plantatum vide[n]tur multociens fructus et vapores non modicum redolentes temporibus estatum feliciter propalare. Hinc est quod auxilio trinitatis que regnat trinus in uno, licet insufficiens, sermones gallicanos et formam scripture cum regulis in eisdem intendo propulsare et secundum usum et modum modernorum tam in partibus transmarinis quam cismarinis dulciter explanare, unde herbarum rami moribus et scientia primo florescere et postea in alios poterunt insingniri, omnium Regum clemencia disponente.

§ 1. Primo sciendum est quod litterarum alie sunt vocales, alie consonantes. Vocales sunt quinque, scilicet, *a, e, i, o* et *u*; et dicuntur vocales quia per se plenam vocem habent et sine illis nulla vox litteralis proferri potest. Et ex hiis quinque vocalibus due transiunt in vim consonancium, scilicet *i* et *u*, ut quando ponuntur in principio alicuius sillabe et sillabificantur cum vocali sequente, ut *iuerē, vaulter, iouster, verser* et sic de similibus.

§ 2. Et sciendum est quod *A* aliquando debet sonari fere sicut *e* litteram, verbi gracia: *Saeuz vouz faire un chauncoun. Saeuz vous traire del ark. Saeuz vous raire la barbe,* et sic de similibus.

(a) Item iste dicciones: *a, en a*, et *i a* que unum et idem significant quando capiuntur pro hoc verbo *habet*, simpliciter debent scribi sine hac litera *d* subsequenter. Idcirco errant qui huiusmodi dicciones scribunt cum *d*, verbi gracia *a, en a*, (fol. 88 v<sup>o</sup>.) quia *d* secundum gallicos nunquam ibidem scribitur nec sonatur.

(b) Item iste dicciones: *aura, en array* sine *e* in medio [scribi debent et] sonari, secundum dulce gallicum, sine *v* ut sic: *aray, en array* que indifferenter sic scribi possunt. Tamen Romanici, Britannici et Anglii scribunt easdem dicciones cum *e* in medio ut *aueray, j'aueray* et sic de similibus.

§ 3. *B* vero in medio dictionis semper debet sonari; ut *debriser, trubuler* etc., exceptis his dictionibus *debt, endebt, subget*, necnon istis

<sup>1</sup> Latin abbreviations have been expanded throughout; French ones are given in the footnotes.



verbis: *doubter*<sup>1</sup>, *redoubter*<sup>1</sup>, *substituer* in quibus et similibus *B* in medio scribi debet set non sonari.

§ 4. *C* etiam in medio dictionis quoque habet sonum *s*, ut in hiis dictionibus *cu*, *pica*, *recoi*, *frauncois*<sup>2</sup>, *rauncon*<sup>2</sup>, *chauncoun*<sup>2</sup> et huiusmodi. Unde errant qui scribunt cum *s*.

§ 5. *E* vero qui desinit in dictione et dicio subsequens incipit cum *a*, *e*, vel *o*, ut *jeo aime*, *jeo eusse loie* et similia, penitus extrahitur et de illis duabus dictionibus fiet una dicio, verbi gracia *jaime*, *ieousse loie*. Tamen ille vocales quæ transiunt in vim consonancium non tenent illam regulam.

§ 6. *G* posita in medio dictionis inter vocalem et consonantem habebit sonum quasi *ng*, ut *compaignoun*, *compaign*.

§ 7. *H* vero non est litera set aspiracionis nota, ut in hiis dictionibus: *heitez*, *haiez*, *huis*, *hors*, *hounte*, *honye*, *hopeland*, *herd*, *harde*, *aherder*, in quibus *h* semper sonabitur, set in hiis dictionibus *huit*, *huie*, *hier*, *heyer*, *heur*, *hostiller*, *he*, *helas*, *honour*<sup>3</sup>, in istis *h* non debet aspirari et sic de huiusmodi.

§ 8. *I* vero et alie vocales in medio dictionis inter duas consonantez seu inter vocalem et consonantem aut [in] fine dictionis, sonum ex utraque parte habebit, ut *biens*, *riens*, *ciens*, *liens*, *meins*, *eins*, *ioie*, *voie*, *arraier* et huiusmodi.

§ 9. *L* autem in medio dictionis, vocali immediate sequente, sonum (fol. 89 r<sup>o</sup>.) proprium reservabit, ut *ouelement*, *parlant*<sup>4</sup>. Set si consonans immediate sequatur, tunc *l* habebit sonum *u*, ut *loialment*, *principalment*, hac dictione *ils* tanto modo excepta, in qua *l* sonum *u* minime retenebit, ut *ils vount enscamble*, *ils ount fait*. *L* eciam posita in fine dictionis et sequens dicio incipiat a consonante, sonum proprium amittet et sonum *u* retinebit ut, *lamirall*<sup>5</sup> *dengliter*, *chiualt sorelt*, *fel de makerell mauez est*, *beal fitz*. Si, vero, dicio sequens incipiat a vocali tunc *l* sonum proprium retinebit, ut *nult aultre*, *nult amy*, *loial hom*, *tiel usage*. Tamen *l* posita in fine dictionis que est monasillaba si consonans immediate sequatur, sonum *u* nec proprium reservabit, ut *il sen est ale*, *ie le voilt ben*<sup>6</sup> et sic de similibus.

§ 10. *N* vero in quolibet verbo in prima persona pluralis scribatur loco *m* et habebit sonum *m*, ut *aymons*, *enseignons*, *lisons*, et similia. Item

<sup>1</sup> abbreviated *doubt.*, *redoubt.*

<sup>3</sup> *honō.*

<sup>4</sup> *plant.*

<sup>2</sup> *frauncois*, *rauncon*, *chauncon*.

<sup>5</sup> *laralt.*

<sup>6</sup> *bn.*



*m* ante consonantem quoque debet sonari ut *ensi*, *penser*, *sentiere*, *envoier*, *entiere*, *coumaunder*<sup>1</sup>, *vendersdy* et huiusmodi.

§ 11. *P* vero inter duas consonantes posita non habebit sonum in dictionibus monosyllabis<sup>2</sup>, ut *temps*, *corps* et huiusmodi. Tamen licet *p* in illis dictionibus et aliis consimilibus amittatur, non est viciū ut *tens*, *cors* escritur, *semagn* et huiusmodi.

§ 12. *Q* vero secundum ortografiā gallicā nunquam debet scribi in aliqua dictione sine duabus vocalibus immediate sequentibus, ut *qui*, *que*, *quar*, et huiusmodi indifferenter possunt scribi cum *k*.

Item hec dicio *quar* indifferenter potest scribi cum *k*, *q*, vel *c* ad voluntatem scriptoris.

§ 13. *R* vero aliquando in fine dictionis retinebit sonum *r* et aliquando sonum *z*, ut *vuilez vous aler* ou *voilez vous alez* et sic de similibus.

§ 14. *S* vero simplex in medio dictionis non debet sonari si consonans immediate sequatur, ut *tres redoubte*, *tres noble*, *sisme*, *disme* et huiusmodi. Ab ac regula excipiantur iste dictiones: *prosperite*<sup>3</sup>, *chastelt*, *chestaine*, *substance*, *meschaunt*, *obstant*, *augustus*, *instance*<sup>4</sup>, (89 v<sup>o</sup>.) *register*, *sustenance*, *espirer*, *sustener*<sup>5</sup>, *substituer*, *escharn*, *trangliter*, *enspirer*, *descharger*, *estauncher*<sup>6</sup>, *estendre*, *espaundre*, *peschere*, *constrayner*<sup>7</sup>, *despenser*<sup>8</sup>, *escuter*, cum omnibus eorum partium nominibus, et adverbis ac verbis ab eisdem qualitercumque egredientibus in quibus *s* semper debet sonari licet consonans immediate sequatur. Si vero vocalis immediate sequatur tunc sonum proprium reservabit plenarie, ut *tres excellent*<sup>9</sup>, *tres hautisme*, *tres honoure* et *tres humble*. *Ss* vero duplex in medio dictionis posita semper pronunciari debet ut *poissoun*<sup>10</sup>, *puissaunt*<sup>11</sup> et huiusmodi. Si vero *s* simplex in fine dictionis ponatur, que sit pronomen, verbum, conjunctio vel propositio et sequens dicio incipiat a consonante, sonum suum minime reservabit, ut *dieu vous save* et *garde*, *vous sentez vous*<sup>12</sup> *sainz en coer*, *voillez vous manger*, *voillez vous juer* et similia. Set si sequens dicio incipiat a vocale tunc *s* debet sonari, ut *avez vous fait*, *vous em pri*<sup>13</sup>, *seiez vous*, *ia estez vous un de eaux* et sic de similibus.

Tamen in participiis, adjectis, nominibus et interjectionibus *s* simplex in fine dictionis debet retinere sonum suum licet consonans immediate sequatur, ut *vous avez assez de viand*, *jeo sui assez ben*<sup>14</sup> *amez de meze servauntz*<sup>15</sup>, *loiez soit dieux* et sic de similibus.

<sup>1</sup> *cōmaunder*.<sup>2</sup> monessilbis.<sup>3</sup> *pspite*.<sup>4</sup> *istāc*.<sup>5</sup> *susten*<sup>a</sup>.<sup>6</sup> *estuacher*.<sup>7</sup> *constyner*.<sup>8</sup> *despen*<sup>a</sup>.<sup>9</sup> *excelt*.<sup>10</sup> *poissoun*.<sup>11</sup> *puissaut*.<sup>12</sup> *vog*.<sup>13</sup> *př*.<sup>14</sup> *bn*.<sup>15</sup> *sūutz*.

§ 15. *T* vero si in fine dictionis ponatur et dicio sequens incipiat a consonante tunc debet sonum suum penitus amittere, ut *qu'est ceo qu'il dist, il est prest, il ne poet chaloyre, il fuist tout esbaye, il fist que sage, il nia que vanite en cest mound*<sup>1</sup> et sic de similibus. Aliquando tamen *t* habebit sonum suum in fine dictionis nonobstante illa regula: *as tu fait prest nostre*<sup>2</sup> *sopere, il prent deux marcز par*<sup>3</sup> *an, nos vesins nous ayment ben*<sup>4</sup>, *il boit trope hault, il puit malement*, in hiis et similibus *t* retinebit sonum (fol. 90 r<sup>o</sup>) licet consonans immediate sequatur in proxima dictione sequente.

(a) Item omnia nomina et participia terminancia in *t* in singulari amittent *t* in plurali et scribantur ac sonabuntur cum *s* vel *z* ut *saint, faisaunt, alant*, in singulari et in plurali *sains, faisauns*<sup>5</sup>, *alans* et sic de similibus. *T* vero in medio semper habet plenam vocem et si fuerit feminini generis vocales immediate sequuntur, ut *lez saintez virges du ciel, ad toutz et quauntez*<sup>6</sup> *foitz vous plerra venir, vous serrez bien*<sup>7</sup> *venuy, beaucoup dez femmez en Loundrez sount merchauntz*<sup>8</sup> et sic de similibus.

(b) Item secundum gallicum *t* omittatur in istis dictionibus, *liz, pounz, porpoinz*<sup>9</sup>, et sic cetera cum *z* vel *s*. Tamen Vasconici et Anglici scribunt cum *t*, ut *amy sount noz litz faitz, sount noz porpointz*<sup>9</sup> *prestez* quod non est gallicum immo Vasconicum.

(c) Item *t* in ista conjuncione et gallice prolata non sonabitur licet scribatur.

§ 16. *L* vero in istis dictionibus *doulz, ceulz, meulz, peaulz* indifferenter possunt scribi cum *l* vel sine *l* et quando *l* ponitur in fine dictionis et consonans subsequitur, tunc *l* habebit sonum *u* ut *veaul, set gentil de corps* et sic de similibus.

§ 17. *U* vero quando ponatur in medio dictionis sonum proprium amittet ut *que*<sup>10</sup>, *qui, quar, guerri langue, quel, quatre, guerre* et huiusmodi.

§ 18. *X* vero in fine dictionis indifferenter potest sonari quasi *s* vel *z*: *no chialx, chiuex, huiselx, ceulx, telx, doulx, et meulx* que quidem dictiones indifferenter possunt scribi cum *x*, *s*, vel *z* et sic de similibus.

(a) Item hec dicio *dieux* aliquando scribitur cum *x* et aliquando non et licet scribatur non sonabitur, ut *dieux vous save, dieux soit garde de vous*, tamen quando ponitur in vocativo tunc *x* retinebit sonum, ut *dieux, eiey pite de moy* et si consonans sequatur tunc non sonabitur ut *dieux mercye* et sic de similibus.

<sup>1</sup> mound.<sup>2</sup> nre.<sup>3</sup> p.<sup>4</sup> bn.<sup>5</sup> faisuuns.<sup>6</sup> quantez.<sup>7</sup> bn.<sup>8</sup> mchuutz.<sup>9</sup> p̃poinz, p̃pointz.<sup>10</sup> q̃.

(b) Item hec diccio *doulz* in masculino genere et neutro debet scribi (fol. 90 v<sup>o</sup>.) cum *x* in fine et cum fuerit feminini generis cum *c*.

§ 19. Ista diccio *ouec* diversis modis potest scribi ut *oueque*, *oueques*<sup>1</sup> sine *s* in medio.

(a) Item hec diccio *solongue*<sup>2</sup> in *n* vel in *c* indifferenter potest terminare ut *solon*, vel *solongue* cum *c*. ibidem non debet sonari.

(b) Iste dicciones *escue*, *esau* (?) *escuiele cuiler* et huiusmodi debent scribi cum *c* et non cum *q*.

§ 20. *Y* vero habet sonum *i* in omni loco et debet scribi in pluralibus locis loco *i*, causa ornatae scripturae et principaliter in propriis nominibus civitatum et villarum, cognominibus virorum mulierum et dignitatum.

§ 21. *Z* vero in fine diccionis quasi *s* sonabitur in effectum, ut *querez*, *serchez*, *aimez* et sic de similibus.

§ 22. Et sciendum est prout in parte dixi per antea de vocalibus quod quociens aliqua diccio monesillebica desinit in vocali et sequens diccio incipiat a vocali, tunc ille due dicciones debent ad invicem conjungi quasi sub una diccione pronunciando et prima vocalis nec debet scribi nec sonari ut *la abbe u l'abbe*, *l'on u la on*, *masdre d'argent*, *j'aime* et sic de similibus.

§ 23. Item omnia verba cuiuscumque fuerint conjugacionis terminancia in *s* indifferenter possunt scribi cum *s* vel *z* ad libitum scriptoris, ut *amez*, *veniez*, *ditez*, *lisez*, *pensez*, ac omnia participia terminancia in *e*, cuiusque generis fuerint, debent scribi cum *ee* dupliciter in fine ad differentiam suorum verborum a quibus descendunt ut *amee* participiam ad differentiam huius verbi *ame*, *enseignee* ad differentiam huius verbi *enseigne*<sup>3</sup> et sic de similibus.

§ 24. Item nomina terminancia in *c*, *ff* vel *g* numero singulari ut *blanc*, *viff*, *long* in plurali vero debent scribi secundum gallicos cum *s* in fine diccionis, expellendo penitus *c*, *ff* et *g* ut *blans*, *vis*, et *lons*.

§ 25. Item habetur differentia inter has dicciones *si* et *se* id est *si* gallice, *sic* latine et *se* gallice id est *si* latine.

§ 26. Item quelibet diccio gallica concordans latino in quantum poterit debet sequi scripturam latini.

§ 27. Item omnia nomina cuiuscumque generis fuerint in fine diccionis habencia sonum duplicis *ee* cum duplici *ee* scribi debent, ut *pensee*, *privee*, *finee*, *rousee*, *vinee*, et huiusmodi prout participia superius terminant et portant.

MILDRED K. POPE.

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<sup>1</sup> *oueq*, *oueqs*.

<sup>2</sup> *solong*.

<sup>3</sup> *enseign*.

M. L. R. V.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### THE CHAUCERIAN 'MERCILES BEAUTE.'

I THINK we must all be much obliged to Professor Lowes for his useful and convincing article on this subject. May I be allowed to point out an emendation, by which I think the sense and rhythm of the poem may be improved?

We have only one late MS. copy; evidently a bad copy of an excellent original.

Line 26 runs thus in the MS.:

I neuere thenk to ben in his prison lene.

Perhaps we should omit the word 'to,' and simply read 'thenke ben.' However, this does not affect the sense. It is much more material to observe that we ought to omit 'in.' This is why, in my modernised edition of Chaucer's *Prologue* and *Minor Poems*, published by Chatto and Windus in 1907, I give the line as follows:

I think to be no more his prisoner lean.

It was Chaucer who would have been lean if he had continued longer in Love's prison. As it was, he escaped while still fat.

It is clear that 'in' is not required by the metre. I think it was an interpolation, due to the fact that the scribe was not familiar with the use of the word 'prisoun' in the sense of 'prisoner.' Chaucer, as my Glossarial Index shows, in other places used the form *prisonere*; but the two forms are both used in this sense in *Piers Plowman*: 'prisoneres,' B. iii. 136, xiv. 168, 'prisoun,' 'prisones,' B. vii. 30, xviii. 58 etc., and in Gower's *Mirour*, 5696, 9840.

In such a case, the scribe might easily have taken 'prisoun' to have had its more usual sense, and would then think it necessary to insert 'in.' This is why I think we ought to read:

I neuere thenke ben his prisoun lene.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

## THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN.'

Some argument has been expended upon the question whether the surname of the author of *Piers Plowman* was Langland or Langley. Pearson's argument in favour of the latter alternative is interesting and ingenious, and the close proximity to one another of the hamlets of Langley and Ruckley (Rokeley) at no great distance from Cleobury Mortimer, taken in connexion with the traditional statement that the name of the poet's father was Stacy de Rokayle and that he himself was born at Cleobury Mortimer, makes the conclusion tempting. Nevertheless it is not to be accepted, because it is contrary to the tradition. The surname is always given as Langland, never as Langley.

But with regard to Christian name there is no such agreement. The text of the poem gives us William (or 'Wille') as the name of the dreamer, and the MSS. call the poem 'Visio Willelmi,' but this is by no means conclusive as regards the name of the author, who may very well have been speaking in a fictitious character, or at all events under a fictitious name. Tradition on the whole is in favour of 'Robert' rather than 'William' as the actual name of the author. The note in MS. Dublin D. 4. 1 gives his name as 'Willelmus de Langlond,' but in one of the Ashburnham MSS. we are told that 'Robert or William Langland made Pers Ploughman.' Bale calls him simply Robertus Langelande, apparently on the excellent authority of Nicholas Brigham ('ex collectis Nicolai Brigam'), and Bale is followed by Crowley, the printer of the first edition. Now if the real name was Robert, it is easy to see why some should have supposed that it was William: the tendency to identify the dreamer of the poem with the author, both in character and in name, would be very natural. But if William was the real name, whence did the suggestion of Robert arise? The notion that it was based on a misunderstanding of the line

Thus i robed in russet . romed I aboute,

('Thus yrobed' or 'Thus robed' in other copies), can hardly be accepted; and on the whole I submit that until some further evidence is produced, Robert has a better claim than William to be regarded as the poet's name.

A few words more about Bale's statement. The expression 'in terra lutea' seems to be connected with a false etymology of the name Cleobury, which is given by Crowley as 'Cleybirie.' In Bale's *Index* we find 'in the cley lande' written in English, evidently in



order to call attention to this point. Again, the numeral in his statement of the distance from Cleobury to the Malvern Hills has clearly suffered some corruption, probably in transmission from Brigham to Bale: instead of eight miles, the distance by road would be something like twenty-eight.

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#### THE HAMLET QUARTOS, 1603, 1604.

Working recently at the text of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* I came across a small point bearing on the question of the *Hamlet* versions, which does not appear to have been noticed.

I should mention, to begin with, that a careful study of the texts of the *Merry Wives* has forced me to the conclusion that the quarto of 1602 represents a badly corrupted text, obtained from actual performance, of a version in substantial agreement with that preserved in the folio. Now, in the quarto there occurs the line (sig. F 2; l. 1188; Cambridge Shakespeare, ix, 450, l. 42):

What is the reason that you vse me thus?

This line does not appear in the folio text, but it does appear, as Mr P. A. Daniel (in Griggs' facsimile) long ago pointed out, in *Hamlet* (v, i, 312, Globe ed.). The line must, therefore, have been introduced into the *Merry Wives* either by an actor or by the reporter who obtained the copy for press. In either case, since no edition of *Hamlet* had yet appeared, it must have been learned in the playhouse itself. But the line in question differs in the two *Hamlet* versions. In the quarto of 1603 it runs (sig. I 2; Camb. Sh., ix, 745, l. 163; Timmins' parallel texts, p. 90a):

What is the reason sir that you wrong mee thus?

while in the quarto of 1604 it runs (sig. N 1; Timmins, p. 90b):

What is the reason that you vse me thus?

in which form the line also appears in the folio (sig. pp 6a). In this instance, therefore, we can say with certainty that the play as acted on the stage in 1601-2 agreed, not with the text printed in 1603, but with that which first saw the light in 1604. This seems to weigh in favour of the view that the differences between the texts are in part at least due to corruption in the earlier quarto; and I may add that my

own study of the *Merry Wives* has led me to doubt whether any limit can be set to the possible perversion which a text may suffer at the hands of a reporter.

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SHAKESPEARE, 'MEASURE FOR MEASURE,' II, i, 39.

Some run from brakes of ice, and answer none,  
And some condemned for a fault alone.

The note by Prof. Gollancz (*Temple Shakespeare*) runs thus:

'The line as it stands in the Folios is obviously corrupt, and has occasioned much discussion. Shakespeare probably wrote "brakes of vice"; *brakes* = thickets, entanglements; "brakes of vice" is antithetical to "a fault alone." Cf. *Henry VIII*, I, ii, 75:

the rough brake  
That virtue must go through.

The line therefore means "some escape from whole thickets of sin, and pay no penalty." Judging by the passage in *Henry VIII*, "through" for "from" would perhaps be an improvement.'

I wish to draw special attention to this last point. Whatever else may be right, the worst error lies in the absurd word 'from.' To say that a man runs 'from thickets' is obviously absurd. He need not run from a thicket; for it will never chase him!

Of course the right word must be 'through.' Not only have we the above passage from *Henry VIII* to support us, but it is the regular phrase. Are we not familiar with 'Thorough bush, thorough briar' in *M. N. D.*, II, i, 3? And again, 'through brake, through briar,' in the same, III, i, 110?

But it is much more to the point to observe that 'run through brakes' was, practically, a proverbial phrase in those days. This we obtain from the play of *The Two Angry Women of Abington*, where 'to run through brakes' means 'to take great risks,' and was a phrase put into the mouth of lovers. Thus, in Act IV, sc. ii, Francis says:

Well, I may say,  
I have run through the briars for a wench,  
And yet I have her not—the worse luck mine.

And in Act V, sc. i, Mall says:

I'll run through hedge and ditch, through brakes and briars,  
To come to thee, sole lord of my desires.

And again, without any metaphor at all, in Act III, sc. ii, Mall says :

Frank, Frank, I come through dangers, death, and harms,  
To make love's patent with my seal of arms.

If we now substitute *through* for *from*, our line becomes

Some run through brakes of ice, and answer none.

The sense intended is, obviously, 'Some take great risks in love, and yet render account to nobody.' This use of 'answer' occurs in *I Henry IV*, II, iv, 565 :

Send him to answer thee, or any man,  
For anything he shall be charged withal.

The sole remaining difficulty lies in the expression 'of ice.' To substitute the words 'of vice' is surely most inept. The allusion is to *real* brakes, not allegorical merely; it is a comparison, not a figure. Let the *v* alone, and read *ofice* as one word; and surely, this is a mere misreading of *o'fire*. To 'run through brakes' is to take great risks; but 'to run through brakes o'fire' is to take extraordinary risks, and to take them recklessly.

That *o'fire* is a possible Shakespearian spelling may fairly be inferred from *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 60, where we find in the first Folio the expression—'her face o' fire.' The usual spelling is *afire*, as in *Cor.* v, iii, 181; or *a fire* (two words), as in *Temp.* I, ii, 212; *Rom.* III, iii, 133.

The reading I propose is, accordingly, the following :

Well: heauen forgiue him; and forgiue vs all :  
*Some rise by sinne, and some by vertue fall :*  
Some run through brakes o'fire, and answere none,  
And some condemned for a fault alone.

Note that the change made is, really, in a single letter; *r* for *c*. The other alteration, from 'from' to 'through,' is absolutely warranted by the fact that the phrase was proverbial. I should suppose that, when the compositor had misread that *r* as a *c*, he was quite at a loss for the sense, and altered 'through' to 'from' in wild desperation. The fact that the second line is printed in *italics* suggests that some proverb is referred to.

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## SOME ACADEMIC GRAMMAR PLAYS.

In their account of *Bellum Grammaticale* (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* xxxiv, p. 273) Churchill and Keller say, 'Auch ins Englische scheint es übersetzt zu sein; darauf deutet der Titel *The Grammar War* (12°), der sich in dem der Komödie *Lingua*, 1657, angehängten Katalog von Simon Miller in London findet.' The play referred to exists in the British Museum MS. Add. 22725: '*Basileia seu Bellum Grammaticale* Tragico-Comoedia. Sub ferias Nativitatis Acta, à Generosis Scholae Craneburgensis alumnis. An: 1666.' On one of the binding pages is written 'Samuel Hoadley His Book 1667.' On another a second title, 'The warr of Grammar, a Tragick-Comedy Acted by the Scholars of Cranebrook School more than once not without applause. In which the whole vulgar Grammar with something of the Authors own, is festively handled.' At the end of the Praeludium comes the announcement, 'Hi ludi in seria ducunt,' which is only too true, for the play, in English, reads almost like a Latin grammar, with frequent question-and-answer dialogue. Though not an exact translation of the earlier Latin play, it appears to be inspired by it, and the *dramatis personae* are for the most part the same. A still later example of this same type of Latin grammar play is the 'Words made Visible: or Grammar and Rhetorick accommodated to the Lives and Manners of Men. Represented in a Country School for the Entertainment and Edification of the Spectators. London, Printed by B. G. for Daniel Major and are to be sold at the Flying-horse in Fleet Street, Dan. Brown next the Queens head without Temple-bar, and Tho. Arrel at the Hand and Scepter in Fleet-street. 1679.' There is a copy of this in the Bodleian. It consists of two parts, neither with any division into acts or scenes. The speakers in the second part are figures of speech; in the first they are almost identical with those of the first two plays mentioned, but less formally designated. For instance, 'Ralph Pone and Jeffery Prae, two Prepositions' are in *Basileia* merely 'Praepositio, Princeps,' and in *Bellum Grammaticale* 'Cis, Regina Praepositionum.' *Words Made Visible* has an interesting preface, from which I quote the following: 'Both parts were composed for private diversion, and acted by the Lads of a Country School, where they received a general applause from Just Hands and Judicious heads, and certainly...such Subjects (as more agreeable) may be as proper, and far more useful than the Bully-tricks of blustering Ajax, a dull

story of an amorous Sot, and a gilting Wench out of Terence, or Plautus, or any the more smutty scenes of latter dramatists;...'

Still another rhetoric drama is 'Princeps Rhetoricus or Πιλομαχία: the Combat of Caps Drawn forth into Arguments, General and Special. In usum Scholae Masonensis: Et In Gratiam totius Auditorii Mercurialis ...London...1648.' This print, of which a copy exists in the King's Library, British Museum, contains little or no text, but is a description in great detail of the arguments, action and costume of the five acts of the play. It is most interesting, and well worth reprinting. The author of the play is John Mason, of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

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#### THE MAD SONGS IN 'THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN.'

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Shakespeare and Fletcher, there are certain snatches of song sung by the mad daughter of the gaoler, that have not hitherto been identified by any of the editors of the Play.

In Act III, scene 4, she sings:

For Ile cut my greene coat a foot above my knee,  
And Ile clip my yellow locks an inch below mine e'e:  
Hey nonny, nonny, nonny.

These lines recall a formula that is of frequent occurrence in the ballads. Thus in *Child Waters* (No. 63, Child, version A, from Percy MS., p. 274, Hales and F., ii, 269) stanza 9 runs:

If you will my ffootpage be, Ellen,  
As you doe tell it me,  
Then you must cutt your gowne of greene  
An inch above your knee.  
Soe must you doe your yellow lockes,  
Another inch above your eye; etc.

(Compare pp. 150 *a*, 165 *b*, and 216 *b*, of the one-volume edition of Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.)

In the next scene (III, 4) she sings two stanzas from a lost version of a famous old sea-song:

The George alow! came from the south,  
From the coast of Barbary-a: etc.

with which compare *The Sailor's only delight*, describing the fight between the *George Aloe* and the *Sweepstake*. This ballad will be easily referred to, in Mr Christopher Stone's pleasant collection of



*Sea-Songs and Ballads*, or in Halliwell's *Naval Ballads*, or as No. 285 in Child's volume, p. 610. The ballad was entered on the Stationers' Registers in 1611, and thus may have some significance with regard to the date of the play. The name *George Aloe* has long been a puzzle, but Mr Bullen tells me that somewhere he has seen *George a' Looe* suggested, and this to me seems a perfectly certain explanation of the vessel's name and port.

From this song the mad girl breaks into another:

There was three fooles fell out about an howlet.  
 The one sed it was an owle ;  
 The other he sed nay ;  
 The third he sed it was a hawke,  
 And her bels were cut away.

This is obviously an earlier version of the nursery rhyme given in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes* (No. CCXC, p. 161):

There were three jovial Welshmen,  
 As I have heard them say,  
 And they would go a hunting  
 Upon St David's day.

These jovial huntsmen find many objects: a ship, the moon, a hedgehog, a hare, and finally 'an owl in a holly tree.'

One said it was an owl,  
 The other he said nay ;  
 The third said 'twas an old man,  
 And his beard was growing grey.

We may ascribe textual variations to the existence of other versions, or to the state of the young lady's mind.

This identification of 'mad songs' illustrates the fact that such songs (as in Ophelia's case also) come from folk-poetry, not from culture-music. They are the songs learnt in childhood and recalled in madness.

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## DISCUSSIONS.

### THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'PIERS THE PLOWMAN.'

ALL students of *Piers the Plowman*, however diverse may be their opinions on the questions treated in Mr Chambers's article in the January number of the *Review*, must, I think, be of one mind in cordially welcoming into their field an investigator of such admirable knowledge, sagacity, and fairness. I had resolved to write no more on the subject for the present, feeling that little substantial progress can be made until the text has been settled by scientific criticism; but as I am one of those whose conclusions have been so powerfully assailed by Mr Chambers, it seems to be incumbent on me to say how far I am prepared to acknowledge the force of his objections, and how far and for what reasons I remain at present of the same opinion as before.

In the first place, I must frankly admit that I was mistaken in asserting that the offences of Robert the Robber have no affinity with the sin of Sloth. It is now clear to me, thanks to Mr Chambers's excellent demonstration, that a mediaeval writer might, without any inappropriateness, have introduced the lament of the Robber as a sequel to the confession of Sloth. Although, as Mr Chambers acknowledges, Robert's offences in themselves come under the head of Covetousness, they are the result of habits of idleness, and it is his neglect to learn an honest trade that renders it impossible for him to make compensation to those whom he has injured. He does not actually fall into 'wanhope,' which is the recognised last and fatal stage in the progress of the slothful, but he is saved from it only by the recollection of the penitent thief, the standard example for the encouragement of those who are on the verge of despair. At the same time, it is worth remembering that in the B-text it is Covetousness, not Sloth, who 'wex into wanhope,' and would have hanged himself if he had not been 'reconforted' by Repentance. It is plain that Robert is meant to represent another and more desperate variety of the same deadly sin which the preceding penitent has confessed; but his character and utterances do not supply any clear grounds for deciding whether that sin was Covetousness or Sloth.

We may, however, find an answer to this question in the preceding lines (A v, 236—241). I fully grant that some kind of promise of restitution might fitly enough conclude the confession of Sloth. But

the promise that appears in these lines is not so worded as to favour the view that it was written for that purpose. Mr Chambers rightly insists that the proper meaning of 'win' is to gain by one's labour—to 'earn,' as Prof. Skeat renders it. For this very reason, the words 'al that I wikkedliche won' would more suitably relate to the results of the mercantile dishonesty to which Covetousness has pleaded guilty, than to those of such transgressions as in the B-text are laid to the charge of Sloth. The added words 'seththe I wit hade' point to a life spent in the deliberate pursuit of gain. It seems to me that 'wicked winning' is properly characteristic of Covetousness in the special form in which it manifests itself in the fraudulent tradesman, the usurer, or one who uses unjustly the opportunities for gain afforded by some regular calling. Although the 'Robert's man' is guilty of Covetousness as well as of Sloth, he belongs not to the tribe of Wynnere, but to that of Wastour.

I think, therefore, that while the lamentation of Robert, taken by itself, might, with equal appropriateness be placed as a pendant to the description of Covetousness or to that of Sloth, the entire passage A v, 236—259 would be improved in fitness if it were transferred to the former position. This was, as is well known, the opinion of C, who is at any rate a good witness with regard to the ideas of the fourteenth century, even if he be not, as some able scholars still believe, the original author himself. But the question is not whether C and certain modern people are right in thinking that a transposition would improve the poem, but whether it is likely that the present arrangement of the text is original. Are the reasons for the negative answer sufficiently weighty to justify us in setting aside the presumption that is rightly held to exist in favour of a traditional text against a mere conjecture? I think they are.

On the assumption that ll. 236—259 were intended to follow l. 235, we are met by a remarkable series of coincidences, which have to be regarded as purely accidental. First, these lines admittedly come in very awkwardly in their supposed original context; and we are to believe that it is by mere chance that when joined to line 145 the passage yields a continuous and satisfactory sense. Secondly, while we might feel only a mild surprise on observing that the poet had omitted to bring the confession of Covetousness to its needful conclusion in a promise of restitution, it is very odd that the deficiency should happen to be just the one which the transposition supplies. Thirdly, the promise made by Sloth happens to be expressed in language which, as I have shown, is unbefitting the character; and it so happens that if Covetousness and not Sloth were the speaker, this language would become perfectly accurate. I am unable to believe that these coincidences are accidental.

But I must not forget that one of the facts assumed in the preceding paragraph has been disputed. It has been said, and by scholars whose opinion I respect, that my proposed transposition does *not* result in a satisfactory sequence; that, in fact, the lines which I would transfer to the confession of Covetousness are inconsistent with those which they

are made to follow. Unfortunately I have failed to discover what my critics mean. Even assuming that the lines 241—2 are genuine, I can perceive no inconsistency. There is some awkwardness, no doubt, in making the penitent swear by the rood of Chester when he has just mentioned the rood of Bromholm. But this does not strike me as a serious difficulty, and it was assuredly not in order to evade it that I suggested that the two lines might be spurious. I think there are very good grounds for suspecting them. Let us consider the facts. The lines in question are as follows:

And with the residue and the remenaunt · bi the rode of Chester!  
I schal seche seynt Treuthe · er I seo [*or seche*] Rome.

In A vii, 93—4 *Piers the Plowman* says:

And with the residue and the remenaunt · bi the rode of Chestre!  
I wol worschupe therwith · Treuthe in my lyue.

Now surely this repetition is more than a little surprising. Mr Chambers suggests that it may have been designed to call attention to the contrast of character between the speakers in the two passages. This is more ingenious than satisfactory. My point is that while the words are perfectly appropriate where they occur in *Passus VII*—for the thrifty Piers knows that there is a 'residue' at his disposal when his debts are paid—they are quite unsuitable to the penitent (whether his name be Sloth or Covetousness) who in line 236 has just expressed uncertainty whether he will have enough even to compensate those whom he has wronged. If Mr Chambers's conjecture as to the motive of the repetition were intrinsically likely, one might suppose that the poet had inserted the two lines in their earlier unfitting place by an afterthought. But, as is well known, it is a common trick of mediaeval scribes to interpolate matter taken from a different part of the poem which they are copying.

It might perhaps be contended that the poet may originally have written the lines 236—259 at the end of the confession of Covetousness, and afterwards, seeing that some parts of the passage would serve to supplement his scanty description of Sloth, have hastily removed them to their present place, without troubling himself to remedy the inconveniences resulting from the transposition. To those who are convinced that the three recensions of the poem come from one hand, this supposition might prove attractive; it would be exactly in accordance with their view of the author's methods of composition. It will be time to discuss the merits of this solution when some one has seriously advocated it. The hypothesis of a scribal accident is at any rate simpler.

Although I still consider that the evidence for a dislocation of the text is conclusive, I must admit that Mr Chambers has done something to diminish the value of this result as an argument against the unity of authorship of the three forms of the poem. M. Jusserand found it possible to accept the hypothesis of transposition, and yet to maintain



that A, B, and C were the same person. This position will be more easily tenable now that it has been shown that the present arrangement of the text is one that the author might have been content to tolerate if he found it in the copy that lay before him when he came to revise his work. After fifteen years, a writer may well fail to remember so distinctly all the details of his plan as at once to detect any plausible alteration of it. The theory of unity of authorship does not necessarily imply, as some of its advocates suppose, that the elaboration of his early poem was the main preoccupation of William's life during thirty years. It may even be regarded as an argument on the conservative side that the second revision does attempt to remedy some of the faults caused by the dislocation, and that the final revision returns to the original order.

I now come to speak of the omission of the confession of Wrath. Mr Chambers maintains that if we consider the true design of the author, we shall see that this omission may well have been deliberate. He thinks that the comparative fulness or slightness of the treatment of the several sins is proportioned to the relative importance which the poet assigned to them as causes of the evils of his time. This explanation might serve to account for the little space given to Pride and Lechery as compared with Covetousness<sup>1</sup>. But the very meagre handling of Sloth, in contrast with the exuberance of imaginative detail in the description of Gluttony, does not seem equally favourable to Mr Chambers's view. I suspect that the poet troubled himself very little about the proportions of his work, but expatiated freely on those subjects that happened to stimulate his imagination, and dealt more or less perfunctorily with the rest. A careful re-examination of the *Passus*, in the light of Mr Chambers's remarks, has convinced me that whatever his design may have been, it was intended to be accomplished by showing all the seven sins in order brought to contrition by the preaching of Conscience. Accordingly, when I find that in the existing text Envy shows no penitence, while Wrath does not appear at all, and that both these defects are accounted for by the supposition either of a 'lost leaf,' or of the 'over-hipping' of a leaf by a scribe, I feel constrained to conclude that one of these suppositions is right. As I do not accept Prof. Manly's theory of a lost counterfoil after line 235, I see no reason for preferring either of them to the other.

We have now to consider in what way this result should influence our judgment on the question of the authorship of the B-revision. If the reviser had failed to perceive that the confession of Envy was incomplete, and that that of Wrath was missing, it would be hard indeed to resist the conclusion that he could not be the original author. That he has attempted to supply both gaps is, so far, a point in favour of his identity with the writer of A. On the other hand, although (as the passage about Gluttony shows) the A-poet was not incapable of being led astray from strict artistic propriety when he saw a chance of

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is too much to concede. The destructive storm, in the poet's opinion, 'Was aperteliche for pruide and for no poynt elles.'



exercising his gift of humorous description, there is nothing in his work that would lead one to expect from him the curious irrelevance of B's confession of Wrath. I do not forget that a man's mental character may undergo a good deal of change in the course of fifteen years; but I find great difficulty in conceiving that this passage can have been written by the original author. A point not to be overlooked is that the omissions and alterations of the C-text considerably lessen the inappropriateness of the confession.

I have now dealt, to the best of my ability, with all those parts of Mr Chambers's paper which are directed against my own published views. It is not necessary or desirable that I should comment on those of his arguments to which a reply may be expected from Prof. Manly, though on several points I find myself not precisely agreeing with either side. On the general question of the authorship of *Piers the Plowman* I have throughout endeavoured to guard myself against making up my mind too definitely. In spite of certain difficulties, I think that the balance of probability is in favour of a plurality of authors; but this is only a provisional conclusion, and I prefer to abstain from controversy until textual criticism has provided a secure basis for argument.

I should like, however, to call attention to one piece of external evidence, the import of which does not seem to have been correctly apprehended; the testimony, namely, of John But. It is perfectly possible that this testimony is worthless: John But may have been merely guessing in the dark. But it is also possible that he knew what he was talking about; and so long as there is no proof of the contrary, it seems worth while to ascertain precisely what his testimony amounts to. Now, in the first place, I think the natural inference from his statement is that his lines were appended to a MS. containing only the poem of 'Do-wel': that is to say A ix—xii. He indicates that this poem was the last of the three works written by 'Will,' the others being 'Piers the Plowman' and 'The Field of Folk' (*mechel puple*). When he had finished 'that which is here written,' Will died. If John But was correctly informed, the poems contained in the A-text, though they are obviously intended to form a continuous whole, must have been published in three instalments, comprising respectively Passus i—v, vi—viii, and ix—xii. As to the date at which John But wrote there is no certain evidence, except that it was before the deposition of Richard II. The prayer for those who love the king does not prove that the quarrel between the king and his nobles had already begun; but, on the other hand, the prayer might have been uttered by a writer of the *Piers Plowman* school (even if his opinions were identical with those of the author of *Mum, Sothsegger*) at any time before 1399. But if I am right in supposing that John But wrote when Will's three works still circulated separately, it will be more likely that he is to be placed near the beginning of the reign. It seems clear that he either did not know of the existence of the B and C texts, or regarded them as spurious.

Now, as I have said, the testimony of John But may quite possibly

be worthless; but it is the earliest piece of external evidence that we possess, and it will be well not to reject it without consideration. Of course, if internal evidence clearly demonstrates that A ix—xii cannot have been written by the author of A i—viii, there is an end of the matter; and I think it would be hardly reasonable to accept John But's authority in disproof of Will's authorship of B and C, while rejecting it where it confirms the traditional view. Prof. Manly's arguments for separate authorship of A ix—xii are not yet before the world; they may turn out to be irresistible. But from the mere inferiority of the later poem to its predecessor one can infer nothing. It has happened again and again that a writer has poured out his soul in a work of imagination, worthily embodying the fruit of years of meditation; and afterwards, when the original inspiration was exhausted, has endeavoured ineffectually to follow up his first great success. In A i—viii we have a great though not faultless work of art, with a clear design developed consistently from the germ that was in the writer's mind when he began. We feel that it reaches its predestined conclusion, and that any continuation would be a disfigurement. So, probably, William himself may have felt; and yet it would not be very strange if, after a while, the effect produced by his vision, and the consciousness of obscure thoughts within his own mind, prompted him to take up his pen again, to tell the story of a quest for the meaning of Do-wel, Do-bet, and Do-best, without the long preparation that had gone to the making of his one great work. The author of the poem of Do-wel has obviously no foreseen design; he gropes uncertainly after a solution which never comes in sight; but I do not see in this any reason why he may not be the same man who worked out with such admirable sureness the noble conception of the Vision.

I wish, before concluding this paper, to put in print for the first time a suggestion which has long been present to my mind, and which has been variously received by the scholars to whom I have communicated it privately. This suggestion is that the choice of the name Piers (the popular form of Peter) may have been prompted by the ejaculation 'Peter!' with which the Plowman first enters on the scene. It would of course be impossible to prove that this conjecture is correct, but it seems to me highly probable. If it could be established, it would involve the important consequence that William was indeed the creator of the ideal figure which for centuries influenced so powerfully the thought and life of England, and that he did not, as has often been supposed, merely introduce into literature a name and a conception that were already current among the people when he began to write.

HENRY BRADLEY.

OXFORD.

## SYLLABLES IN VERSE AND SPEECH.

Although no specialist in such matters, as one much interested in metrical theory, who has read the articles of Professor Thomas on Milton's verse and his subsequent discussion with Mr Omond with pleasure and profit, I should like to be allowed a few words on the vexed question of the syllable. My standpoint is indeed the much-despised one of Phonetics, but no one, I think, will be much offended if I point out that the science of Phonetics may be a useful handmaiden to prosody, a fact which has already been recognized, at any rate in Germany<sup>1</sup>, if not in England.

The question of 'elision,' when vowels come together in the poetical line, forms a main bone of contention between Messrs Thomas and Omond. It is one which depends altogether on our definition of the syllable. Grammarians and prosodists have altogether failed to give an exact conception of what a syllable is. That has on the other hand been done by a certain school of phoneticians. May I point out their solution of the question, and also that it can be applied to show that as regards the contest between Professor Thomas and Mr Omond *both* are, in a sense, in the right?

Sievers has shown<sup>2</sup> that what we call syllables in language depend on our impression of what we hear. For our linguistic sense sounds in contact with one another either coalesce or are separate under certain conditions which may be closely defined. They are shortly as follows:

1. If two sounds are separated from one another by another sound of less sonority than either, we have the impression of each being in a different syllable, e.g., English *ready*, which is a dissyllable because the vowels on either side are more sonorous than the consonant itself.

2. A difference in sonority may be the result of a decrescendo-crecendo movement of the force (i.e., loudness) with which sounds are pronounced. If we for example sing the vowel *a* on a prolonged note, and alternately make it softer and louder, we notice that it is divided into different syllables (pictorially  $\widetilde{a-a-a\dots}$ ).

It is obvious that words may be divided into syllables in either way, or in both concurrently.

In consequence of the above, when vowels come in contact with one another without the intervention of a less sonorous sound, they must either (1) coalesce into a diphthong or triphthong, forming one syllable, or (2) be separated as in the second case above, thus forming two or more syllables.

When two vowels come together as in *to atone*, the decision whether they will coalesce into a diphthong forming one syllable, or not coalesce, rests with the speaker. If the speaker consciously tries to mark the boundary between the two different words, he will separate the vowels by the means shown above. If he does not do this, he generally allows

<sup>1</sup> See Saran's epoch-making book, *Deutsche Verslehre*, Munich, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> See *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, 5th ed., Kap. 25.

them *unconsciously* to coalesce. It must here be remembered that a person speaking naturally under ordinary circumstances is *not* conscious of the word-boundaries. In such cases therefore he as a rule does allow vowels to coalesce.

I assert therefore that nine Englishmen out of ten make a dissyllable of *to atone*, in other words they pronounce the vowel of *to* and the first vowel of *atone* as a diphthong (= *ua*<sup>1</sup>).

Mr Omond seems to be conscious of this to a certain extent when he claims that the vowels are 'slurred,' or that two syllables are pronounced in the time of one. If he does not recognize that we really have only one syllable in such a case, it is probably because the diphthongs which occur in this way are often quite different from the ordinary diphthongs to which we are accustomed in our spelling of words. The diphthong *ua* so spelt does not occur in our spelling of English: it is nevertheless just as much a diphthong in the case quoted above as the *ua* of South German *fuas* (= *Fusz*, Middle High German *vuoz*), or the *ēo* of Old English *bēodan*; and apart from spelling it occurs in the South English pronunciation of *pure*, etc. The question of time has nothing to do with the matter, because *to atone* as a trisyllable does not require any more time to pronounce than as a dissyllable. Another reason why Mr Omond goes wrong in his terminology here (I think his *feeling* for the phenomena is quite correct), is that he regards English as intolerant of elision. This is not always so, nor does the example Mr Omond quotes (English *idea-r-of it*) prove what he thinks. The explanation of the *r* in that example is the same as that given by Paul for the insertion of *r* (or *n*) in various South German dialects under similar circumstances<sup>2</sup>. Southern English pronunciation has two forms for words ending in an *r*. The *r* is dropped before another consonant, but preserved before a vowel (e.g., *I fea(r) to*, but *the fear of*). The diphthong in *fear* (*ia*) is very common before *r*, but rare elsewhere in English. It is not surprising then that this word follows the analogy of *fear of*. That this is the correct explanation is proved by the fact that those varieties of English pronunciation which preserve an *r* under all conditions never add one to *idea*. No Irishman or Scotchman uses *r* to avoid a hiatus, in the *idea of it*, nor is he conscious of a hiatus in that case or any other, where two vowels come together. The sense of hesitancy, which is termed a feeling of hiatus is entirely a question of habit, it can only arise for the natural speaker when two vowels come together which form a very rare diphthongal combination in his own language. None of the examples quoted by Mr Omond seem to me to belong to that category.

I venture to hope that Mr Omond will find in the above remarks some indication of 'what precisely takes place when two syllables are, as we phrase it, slurred together,' at least so far as vowels are concerned. He will perhaps realize that it is quite a simple matter to pronounce *Adria* as a dissyllable.

<sup>1</sup> In phonetical transcription: *uo*.

<sup>2</sup> Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, 4th ed., pp. 118-19.



As regards the historical question of elision, I think that every one with some knowledge of the history of the English language will admit that Professor Thomas is right. Milton must have accepted a great many elisions which are foreign to modern speakers. So far as the *number of syllables in the line* is concerned, this is however of little importance: whether we pronounce *to atone* as Mr Omond would have us do, or as *tātone*, it remains a dissyllable.

If prosodists would only remember that what appears a syllable in print is not necessarily one in speech, and accustom themselves to analyzing what they *hear* rather than what they *read*, difficulties like the above would be much easier dealt with. Saran is surely right: 'Die Hauptsache ist und bleibt aber: man gewöhne sich daran, Verse mit dem Ohre aufzufassen, sie rein nach dem Klang, ohne den Umweg übers Papier, zu analysieren.'

R. A. WILLIAMS.

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#### THE DATE OF 'THE CHANCES.'

I am quite of Mr Macaulay's mind that, in all the circumstances, it is impossible to assign an early date to *The Chances*; and his judgement that the style of the play belongs to the last period of Fletcher's development is necessarily of weight. But I am not prepared to admit that the gossip about baiting the Pope's bulls and the troops of the Duke of Lorraine has no topical significance. I think that Mr Macaulay's suggestion that the prologue indicates a posthumous production shows the way out of the difficulty. Not merely was the play posthumous, but the particular passage which has puzzled me was inserted by another hand than Fletcher's. It dates from 1627. The government of Charles I, under pressure from the Puritans, issued on 3 November 1625 a commission for putting into force the penal laws against the recusants. This awoke a controversy between Rome and England, which had slumbered since 1609. A *breve* or bull against the oath of allegiance was published by Urban VIII on 30 May 1626. This in its turn led to the composition of a polemical tract by Henry Burton, rector of St Matthew's, Friday Street. It was published in 1627 and cost Burton a summons before the Privy Council. The following is its title—*The Baiting of the Popes Bull. An unmasking of the Mystery of iniquity, folded vp in a most pernicious Breeue or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, to cawse a Rent therein, for his Reentry. With an advertisement to the Kings seduced subijects.* A woodcut on the title-page represents King Charles striking a horned Pope upon the forehead. I add that in the spring of 1627 Charles was preparing for war with France, and sent Walter Montagu, although fruitlessly, to negotiate for the help of the Duke of Lorraine.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

GERRARD'S CROSS.



## REVIEWS.

*Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642. A History of the Drama in England from the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Closing of the Theaters.*  
By FELIX E. SCHELLING. 2 Vols. London: Constable, 1908. 8vo.  
xliii + 606, and x + 685 pp.

No one in any way conversant with the subject will doubt there being ample room for a comprehensive history of the Elizabethan drama—a history that shall at once supply an ordered view over the field and embody the results of modern research. Nor will such a person doubt the immense difficulties of the task. It is hard enough to obtain a clear and sure grasp of the subject oneself; it is doubly difficult adequately to expound it to others. The work requires many and rare qualities and requires them in a high degree. Professor Schelling certainly possesses the least dispensable of all—appreciation. The degree in which he possesses others naturally varies, but it may be said at once that he has carried through his work in a manner that is in general eminently satisfactory, and in such an undertaking not to have failed wholly is already to have achieved a not inconspicuous success.

Not least among Professor Schelling's qualifications—though it is the fashion in certain quarters to sneer at it—is his familiarity with even the less important of modern critical work upon the subject with which he deals. Thus, though his own analysis may seldom be very profound, he is usually able to direct attention to what is most significant in the research that has been done on any particular problem<sup>1</sup>; and certainly one of the most useful portions of his work is the exhaustive Bibliographical Essay which fills over a hundred pages of small print in the second volume. Moreover, the writer has his materials at his fingers' ends; he does not trust, like some, to notes which fail him at the critical moment, nor, like others, rely in one place on evidence which he elsewhere recognises as forged, or endeavour

<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in his desire to include the very latest information, he is occasionally a little more than up to date. In the bibliography will be found references to Gollancz' edition of *Gismond of Salern*, 1893 (ii, 462), Methuen's facsimile of the 1632 folio of *Shakespeare*, 1906 (ii, 476), and Herford and Simpson's *Jonson*—'2 vols. having already appeared'—(ii, 499), none of which had been published at the date of issue. Readers may also be a little inclined to resent being told to 'see' an unpublished thesis (ii, 5), even if it is extant in the Harvard library.

to work in the results of recent research while avoiding the unpleasant necessity of reconsidering his own opinion.

On the other hand, there is one defect in Professor Schelling's work, which it may be very easy to understand and to forgive in the case of a scholar on the other side, but of which criticism is nevertheless bound to take account. This is a tendency to rely, in the case of the less accessible texts, upon second-hand knowledge. A trifling instance is the statement (ii, 2) that Lady Lumley's translation of the *Iphigenia* [at *Aulis*] is in Latin. The error is as old as the Catalogue of Royal MSS., but error it is, for the translation is in English<sup>1</sup>. It is happily true that this is a matter which has of late years become of less importance, as more and more texts have been published, as a rule under increasingly competent editorship; but the consideration still remains of weight, for whether or not the time will ever come when the serious historian, of even so limited a field as the drama, will be safe in neglecting unpublished sources, it may with confidence be said that it is not at present in sight. It must unfortunately be admitted that in this respect a very bad example has been set by some recent writers who cannot put in the American professor's plea for indulgence. It is unusual now-a-days to hear much good of J. P. Collier, and yet one of the most striking features of the work in which he sketched the outlines of English dramatic history, is the intimate knowledge he shows of all manner of unedited texts and documents. In their more detailed surveys, later historians have but too often contented themselves with mere reproduction of Collier's work, and this even in cases in which the texts in question had meanwhile become comparatively accessible.

There are a few minor objections that might be raised—for instance to certain Transatlantic expressions which will certainly irritate readers in this country, to some slipshod writing and some injudicious metaphors, to occasional instances of ethical irrelevance which make the reader rejoice that they are not more frequent—but it would be more than ungracious to dwell upon them. In general the author's qualifications are what we should desire. He writes with knowledge and grasp, ease and clearness; his book is fresh in its treatment and comprehensive in its scope.

The most striking feature of the work and the one which most obviously challenges criticism is the arrangement of the material according to types, to the exclusion of the strictly chronological or biographical method. It is curious that Professor Schelling has nowhere discussed the merits of his method in detail, but casually mentions near the end of his second volume (p. 393) that 'the classification of the drama by species' is 'one of the chief purposes of this book.' American scholars have of late rather taken the literary type under their protection and they have certainly produced some interesting results,

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally be it noted that the press-mark of the Royal MS. at the B.M. is not xv, A, but 15. A. ix., and that Lady Lumley died, not in March 1576, but in March 1576/7, being buried on the 9th.

though how far the method can be applied with advantage in such a case as the present is a question upon which one may be allowed to reserve judgement. In principle the method, of course, substitutes longitudinal for the more familiar transverse divisions, but in practice the difference between the two is much obscured. Clear lines of longitudinal cleavage such as that between tragedy and comedy are rare, the more particularized sorts—domestic tragedy, romance, comedy of humours, and the like—each in turn arise and have their day and vanish, so that, in fact, this method of subdivision tends to compromise with the other and produces a sort of pseudo-stratification, and it is perhaps this alone that makes its adoption in such a case as the present possible.

The method, like all methods, has its disadvantages, and it must be admitted that they seem rather serious. In general it may be said that such classification tends, on the one hand, to obscure the qualities which plays of one group have in common with those of another, qualities due to common age, authorship or conditions, thus losing sight of the general trend of dramatic mutation in the minuter study of the variation of individual species; and, on the other hand, to rob the individual of its individuality by insistence on its conformity to a type. We know how dangerous may be the labels of systematists even in natural science: in such a subject as literature the danger is increased tenfold. The comedy of humours, of character, of manners, of incident, of situation, of sentiment—all these distinctions are but labels, convenient perhaps for the nonce to describe a specimen, but most mischievous if permanently attached to it. A practical difficulty in the present case arises from the fact that the chronological element, expressing itself in the surroundings, and the personal element of authorship, cannot be wholly neglected. The result is that we find fragments of stage history and fragments of biographical lore scattered almost at random throughout the volumes. With his attention fixed on the question of types the reader feels these to be mere disturbing irrelevancies, while as history and biography they are necessarily divorced from much of the matter that would illustrate them and that they are supposed to illustrate. The author has, no doubt, himself felt the difficulties of his arrangement, and he even seems to confess to some misgiving. Thus he writes (i, 576) that '*Lear* and *Macbeth*, though both transcend mere legend, as they rise in splendid isolation above all drama classified by form or kind, have likewise been logically treated among English historical dramas.' It may be logical to treat *Lear* as one would treat *Loirine*, but it seems unreasonable to suppose that the source of the materials is of any significance for the form of Shakespeare's tragedies. The subject-matter is only of importance when it is the source of a difference of treatment; and a classification based on fortuitous characteristics must of necessity be vicious.

On the other hand, the arrangement has also unquestionable merits. Beside the more obvious advantage of enabling similar plays to be treated together, it has the power of bringing out unsuspected con-

nections and relations which throw a good deal of light on the history of the various kinds. An instance may be found in the suggestion that the Shakespearian revision of *Hamlet* and Jonson's additions to the *Spanish Tragedy* may have been due to the popularity of young Marston's revival of an earlier type of drama, the tragedy of revenge (i, 558). So, again, at a later date, 'It may not be too much to affirm that the ease, originality, and naturalness of this one popular play [the *Maid's Tragedy*], coming when it did, turned the current of romantic tragedy from the noise and hysterics of Marston and from the elaborate horrors of Webster and Tourneur to the easy eloquence of Massinger and to Shirley's consummate simplicity of plot' (i, 597). Neither should the interesting distinction between the earlier and later schools of Senecan playwrights be overlooked (ii, 7), nor the passage (ii, 204) in which a view of the relation of the Shakespearian romances to those of Beaumont and Fletcher is advanced in opposition to that maintained by Professor Thorndike. Thus it will be seen that the writer has been frequently able to impart an original interest to his treatment and to throw fresh and welcome light on certain formal transitions. But he has garnered; and while in future there will be no excuse for historians if they neglect the help which the method of comparison by types has to offer, it may be doubted whether they will be well advised to pursue that method themselves in the presentation of their material.

No one will expect to find in these volumes a final treatment of the subject, nor can it be said that they in any way mark an epoch in the history of scholarship, or contribute in any very marked manner to our knowledge of the literary field which they cover. But they present on the whole an admirable survey of the present state of that knowledge, and as such they will be most welcome to students. As one may be allowed to hope that an opportunity for revision will occur, perhaps the best compliment I can pay Professor Schelling's work will be to devote the remainder of my space to pointing out certain passages, which either contain manifest errors or which might possibly, as it appears to me, benefit by reconsideration.

There are in the first place certain general criticisms to be made<sup>1</sup>. We may, for example, complain of an occasional want of precision. In a number of passages works are quoted by wrong or at least misleading titles. Bullen's *Dialogue of Death* (i, 61) should be *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* (at least that is the shortened title by which it is commonly known); *Gli Hecatommithi* (i, 210) is not the title of 'a novel of Cinthio's,' but of a collection like the *Decameron*; a play, which I suppose to be Barnes' *Devil's Charter*, is disguised as *Pope Alexander VI* (i, 569); the time-honoured error of calling Cowley's play *The Cutter of Colman Street* ('Cutter' being the name of a character) is repeated

<sup>1</sup> The proof-reading on the whole is good, though there are a few passages in which the sense is more or less seriously obscured by small typographical errors. There are also a certain number of misprints: *Litteraturbibliothek* for *Literaturblatt* (ii, 442), *Les Débat* for *Les Débuts* (ii, 461), and *Manuele* for *Manuale* (ii, 487) all occur in the Bibliography.



(ii, 88); and Habington's *Queen of Aragon* receives the title of *Cleodora* (ii, 368). Were the writer to quote *Hamlet* under the title of the *Prince of Denmark* there would be little objection, but in the case of the obscurer plays such perversity is really not fair on the reader.

A more serious defect is a tendency often observable to treat points of controversy as settled, which have in fact been little more than raised, and otherwise to put forward hasty conclusions based on inadequate evidence. Peele's authorship of *Locrine* is more than once positively asserted (i, 98, 136), and so is Greene's of *George-a-Green* (i, 259), though on either attribution much might be written, and the latter seems, to me at least, highly improbable. Again, the reader is a little tempted to rebel when *Mucedorus* is said to be founded on an episode in Sidney's *Arcadia*, apparently on the strength of an unpublished Chicago essay (i, 241)<sup>1</sup>. It may be so—the assertion has been freely made before, though never substantiated—but one would like to see the essay in question. Several hasty assertions occur in connection with Nashe's often perplexing works. The traditional interpretation of his jibe at 'Idiote art-masters' as referring to Marlowe is repeated (i, 229), as usual without notice of Nashe's explicit denial. So again (i, 215) certain 'historic doubts' as to the interpretation of the Kidde-Hamlet passage are said to have been 'definitively laid to rest by J. W. Cunliffe,' though how far this is from being the case can be seen from R. B. McKerrow's notes on the passage. 'Definitive' is also the adjective applied to the papers by Fuller and Baker on the sources of *Titus Andronicus* (ii, 465). I can only say that, after going very carefully into these in connection with Henslowe's Diary, I entirely disagree with the writer's conclusions. Really 'definitive' and 'final' are words which ought to be expunged from the critical vocabulary. I think I may the less invidiously, as well as the more feelingly, protest, in that the objectionable epithet is applied to a harmless and unpretending essay of my own. *Titus* has, of course, been a rock of offence to many, and it is impossible not to feel that Professor Schelling's magisterial pronouncements in favour of 'unmistakable traces of the master's regulating hand' (i, 221) are out of place in such a work as this, and on a subject on which the acutest judges have held such opposite views. There is the less reason for treating the writer leniently on this point, in that he has for once spoken without acquainting himself with recent research. By far the most important work on the subject is J. M. Robertson's book. This the Professor has calmly neglected. It is unmentioned in his footnotes, and the record of it in the bibliography is obviously second-hand. It runs (ii, 465): 'The latest word on the topic is that of J. M. Robertson, "Did Shakespeare write *Titus Andronicus*?" *Modern Language Review*, i, 1905; and see, also, W. W. Greg in the next number of the same.' Upon which I need only remark that the article in *M.L.R.*, i, [4], 1905 [rather July, 1906] is not Mr Robertson's work, but my review of it, while the note 'in the next number,' i.e., Oct. 1906, is not mine at all,

<sup>1</sup> Published by the University of Nevada, since this was written, but I have not yet seen it.



but Mr Robertson's reply. Professor Schelling should remember that in a text book such as his, scholarship is best served, not by arraying vague probability or possibility in the garb of ascertained fact, but by indicating alternatives and leaving questions open.

Another group of errors, more or less serious, is connected with theatrical history. The subject is, of course, one of exceptional difficulty, in which trustworthy guides are few, but when Professor Schelling begins by describing Ordish's superficial compilation as a 'scholarly work' he raises grave misgivings in any serious student. I will mention a few points rapidly. The Queen's men certainly did not break up in the beginning of 1592 (i, 144), for they were acting at Court and at the Rose early in 1594, and may possibly be traceable as a travelling company down to 1602. There is no likelihood of Shakespeare having ever belonged to Leicester's company (*ibid.*). The statement that 'on the death of Leicester, September 4, 1588, Edward Alleyn formed a new company under the patronage of Ferdinando, Lord Strange' (*ibid.*) is quite baseless. Alleyn was probably with Worcester's men till February 22, 1589, and then became a servant of the Lord Admiral. It is true that he led Strange's men at a time of partial amalgamation of the two companies, but there is no indication that he founded that body. The automatic closing of playhouses on account of plague (p. 148) is not heard of till 1603; the number of plague-deaths was then fixed at 30, the number 40 being first found in 1619. Southwark did not include the whole of the south bank of the river, as implied on p. 155. It certainly extended nowhere near Newington, and it is important to remember that even the Rose was not technically within the borough of Southwark, which was subject to the jurisdiction of the City, but in the Liberty of the Clink. The statement that the Swan 'was built on the site of the old Paris Garden,' i.e., the Bear Garden, is incorrect (p. 155). The Swan was built in the Liberty of Paris Garden about 1596; the Bear Garden, which survived till converted into the Hope in 1613, was in the Liberty of the Clink. This of course disposes of the subsequent statement (p. 157) that both the amphitheatres on the Bankside were replaced by playhouses. The 'bull-baiting' merely disappeared. It is very doubtful whether the octagonal form of playhouse can be regarded as transitional from the square inn-yard (p. 158); the modern equivalent of the 'rooms' are called boxes, not stalls, in this country, whatever they may be in America; and 'cupola' is a singularly inapplicable term to apply to the square turret which surmounted many of the Elizabethan theatres (p. 159). The remarks (p. 173) about gallants sitting on the stage and groundlings standing in the pit should be reconsidered, since the former practice was very likely confined to the private houses (even if not peculiar to the Blackfriars) while the latter was distinctive of the public theatres. With what companies 'other' than Shakespeare's were the actors enumerated on p. 188 'later' connected? We most certainly should not 'trust' Collier's interpretation of the 'plattes' as being the outlines of impromptu plays (p. 196), since

one of them, the *Battle of Alcazar*, is extant in a printed quarto. If the statement (p. 472) that the Chamberlain's men 'acted continuously at the Globe' 'from 1599 to the close of the reign' is correct, then the suggestion (p. 494) that they were with Fletcher at Aberdeen in Oct. 1601 must be wrong. Quite possibly both assumptions may be false. The identity of Pembroke's and Worcester's companies, asserted on p. 495, is problematic, not to say improbable. The remark (ii, 376) that the only allusion to Jonson as an actor is in *Satiromastix* overlooks Henslowe's mention of 'Bengemen Johnson player' (*Diary*, p. 234).

One other group of errors requires attention, and here, although one need not apply so strict a criterion in the present case as one would in that of an English writer, it is impossible to acquit the author of very considerable carelessness and neglect of ordinary sources of information. I refer to the extraordinary confusion between the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and their respective colleges which appears in the chapter on the academic drama (see also in vol. i, pp. 86 and 107). It would be mere waste of time to point out here in detail the constant confusion of Christ Church and Christ's College, the absurd assignment of *Gammer Gurton* to Oxford and the Gager-Rainolds controversy to Cambridge—five minutes' conversation with anyone moderately conversant with the subject, or the use of any work of reference, will enable the writer to clear his pages of a score or so of blunders. A few more recondite errors may be singled out, for the detection of most of which I am indebted to Professor Moore Smith. Thus the statement that at the universities 'scarcely a winter passed without performances, far more of them (it may be surmised from the many manuscripts yet extant) than have been handed down in the records' (ii, 58), is daring, considering the writer's complete ignorance of the 'records.' The exact reverse is in fact true: the extant manuscripts represent but a very small proportion of the plays, usually unnamed, of whose performance the records give evidence. I am glad of this opportunity of referring to a paper in the *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cantabrigiae, 1909) in which G. C. M. Smith has collected some of the results of his laborious researches. Since, however, the list stops at 1585, a considerable proportion of the pieces recorded are classical. Lastly, in the catalogue of 'Latin college plays of the reign of James' given at p. 75 of vol. ii, Atkinson's *Homo* should be assigned to Oxford not Cambridge, and *Amelia* should be *Emilia*. On p. 81 'Reynolds' is presumably a misprint for 'Randolph's.'

It remains to go through Professor Schelling's pages and indicate a number of miscellaneous points of varying degrees of importance which seem open to criticism.

Vol. i, p. 202, note. 'the mark "ne" interpreted, according to Collier and Greg, to mean "new enterlude."' 'New enterlude' is the interpretation of Malone and Fleay; Collier conjectured 'ne[w]'; I have avoided expressing any opinion on the subject.

p. 228. 'Muly Abdelmilech may readily have been so disguised [Mulomorco] in Henslowe's free orthography and pronunciation.' If

so, anything may be anything. 'Mulomorco,' however (which, by the way, is not among the forms used by Henslowe, though these range from 'mylomvrco' to 'mylo myllocco'), is a perversion of the character name Muly Mollocco, and the identification of the play with the extant *Battle of Alcazar* is somewhat uncertain.

p. 289. 'Fleay's identification of the [*Whore of Babylon*] with *Truth's Supplication to Candlelight*...seems sheer guesswork.' In a manner all such identifications are guesswork, but the present instance is well substantiated. In 1607 (not 1604) we find Dekker, after a quarrel with the actors, publishing a play performed by Henslowe's company, the Prince's, and at his house, the Fortune, which must have been as old as c. 1600 and which contains a character Time: in 1600 we find Dekker writing for Henslowe's company, the Admiral's, and for his house, the Rose, a play with a very appropriate title, and at the same time we find Henslowe purchasing 'a Robe for time.'

p. 480. 'Marston, who is alluded to by Henslowe in September, 1599, as "the new poete."' Henslowe calls the new poet 'maxton' and though it is possible that Marston may be intended, it is well to bear in mind that the interlineation 'mastone' is probably a forgery.

p. 530, note. 'The date, 1609, of the title-page [to *Epicoene*] of the folio [of 1616] reckons old style.' The term 'old style' properly applies to the Julian calendar and is incorrectly (if commonly) used to indicate the Marian year. Moreover the statement itself is incorrect. A. H. Thorndike has conclusively shown that Jonson began the year on 1 January (*Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher*, p. 17).

p. 589. 'the politic brothers.' I cannot imagine who is intended. Or does the author merely mean 'fellows in intrigue'?

Vol. ii, p. 17. How can Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War* (not *Wounds of the Civil Wars*, by the way), assigned to c. 1588, be 'the earliest extant play in English on a Roman subject,' when *Appius and Virginia* was printed as early as 1575?

It is perhaps natural that a good many of the points on which I differ from Professor Schelling should occur in his chapter on the Pastoral Drama. But it may be all the more desirable that I should mention them<sup>1</sup>. Thus on p. 144 we read: 'the *Aminta* was translated first into Latin by Thomas Watson in 1585.' This is a time-honoured blunder and a bad one. Koepfel, to whose article in *Anglia* the writer refers, gives a perfectly correct account of the matter, in the course of which he questions whether Watson had so much as a model besides Vergil, and I do not understand why almost every subsequent writer has erred. It is apparently Mr Sidney Lee who is responsible. P. 145. 'The device of Echo is equally Italian, though not to be

<sup>1</sup> The author explains that his chapter was already in print before he saw my book on the subject—a work for which I fear he entertains an exaggerated regard. But he quotes it freely in his notes, and this being so it is rather confusing to find that he also refers to an early magazine article of mine on the same subject, while it is hardly fair to write (p. 164): 'neither Smith nor Greg include *Sicelides* in their lists of English pastorals,' a statement which is only true of the article, not of the book.



found in Guarini's play.' It is there safe enough: *Pastor Fido*, IV, viii. P. 152. Heywood's *Amphrissa* 'is a translation pure and simple.' This is an interesting statement, and would have been more so had the author informed us what the original is. It escaped the researches of W. Bang. P. 158. '*The Faithful Shepherdess* was acted in 1608 and first printed the following year.' The date 1608 is also given on p. 412, but 1609 on p. 417. It may have been printed at any time before May 1610. The date of composition is not known, but the arguments for 1608 are unconvincing. We have no right to date it before 1609. P. 159. '*The Faithful Shepherdess* is Clorin.' Why not just as well Amoret? 'A gentle Satyr on whose original nature devotion to this pure mistress has wrought a miracle.' That was only a delusion of Clorin's vanity and is cynically discountenanced by the poet. P. 178. '*Scyros* by Samuel Brooke, acted at Cambridge in 1612, and not improbably a...translation or adaptation of Bonarelli's *Filli di Sciro*.' Elsewhere (p. 144) we read: 'Apparently the only other pastoral drama [besides the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido*] translated in England was Luigi Groto's *Pentimento Amoroso*.' (This is anyhow incorrect, for the *Filli* was translated both by Sidnam and Talbot.) I do not understand this scepticism as to the identity of *Scyros* and *Filli*. It is true that if Professor Schelling's suggestion that they might be the same was original, it was a creditable guess. But he refers in his note to my *Pastoral Drama*, where the fact is explicitly stated. To remove any possible doubt, I here transcribe, from the Trinity MSS. of the play, the passage corresponding to that which I used in my book to illustrate the English versions.

*Cæ.* Ibi me ad arboris ambesæ truncum ligat: postea  
*Vna* raptura vestes mihi a collo ad talos dilacerat.  
*Ch.* Omnes? *Cæ.* Omnes. *Ch.* O Cælia mea! *Cæ.* Iam tecum reputes,  
 Annon pudori timor, et pallor huic purpuræ  
 Quam merito cesserit! *Ch.* Oihme! *Cæ.* Hic Dianam invoco,  
 Et cælo attollo manus, atque vocem emitto acerrime!...  
 Oculos quippe claudebam stulta, acsi ita licuisset mihi  
 Corpus nudum velare demittendo palpebras.

Brooke, it will be seen, has to some extent broken up the long narrative speeches of the original into dialogue, and he has not hesitated to make alterations, when he saw an opportunity of removing the grosser fatuities of the Italian, but his work remains strictly translation. There is a blunder on the same page (178, note) which Professor Schelling seems to father on me, but which I must repudiate. He says that another translation of the *Filli* 'was made in 1655 "by J. S."' The translation in question, by Sidnam, was printed in 1655 with an explicit statement (to which I called attention) that it had been 'made' some twenty years before.

As was only to be expected, the valuable Bibliographical Essay contains a certain number of errors. I will mention such as I have noticed. P. 446. The 'Enterlude' printed by the Malone Society is *Johan the Evangelist* not *Johan Baptistes*: it has no connection with



Bale's piece. P. 450. There is no such piece as the *Play of Lucre*: the writer means the *Play of Lucres* or *Lucrece*. P. 460. A new edition of the *Revels Accounts* by Mrs Stopes is promised. The plan has presumably been superseded by A. Feuillerat's labours. On the same page an important article on the Court Performances in *M.L.R.*, ii, 1906 (p. 1) is ascribed to me by error for E. K. Chambers. P. 471. The relation of *Locrine* to *Selimus* is treated far more confidently than the facts warrant, and no mention is made of Charles Crawford's researches (*Collectanea*, 1906, i, 47). P. 479. The *Earl of Huntingdon* plays are more accessible in Hazlitt's Dodsley (1875) than in Collier's *Five Old Plays* (1833). P. 483. The author gives no reason for his ascription of the 'unsatisfactory' Pearson reprint of Dekker's plays to R. H. Shepherd. It is very likely correct, but what is the authority? Lastly on p. 514 there is another instance of hasty pronouncement, where the late J. Churton Collins is said to have 'substantiated' a conclusion on the subject of Shakespeare's learning 'the reverse of Farmer's.' It may be admitted that recent critics have shown that some modification of the position taken up in Farmer's brilliant but rather dogmatic essay is necessary, but to assert anything more than this is the height of temerity.

Professor Schelling's List of Plays should prove of great value to students, in spite of some inaccuracies. The author of *Albumazar* was Thomas Tomkis, not J. Tomkins (see also ii, 78: the error is mine and I renounce it). The British Museum MS., Add. 10,444, which is frequently quoted, contains the names of an enormous number of 'masques' (far more than are here recorded), but it is very doubtful whether they should appear in the list, for they seem to be mere dances and have no necessary connection with dramatic shows at all (see my *Pastoral Drama*, p. 383, note 3). The poem entered as *Amyntas, The Lamentations of*, is in no way dramatic. The entry: *Catilina Triumphans* 'MS. in Trinity College Library, Cambridge,' copied from Halliwell and Hazlitt, seems to be wrong. The MS. may be at Oxford or Dublin. *John the Evangelist* is not a fragment.

The Index is admirably full. I would only suggest that where several references are given, the main passage in which a work is discussed should either be put first or else should be distinguished by different type. The more important entries are analysed; but eleven references are given under *Campaspe*, twelve under *Cymbeline*, thirteen under *Every man in* and *Every man out of his Humour* respectively. To a student desiring to look up what the author has to say concerning any given play, a dozen references are hardly more helpful than none at all.

I have perhaps shown that there are points in Professor Schelling's work that stand in need of correction: let me repeat that it is a work well worth correcting.

W. W. GREG.

*The Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher.* Edited by F. S. BOAS. 2 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1908-09. 8vo. xxi + 310, xxiii + 368 pp.

This admirable edition of the poems of the brothers Fletcher forms a peculiarly appropriate addition to a series of 'Cambridge' English Classics, for nearly every poem included in it was originally published—to quote from the title-page of Phineas Fletcher's *Sylva Poetica*,—'Cantabrigiæ, ex Academiæ celeberrimæ typographeo.' There was real need for a new critical edition of the two brothers' works, as they have been generally accessible hitherto only in Dr Grosart's editions. Mr Boas pays due tribute to Grosart's immense industry and enthusiasm, but justifies his own labours by allusion to his predecessor's well-known limitations as editor and critic. Mr Boas himself, as his prefaces will show, went about his task with enthusiasm, and he has spared no pains in producing, both from manuscript and printed sources, a thoroughly scholarly text of the poems. Although first attracted to his work by the poems of Giles, he found that Phineas provided far more knotty problems for a textual editor. What Mr Boas claims to have achieved in his two volumes is best stated in his own words. 'The tracing of the evolution of *Locustæ* through its various stages; the reconstitution of the text of *Sicelides* by a collation of the Quarto with the MSS.; the presentation of the shorter poems in an accurate reprint; the systematic analysis of the "reproductions" in Phineas' poetry; and the revindication of his claim to the authorship of *Britain's Ida*—all these have been attempted in this edition.' In two of the tasks here recounted Mr Boas had been largely anticipated by Grosart, but he has dealt with both more systematically and in much greater detail. Phineas's habit of economising his materials extended even to 'repeating almost *verbatim*, with only the changes necessitated by metre or by general setting, passages from his own works.' Such repetitions are found not only, as might be expected, in *Sicelides* and the *Piscatorie Eclogs*, but there are remarkable correspondences between passages in the fisher-play and lines in *The Purple Island* and the *Poeticall Miscellanies*. Grosart notes this peculiarity of the poet, but Mr Boas instances a number of remarkable 'reproductions' which had apparently escaped Grosart's notice. Mr Boas builds on another foundation provided by Grosart in his vindication of Phineas Fletcher's authorship of *Britain's Ida*. He has, however, massed his proofs so convincingly as to leave no further room for the doubts which Grosart's arguments from internal evidence left in the minds of many competent critics. This poem, dealing in six brief cantos with the story of Venus and Adonis, was, as all students of Fletcher's works know, printed in 1628 for Thomas Walkley as the work of 'that Renowned Poet, Edmond Spenser.' No critic of any authority has ever accepted the Spenserian authorship of the poem, and Thomas Warton was apparently the first to hint at Fletcher's probable authorship by pointing out, in his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, the similarity of its style to that of *The Purple Island*. The evidence

which Mr Boas, like Grosart, adduces for definitely assigning the poem to Fletcher is all internal, but it is sufficient. 'Between *Britain's Ida*' Mr Boas writes, 'and a number of Phineas Fletcher's avowed poems there is an intricate series of correspondences, which are different in kind from ordinary cases of parallel or imitation, and which can only be explained by his authorship of *Britain's Ida*.'

In his observations on the 'piscatory' play, *Sicelides*, Mr Boas raises an interesting point. On the strength of certain entries found under the year 1607 in the Account Books of King's College, he hazards the opinion that *Sicelides* was not the sole contribution of Fletcher to the academic drama. The entries refer to an 'Englishe Comodye' performed at King's in 1607, and one of them definitely cites Fletcher's name as its author. Mr Boas thinks it highly improbable that this 'comodye' could have been *Sicelides*, but that it must have been 'one of those numerous products of the academic stage concerning which College Bursars in the faithful discharge of their office have recorded every item involved in their production, but with lofty detachment have not even mentioned their name.'

The editor's task with the works of Giles Fletcher was, naturally, much lighter than with those of Phineas. It should, however, be noted that he reprints for the first time since their appearance in 1611 two elegies, one in Latin and the other in English, on Henry, Prince of Wales. They will not add much to the poet's reputation. This new edition, however, of all the known works of the two poet brothers will, we feel sure, greatly add to the interest taken in their poetry, and so justify the editor's hope that his book will 'lay the foundation of a more critical and considered estimate of their poetic merits than has hitherto been possible.'

W. LEWIS JONES.

BANGOR.

*Über Thomas Heywoods The Life and Death of Hector, eine Neubearbeitung von Lydgates Troy Book.* Von FRANZ ALBERT. (Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie. Heft xlii.) Leipzig: Georg Böhme. 1909. 8vo. 185 pp.

Dr Albert here deals with a rather curious literary phenomenon. In 1614 Thomas Purfoot printed a poem in 5 books called 'The Life and Death of Hector, one and the first of...the Nyne worthies... Written by John Lidgate Monke of Berry, and by him dedicated to...Henry the fift, King of England.' Though said to be written by Lydgate, and carrying no other indication of authorship, the poem, in which six-lined stanzas (*ababcc*) take the place of Lydgate's couplets, is clearly a new version of Lydgate's *Troy Book* by a modern hand. Who was this person, and how closely in subject-matter and style does his work agree with Lydgate's? Where it has passages or expressions not to be found in the *Troy Book*, from what source do they come, and with

what motive are they inserted? Such are the questions which Dr Albert sets himself to answer, and his treatment of them shows the characteristic, here and there meticulous, thoroughness of German method. It is not necessary to restate Dr Albert's results. Sufficient to say that a comparison of *The Life and Death of Hector* with Thomas Heywood's epical poem *Troia Britannica* and his dramas *The Brazen Age* and *The Iron Age*, leads him to the conclusion that the first work like the others is to be certainly ascribed to Heywood. In coming to this conclusion Dr Albert is not upsetting, but justifying, what has been a common opinion since the days of Dr Farmer, who wrote in a note quoted by Allibone, 'This modern versification...is generally attributed to T. Heywood,' though, he added, Fuller and other writers had mistaken it for Lydgate's own. The attribution to Heywood was repeated by Lowndes and others, but it was left to Dr Albert to find solid grounds for what had been merely a plausible suggestion.

Dr Albert further shows that Heywood's poem was based on the edition of the *Troy Book* printed by Thomas Marshe in 1555. The likeness of the two works in subject-matter and treatment is so close—Heywood uses the first person where Lydgate does so and speaks of Chaucer as his master—that one is not surprised that G. Ellis in his *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (1803) characterised *The Life and Death of Hector* as 'this strange instance of perverted talents and industry.' It can only have sprung from a very enthusiastic admiration of Lydgate on the part of the seventeenth-century dramatist. But that in itself is an interesting fact in literary history which was well worth proving. Dr Albert (pp. 25, 26) reproaches his author with allowing inflexional endings like -ing, -less, -ness, -ly, -est, -ed, to stand in a stressed position in the line. But the occurrence of weak stresses in the place of strong, even in the rime-syllable, is seen on every page of Shakespeare and is a means of giving a pleasing variety to English verse. There is therefore nothing worth remarking in 'côuragès (Albert accents 'côuragés') most stout.' A frequent use of forms like 'travellèd,' where the colloquial speech of the time would have 'travel'd' may be a sign of weakness; but it is not to be condemned on purely metrical grounds. Shakespeare rimes 'married': 'bed,' 'remedies': 'lies,' 'lies: qualities,' 'predominant': 'plant,'—all in a few pages of *Romeo and Juliet*.

Dr Albert (p. 26) prints 'Át your hánds to whóm with gríef and páin' and considers it a case of 'fehlende Auftakt.' But 'your' is dissyllabic. When Heywood speaks of 'the proverb that blood with blood always reveng'd will be,' he is not thinking of 'An eye for an eye etc.' as Dr Albert says (p. 113): cp. *Macbeth* III, 4. 122.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.



*The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597—1603.* By CHARLES WILLIAM WALLACE. Reprinted from University Studies of the University of Nebraska. 1908. 8vo. xvi + 207 pp.

Dr Wallace has for some years been engaged in systematic research at the Record Office and elsewhere, and claims to have tracked much unpublished material which will throw new light upon the history of the Jacobean stage as a whole, and upon that of the succession of companies of boy-actors, known generically as the Revels Companies, in particular. A foretaste of his results has already been given by means of certain communications to the daily journals, of which the latest, dealing with the location of the Globe Theatre, has aroused controversy. But for an analysis and valuation of Dr Wallace's new facts the time is not yet. That will come when they have been published in full, and with sufficient and exact references. The present book, which is of an introductory nature, does not call them greatly in aid. Some commissions to various Masters of the Children of the Chapel are printed for the first time, and there are some quotations from the records of law-suits between Henry Evans and Edward Kirkham, supplementary to those printed by Mr Greenstreet, and from a few other documents known to Dr Wallace, the full texts of which are not yet given. In the main, however, the writer is here assembling and drawing conclusions from material already familiar, and therefore comes up for judgment as a literary historian rather than as a researcher. His assembling is done exhaustively, and on the whole with commendable, although not perfect, accuracy. I venture to think that his conclusions are in certain respects vitiated by an exaggerated conception of the extent to which it is possible to get behind the often conventional phraseology of official documents, and to reconstruct not merely what was said and done by sixteenth and seventeenth century Queens and Privy Councils and accounting officers, but also the underlying and personal motives which led them to say and do it. Like Lear, Dr Wallace will talk of court news and take upon him the mystery of things, as if he were God's spy. There are interesting and valuable side issues in *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, such as a study of the fabric of the Blackfriars and another of the Jacobean custom of sitting on the stage; but the *clou* of the book is certainly an attempt to expound—and to show that earlier historians of the stage have failed to penetrate—a theory of the personal relations of Elizabeth to the Children of the Chapel, which, to speak quite frankly, I cannot bring myself to regard, for all the learning and ingenuity with which it is supported, as resting upon any solid foundation.

The following passage fairly represents Dr Wallace's thesis:

Elizabeth, always a patron and lover of the drama, had some definite notion of what the theatre should be. Not the completeness nor the incompleteness with which her notion was executed by officials, but her purpose therein is the point of main concern in this consideration. Upon the numerous public theatres, particularly those of second-rate sort, the Queen looked with no more favor than did the City.

The Lord Mayor and aldermen attempted reformation by driving the theatres out. The Queen attempted reformation by fostering meritorious exclusiveness. Her declared purpose was to reform abuses and increase the usefulness of the stage. In carrying out her notion the Queen established a restrictive law on strolling players. She established the Blackfriars, which, whether so intended or not, became at once the envy and the model of the time. She fostered the privacy of Paul's. She attempted to suppress the less worthy of the public theatres, and to put the Globe and Fortune on the basis of exclusiveness their companies merited (p. 150).

Having once arrived at an intuition as to Elizabeth's personal attitude towards the stage, it is of course not particularly difficult to read the evidence in the light of it. But that evidence is in itself colourless, and at least equally consistent with the view that Elizabeth's personal interest in the matter was limited to the ordering of a sufficient number of amusing plays on sufficiently economical terms for her 'solace' at Christmas, and that, so long as this was secured, she was quite willing to leave the Privy Council and the City Corporation to arrange the control and 'reform' of the London theatres between them. As the Children of the Chapel were part of her household establishment, it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that her sanction was required before they could begin to perform in public; but it is a long step from this to the conclusion that their plays were set up on her initiative, as a move in a deliberate dramatic policy, and even, as Dr Wallace thinks, at her expense. It is difficult, without injustice, to condense Dr Wallace's arguments into a brief statement; but, roughly, these are the grounds on which he bases his theory: (a) A Star-Chamber complaint in 1601 against an abuse of the Master of the Children's commission to 'take up' boys for the royal service led to a censure of the principal offender, but did not interfere with the continuance of the performances, and statements attributed by the complainant to the managers of the theatre 'show a confident security in the Queen's grants and permissions.' (b) Elizabeth occasionally attended plays at the Blackfriars, and is not known to have visited any other theatre. (c) Edward Kirkham, the Yeoman of the Revels, was interested in the 'dietting and ordering' of the boys. He had the custody of the Queen's theatrical apparel, and 'charge over expenditures in the "setting out" of plays at court' and it was 'through him, from some account yet to be discovered,' that Elizabeth provided the necessary expenditure upon the Blackfriars. (d) Frederic Gerschow, who visited London with Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin, in 1602, saw a performance, and wrote in his diary that the Queen had established the theatre and provided it with costumes ('die Königin ein sonderlich Theatrum erbauet und mit köstlichen Kleidern zum Überfluss versorget hat'). (e) The strict Privy Council orders passed from 1597 to 1603, with the object of limiting the number of public theatres to two, and their performances to two a week, cannot be ascribed to the Puritan views of the City, for the Council had to complain that the City had failed to carry them out; and must therefore have been conceived by the Queen in the interests of the Blackfriars. It was their knowledge of Elizabeth's differentiation against them which led the Globe players to lend their services to the

Essex conspiracy, and 'never after did good feeling exist on either side.' No plays were given at court during the Christmas of 1601-2, and it is difficult to repress the suggestion that this was due to the Queen's displeasure with the public theatres.

On each of these points my comments can be equally brief. (a) The Master of the Children may very likely, like other servants of the royal household, have presumed a good deal upon the privileges given by his commission; but in fact the offender received a punishment from the Star Chamber fully commensurate with his offence. No special intervention of Elizabeth to shield the managers of the company is shown. (b) The idea that Elizabeth visited the Blackfriars is based upon a letter of Dudley Carleton already quoted by me in *The Modern Language Review* for October, 1906. The play in question took place after a dinner at Lord Hunsdon's, who lived in the Blackfriars, and presumably gave the performance at his own house. A record of a precisely similar performance at Hunsdon's house by his own company, after a dinner to an ambassador, will be found in the *Sidney Papers*, ii, 175. (c) The voluminous accounts of the Revels Office show that the Yeoman had no responsibility for expenditure upon the setting out of plays at court, except in conjunction with the Master and other superior officers; and if Kirkham was an accountant for royal funds in any other capacity, it would almost certainly be possible to produce one of his accounts or some warrant for a payment made to him. Dr Wallace's hypothesis must be regarded as untenable, unless and until he can do this. (d) It is impossible to rest much upon the very general statements of a foreign traveller, who would naturally regard the Children of the Chapel Royal as 'established' by the Queen, as indeed they were, in a sense, since the singing boys, for whose maintenance she paid £40 a year, formed their nucleus. If the words proved that she maintained the company, they would also prove that she provided the building, whereas we happen to know that the managers rented it from the Burbages. And in fact there can be little doubt that the expenses of the theatre were met out of the profits of the public performances. The whole existence of plays in London depended on Elizabeth's economical desire to have companies for court entertainments without paying for their upkeep. (e) There was no doubt a rivalry during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign between the adult and the boy actors; but there is no indication whatever that Elizabeth in any way threw the weight of her personal influence against the men. The statement that there were no court plays during the Christmas of 1601-2 is incorrect. There were nine, two by the Chapel boys, and seven by three companies of men. Of these, four fell to the lot of the Chamberlain's men, who are supposed by Dr Wallace to have been then enjoying the Queen's special disfavour. Perhaps on this also I may be allowed to refer to my article of October 1906 cited above. Finally, it is to be observed that there are two occasions upon record on which Elizabeth did take personal action in favour of particular companies, and that both of these were adult companies. Her



wish to see Edward Alleyn back upon the stage was given by the Privy Council in 1600 as a special reason for licensing his venture of the *Fortune* (*Henslowe Papers*, 51). And it was 'upon notice of her Ma<sup>ties</sup>: pleasure at the suit of the Earle of Oxford' that toleration was given in 1602 to a new company formed by the amalgamation of Worcester's and Oxford's men (*Malone Society Collections*, i, 86).

E. K. CHAMBERS.

GERRARD'S CROSS.

*A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day.* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vol. II. From Shakespeare to Crabbe. London: Macmillan & Co. 1908. 8vo. xvi + 583 pp.

Professor Saintsbury is to be congratulated upon the second volume of his *History of English Prosody*. It is not only a valuable contribution to the subject, but also a thoroughly readable book; and to write a readable book about prosody is no small feat. In fact it is much more than a history of prosody: it is almost a history of English poetry. Many other things are dealt with besides the qualities of the verse; and the examples are so chosen in some of the chapters, as to furnish a poetical anthology which is very interesting and delightful. Certain thorny questions about the essential character of English metre, which were necessarily suggested by the first volume, are deliberately postponed till the third, and we can be content to enjoy the repast which is provided for us here, without troubling ourselves much about first principles. We feel sure that the author, who is nothing if not combative, would not desire to find us entirely in agreement with his opinions; and whatever differences of opinion the reviewer may feel called upon to express, he cannot fail to admire the catholic appreciation of good poetry of all kinds which Professor Saintsbury shows in this book, and the vigorous manner in which he champions the causes in which he is interested.

The period with which this volume is concerned extends from the latter years of the sixteenth century to near the end of the eighteenth, and includes an immense variety of poetical production,—the drama including Shakespeare, the Elizabethan sonnet and lyric, the Caroline lyric, Milton, Cowley, Dryden, Pope, Thomson, Collins, Gray, Goldsmith—these headings give some idea of the extent of ground which is traversed and the various prosodic forms of which the history is traced,—blank verse, dramatic and other, lyric stanzas of the most varied kind, and the couplet, both short and long, in every stage of its development from Marlowe to Crabbe. The weakest part of the book is the treatment of the drama, and the chapter on Milton is to a great extent spoilt by the disproportionate amount of space given to the discussion of one particular subject, not of the first importance. On the seventeenth century lyric Professor Saintsbury is perhaps seen at his best, and the chapter on Dryden also is excellent. This volume



generally is rather less pervaded than the preceding one with the author's characteristic oddities of phrase and allusion, but they make themselves felt sometimes in an irritating manner. The controversial tone is still too apparent, but it is interesting to note the efforts which have evidently been made to do justice to opponents, however wrong-headed. Professor Saintsbury evidently regards his own impartiality as almost miraculous, and he speaks on one occasion of the 'transparent and Golden-Age-like equity' that reigns in this book. Certainly there seems to be some improvement here upon the former volume.

In the first chapter, headed 'Shakespeare and Blank Verse,' Marlowe receives a rather grudging appreciation. It is true of course that even in his finest work the 'single-moulded line' predominates, but this is not the most important thing to be noted. The really vital matter is the fact that he is working himself free from this limitation, and that in this respect blank verse owes to him a great and fruitful development. Professor Saintsbury acknowledges the prosodic merit of such passages as that in *Tamburlaine*, 'If all the pens that ever poets held,' etc., but complains rather strangely that even here the lines are separable and that the passage is not closely enough welded together. In fact, however, it is in Marlowe's work, and not in *Titus Andronicus* (which Professor Saintsbury holds to be undoubtedly Shakespearian), that we find the beginnings of the dramatic blank verse paragraph, of which Marlowe was more than anyone else the inventor.

Ah, Spencer, not the riches of my realm  
Can ransom him! ah, he is marked to die!  
I know the malice of the younger Mortimer,  
Warwick I know is rough, and Lancaster  
Inexorable, and I shall never see  
My lovely Pierce of Gaveston again.

Passages like this, whether the lines have stops at the end or no, are not composed of single-moulded lines, everything is subordinate to the general balance of the paragraph; and what a master of the verse paragraph Marlowe became is evident enough in *Hero and Leander*, in spite of the couplet rhyme, e.g.,

Nor that night-wandering, pale and watery star,  
(When yawning dragons draw her thirling car  
From Latmus' mount up to the gloomy sky,  
Where, crowned with blazing light and majesty,  
She proudly sits) more over-rules the flood,  
Than she the hearts of those that near her stood.

Shakespeare needed no better models for the verse paragraph than those which he found in Marlowe; and the idea that before he could attain to complete freedom in running on from line to line he had to go through a special course of couplets (p. 21), strikes us as nothing short of fantastic.

With reference to the treatment of Shakespeare, it must be remarked at once that Professor Saintsbury's ventures in the higher

criticism are for the most part very hazardous. Conjectures are freely thrown out with regard to the chronological sequence or internal development of the plays, which appear to rest upon the very slightest grounds. It is suggested with confidence that *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (apparently) and *Measure for Measure* all contain work of several different periods, while the practical certainty that *Love's Labour's Lost* was to some extent rewritten is entirely ignored, though the passages here quoted as illustrating very early work are from a rewritten scene, and perhaps not earlier than 1598. We are invited to consider *Troilus and Cressida* as 'in part at least' an early work, and to place *Coriolanus* in order of time before *Julius Caesar*. Few will be found to agree that *Lucrece* looks like earlier work than *Venus and Adonis*, either prosodically or otherwise, and the metrical argument used in support of this position (p. 59), if we rightly understand what is meant by 'tetremimeral caesura,' is no more justified by the facts than the reference in this connection to Gascoigne. Professor Saintsbury is afraid that the reader will be puzzled by the arrangement which he adopts of Shakespeare's plays, and it is certainly difficult to see what advantages it has. He treats first of the plays mentioned by Meres as existing in 1598, identifying *All's Well that Ends Well* with 'Love labours wonne' (which by a slip he calls 'Love's Labour's Found'), and then, as if the authority of Meres were the only trustworthy evidence which we possessed, he gives up all attempt at chronology, and adopts, with some slight variations, the order of the first folio. But we are just as much assured by external evidence that *Much Ado* and *As You Like It* existed in 1600, *Twelfth Night* in 1601, and *Hamlet* in 1604, as that *The Merchant of Venice* existed in 1598, and as for the asserted impossibility of constructing an approximate chronological order on metrical grounds, the author has himself put such an argument out of court by basing upon these grounds the conjectures of which we have spoken.

In spite of these vagaries the qualities of Shakespeare's blank verse are fairly appreciated; but the chapters on his contemporaries and followers in the drama are singularly insufficient. The author's remarks upon their prosodic style are for the most part superficial, and are left almost entirely without the illustration of examples. It is impossible, from the account given, to form any proper conception of the metrical characteristics of Marston, Dekker, Webster, Heywood or Tourneur; each is dismissed with a few phrases, which mean something or nothing, and such matters of prosodic interest as the curious metrical difference between *The Atheist's Tragedy* and *The Revenger's Tragedy* are passed over entirely without mention. The difference in metrical style between Beaumont and Fletcher is as clearly marked as it well can be, but Professor Saintsbury has not chosen to distinguish their characteristics; nor does he appear to take any real interest in Massinger, or to have any adequate notion of his metrical quality. Very much more space is given both to Shirley and to Davenant.

In marked contrast with this unsatisfactory work is the chapter

on 'Spenser's Fellows and Followers,' which is admirable in appreciation and discrimination; and almost as much may be said of the next, on the Elizabethan Lyric and Sonnet, including Donne, though the prosodic merits of Donne are considerably exaggerated.

The chapter on Milton is almost ruined by the author's obsession on the subject of trisyllabic feet. Professor Saintsbury seems to think that the world abounds with people who deny trisyllabic feet to Milton, and are altogether wrongheaded about apostrophation and elision; and his insistence on the obvious in this matter becomes tiresome. It is a subject which might have been disposed of quite easily in a very short space, but 'this peculiar and probably irreconcilable debate' is actually allowed to occupy, with a few digressions, nearly thirty pages, while the really important matters about Milton's epic blank verse, the variety of pause, the structure of the verse paragraph, and the choice of metrically effective words and phrases, are dismissed with disappointing brevity. Moreover this chapter is disfigured by a most unfortunate series of mistakes in quotation. In the citation on p. 211 of two stanzas from the Nativity Ode, there are no fewer than four inaccuracies, a full stop for a comma at the end of l. 2, 'Edgèd' for Edg'd in l. 5, 'still' for 'chill' and 'forsakes' for 'forgoes' in the two last lines. On p. 213 we have 'eyes of coal' for 'eyne of coal,' p. 218 'Lawes sonnet' for 'Lawrence sonnet,' p. 228 'Is not' for 'Is now,' p. 232 'unfraught' for 'o'refraught' (two most serious misprints). Add to these several in an earlier quotation from Donne, p. 159 f., 'wearied' for 'wean'd,' 'those' for 'there,' 'more' for 'moe,' the rhyme being twice destroyed in a passage of nine lines. The review of Milton's early lyric style and of the verse of *Comus* is on the whole adequate; but why is there such a grudging acknowledgement of the excellence of the sonnets? Professor Saintsbury actually regrets that Milton reverted to the Italian form, though he admits that it is the more suitable for his subjects. Surely it is very unnecessary to desire that the English language should possess only one of the two established sonnet forms, considering what splendid work has been achieved with each, and it is difficult to think that Professor Saintsbury would really desire to be without such masterly examples of the 'turn' as we have in the sonnets 'How soon hath time,' 'When I consider,' 'Cromwell, our chief of men,' 'Daughter to that good earl,' especially as its position is not stiffly confined to the end of the octett, but frequently varied so as to break the line.

The attempt to establish the existence of alexandrines in Milton's blank verse can hardly be said to have succeeded: the examples cited can better be explained as instances of trisyllabic redundancy. Such are *Comus*, 192, 'Is now the labour of my thoughts, 'tis likeliest,' 732, 'The sea o'refraught would swell, and th' unsought diamonds,' *Par. Lost*, viii, 216, and ix, 249, ending with 'satiety' and 'society' respectively, *Par. Reg.*, i, 302, 'society,' iv, 173 (a dissyllabic ending), *Sams. Agon.*, 797, 868. The irregularity in *Comus*, 617, seems to be due to the break in the line. Another thing that tends to shake the reader's confidence in the judgment of the author is the extent to

which he quotes irrelevant examples to support his arguments. For example, in reference to the well-known line 'Burnt after them to the bottomless pit,' it is idle to quote such perfectly normal instances of reversed rhythm as *Par. Reg.*, iii, 392, 'Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,' or iv, 639, 'Home to his mother's house private return'd.' The difficulty lies in the fact that reversed rhythm (when not initial) is normally preceded by a syllable capable of emphasis, and usually by a pause either slight or decided. These conditions are fulfilled in *P. R.*, iii, 392, and iv, 639, but not in the line in question, nor in *P. R.*, i, 361, iv, 289 (which are properly quoted in illustration) where 'to the,' 'from the,' are the words preceding the inversion. Examples of the normal rhythm are *P. R.*, i, 169, 197, 228, 332, 347, 377, 482, 495. Of the trisyllabic feet controversy, which is largely a question of words and terms, we will say nothing here, except in the first place that the eagerness of the author to prove his case with regard to *Paradise Lost* has caused the considerable difference in this matter between *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* to be passed over almost without notice, and secondly that we do not admire Professor Saintsbury's controversial tone in this discussion. To speak of a line of Milton as 'a famous Guest-choker' (p. 249) is hardly a decent form of reference to a distinguished scholar, and 'the inextinguishable wrath of the excellent Master of Sidney' (so the author calls him) refers merely to the fact that Dr Guest objects to the division of the compound 'wide-encroaching' between two lines, a point on which most of us would probably agree with him rather than with Professor Saintsbury.

Professor Saintsbury's dealings with Waller leave us in some doubt whether he properly appreciates his position as regards the heroic couplet. The lines which he quotes on p. 281 are not really characteristic of the new movement, and the qualities which were specially admired in Waller's verse by the succeeding generation are rather conspicuously absent. It was not that he had no reversed rhythm—he had it in fact plentifully of course at the beginning of the line, and pretty often elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, nor that he had no trisyllabic feet,—for why should such words as 'Albion,' 'conquering,' 'list'ning,' 'powerful,' be counted as having three syllables in Milton and only two in Waller? The actual reform which is to be ascribed to Waller consists in the *balance* which he gives to his words and clauses, so as to fit them precisely to the metrical conditions of the couplet. Such lines as those quoted by Professor Saintsbury as characteristic,

With the sweet sound of this harmonious lay  
About the keel delighted dolphins play, etc.

<sup>1</sup> For example, in the lines to Falkland :

- l. 13. That know thy worth, and know how prodigal  
Of thy great soul thou art, longing to twist  
Bay with that ivy, etc.
- l. 21. Some happy wind over the Ocean blow.

So also in ll. 26, 38, and in the *Instructions to a Painter*, ll. 10, 69, 75, 116, 130, etc.



have advanced no further in this path than to have their clauses measured by the line, with a slight pause at the end of the first, and a more marked one at the end of the second, of the couplet. But if we take such a piece of verse as the lines *At Penshurst*, we find qualities of a very different and much more complex kind, an elaborate system of balance and antithesis of words, clauses, lines, and couplets, so devised as to give the measure its fullest effectiveness:

While in the park I sing, the list'ning deer  
Attend my passion, and forget to fear;  
When to the beeches I report my flame,  
They bow their heads, as if they felt the same; etc.

and this is what was so much admired and imitated, not a mere external smoothness of rhythm. What Professor Saintsbury looks upon as added graces are in fact the essential features of the style.

The Caroline lyric and Pindaric are dealt with satisfactorily, but Herrick suffers from want of illustrative quotation. Perhaps the author thinks that everyone knows his best pieces by heart. With regard to Dryden a few slight criticisms only are needed. Professor Saintsbury very properly gives much attention to those lyrics which, being buried in the plays, have often almost escaped notice; but though interested in triple measures, he has singularly failed to distinguish between dactylic and anapaestic metre. The difference is essentially the same as that between trochaic and iambic. The metre of 'From the low palace of old Father Ocean' (p. 373) and 'Long between love and fear Phyllis tormented' (p. 377) is dactylic, while that of 'While Alexis lay pressed' is anapaestic; and it is surely worth while in a book on prosody to mark the distinction. The statement that 'numerous examples of the fourteenner' occur in Dryden's *Virgil* (p. 383) is decidedly misleading. This line is used repeatedly with a view to a special effect in the translation of the fourth *Eclogue*, e.g. ll. 15, 63, 73, 75, but, so far as I know, only twice in the whole of the other works, viz. *Æn.* iv, 271 'Things done relates; not done she feigns; and mingles truth with lies'; and vi, 1209 (where it is probably the result of inadvertence). The development of metrical suppression in Dryden's work should have been more carefully traced. In the earlier period the full pronunciation to 'the' or 'to' before vowels, and also of the final '-ed,' is quite common, e.g., *Astr. Red.*, 42, 70, 147, *Ann. Mir.*, 81. 2, 92. 3, 93. 4, 94. 2, 101. 2; while in the first part of *Absalom and Achitophel* there is perhaps only a single instance, l. 239, and in the later work hardly any. This furnishes an important indication of the change that was proceeding.

On the eighteenth century the author is rather too brief. Justice is done to Pope, Prior and Thomson, but hardly to Collins, Gray or Goldsmith. Of Collins he speaks indeed with some enthusiasm, but he devotes to him little more than two pages, and less than two pages to Gray, which, in a volume of five hundred and seventy-six pages dealing with the prosody of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is an absurdly small amount. Goldsmith fares even worse, and little

or no appreciation is shown of the difference between his couplet and Johnson's.

The peculiarities of Professor Saintsbury's style are familiar to us all; and though this volume is more soberly written than some of his books, yet it has no lack of characteristic features. In many cases these are to be regretted, being either tasteless quibbles, e.g. (p. 408) 'Pope himself can scarcely give him points (or rather can give him nothing but point),' (p. 573) 'No doubt these feet were sometimes not beautiful on any mountain'; inappropriate allusions or quotations, as (p. 215) 'a *castiliano* which is too likely to become *vulgo*,' (p. 226) 'may well release his captor from all damages *de raptu suo*,' (p. 562) 'You can "intabesce" in *both* directions here, unfortunately'; unnecessary introduction of foreign words, 'this *hervorragend* eminence,' 'you can *escamoter* the accent'; or mere eccentricities of word or phrase, of which it is not worth while to accumulate examples. Of the quotations which, instead of elucidating the subject, merely distract the mind from it, some of the most objectionable are those that drag in irrelevant questions of textual criticism or interpretation, as (p. 528) 'a very base or a very foolish Judean,' (p. 559) 'to embrace one "substance of a doubt" as noble, and refuse to allow any dram of eale to do it to that dram's nature.' But Professor Saintsbury has the qualities of his defects. Occasionally in his endeavour to arrest the attention of his readers he hits upon phrases which brilliantly illuminate instead of obscuring the point at issue, e.g. (p. 7) 'to turn it from a string of dazzling beads to a ringed and winged serpent of colour and fire'; or introduces a really felicitous quotation, as (p. 234) 'That marvellous billowy flow of verse...with an occasional break or ripple, but mostly "too full for noise or foam"' (though he has spoilt even this by substituting 'noise' for 'sound'). For the sake of these successes we must be content to put up with a certain number of rather irritating failures.

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CAMBRIDGE.

*The Poetical Works of John Dryden.* Edited by GEORGE R. NOYES. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1908. 8vo. xlii + 1054 pp.

The new edition of Dryden which comes to us from California is a most admirable contribution to the series of 'The Cambridge Poets.' We have here in a single volume the whole of Dryden's poetical work, both original and translated, with the exception of the dramas, and of these last the prologues, epilogues, and songs are included. No popular edition, so far as we know, has hitherto included the translations from Greek and Latin, which form such an important part of Dryden's work, and which occupy in this volume about four hundred pages. In connection with these we have also the prefaces and dedications which

belong to them, including the *Discourse concerning Satire* and the *Dedication of the Æneis*, so that altogether about half of Dryden's critical essays appear in this volume. The works are arranged in chronological order, with full accounts of the form in which they appeared; and the texts have been most carefully collated with the early editions. The editor justly observes that the chronological arrangement 'should give the reader a clearer conception of Dryden's literary development, and of his relation to the politics of his time, than the classified arrangement hitherto followed.' The volume is made more complete and interesting by the addition in appendix of poems and translations which have been attributed to Dryden, or in which he may have had a hand, as the *Essay upon Satire*, for which he was assaulted in Rose Alley, and a translation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, which he probably revised.

There is an excellent portrait, a well-written biography, and a sufficient supply of notes, which for the most part are satisfactory. Sometimes, however, an explanation is adopted from Scott without sufficient consideration; as in the note on *Annus Mirabilis*, stanza cci. Here there is certainly no reference to Henry III: the meaning is that the cause of the English was so just, that Henry IV, the first Bourbon, would in this instance refuse to side with his descendant, who was their enemy. Again in *Absalom and Achitophel*, l. 196, the true interpretation is probably that of Churton Collins, that David would have composed one of his psalms in honour of Achitophel, and so Heaven would have been deprived of at least one song of praise.

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*The Romantic Movement in English Poetry.* By ARTHUR SYMONS.  
London: Constable. 1909. 8vo. 344 pp.

A book coming from Mr Arthur Symons could scarcely be other than good, but this particular volume excels anticipation and must certainly be ranked as among the best gifts of recent criticism.

The scheme of the book is somewhat peculiar. Mr Symons has neither tried to develop the history of the Romantic Movement in a regular sequence, nor attempted to trace to their sources the different tendencies expressing themselves at that epoch: he has simply taken individual authors as they were, without any attempt to classify or connect them. In a very interesting and able introduction he defends his method, or rather his lack of method: he asserts that the modern endeavour to find a vital relation between the poet and his age is essentially wrong; there is no such relation:

It is the poet who, by his genius, makes the taste of the time. All that 'conflicts of tendencies' and the like have to do with the poet is to help him now and again to a convenient form....No great poet ever owed any essential part of his genius to his age; at the most he may have owed to his age the opportunity of an easy achievement.

Surely Mr Symons is a little too hasty. If genius means only sheer ability, pure capacity of mind and nothing else, then it is obvious that a poet does not and cannot owe any essential part of it to his own age. But, if genius means not only capacity, but also inspiration, then surely a poet may owe to his time a very essential part indeed.

The examples which Mr Symons himself cites to prove his point—Chatterton and Pope—seem to cut both ways. Chatterton was certainly not inspired by his age, but it is quite open to anyone to say that he perished because he found it so uncongenial; while, as for Pope, is it so certain that he was no poet, nothing but ‘a writer of extraordinary pure capacity?’ Are there not passionate lines in the *Eloisa*, and beautiful descriptions in the *Iliad*, which seem to suggest that in another age Pope might have been a truly powerful love poet or a really fine nature poet? Is it not possible that the ability was there and only the inspiration wanting? These are Mr Symons’ own examples, and if we turn to other writers, the theory is still more doubtful. There is Spenser. As *Mother Hubbard’s Tale* shows he might have been Pope’s equal in scathing satire, but he chose to write the *Faerie Queene* instead. Had his age nothing to do with that choice? Or again, there is Dryden. Had he not the true ‘heroic stuff’ in him and was he not denied his full genius because his age gave him no inspiration? Does he not suggest a marred Elizabethan, spoilt because astray in a meaner time?

It is not necessary, however, to argue at length on Mr Symons’ theory. It is enough to say that, since he recognises no necessary connection between the poet and his age, each writer is for him a detached entity, standing quite apart from the rest, and the book thus resolves itself into a series of essays, varying in length from a paragraph to a number of pages, according to the value of the writer discussed. This want of connection makes the book appear somewhat disjointed; but there can be no doubt as to the value of the individual judgments, or of the catholic sympathies and wide range of taste which they reveal. Mr Symons also expresses his thought with a fineness of illustration that seems to give the substance double value. Take, for example, this phrase from the Introduction:

It was Dionysus that awoke in Burns, and has never been out of the blood of any authentic poet since. Burns is neither eighteenth nor nineteenth century, neither local nor temporary, but the very flame of man, speaking as a man has only spoken once or twice in the world. He taught no one anything that anyone could learn, but this ploughman was Apollo to Admetus, incarnate song.

The poets of the Romantic Movement, as Mr Symons views them, have only one thing really in common, that they bring ‘the emancipation of the world and of the mind and of the vehicle of poetry from the bondage of fact, opinion, formality and tradition; and when fact, opinion, formality and tradition go out, imagination comes in.’ This emancipation took different forms in the leading poets of the period, but in some way or other it is evidenced in all.



As we should expect, one of the best essays is that on Blake. Mr Symons explains, and no one ever explained better, the unique quality of Blake's poetry:

The voice of desire is not in it, nor the voice of passion, nor the cry of the heart, nor the cry of the sinner to God, nor of the lover of nature to nature....It is like the voice of wisdom in a child, who has not yet forgotten the world out of which the soul came. It is as spontaneous as the note of a bird ;...it is lyric thought.

Mr Symons notes subtly the difference between Wordsworth's nature poetry and Blake's. Blake esteemed even Wordsworth too much of a realist; to Blake nothing in nature exists in and for itself alone; everything is a type of some deeper reality; therefore to Blake nothing is trivial:

Thus he writes of the lamb and the tiger, of the joy and sorrow of infants, of the fly and the lily, as no poet of mere observation has ever written of them, going deeper into their essence than Wordsworth ever went into the heart of daffodils, or Shelley into the nerves of the sensitive plant.

There is less that is original in the essay on Wordsworth. Mr Symons agrees with Matthew Arnold in his general view of the poet as a writer absolutely simple, straightforward and sincere, so that, when he is at his best, nature seems to take the pen from him and write; and he agrees that Wordsworth's chief faults are his inequality and his occasional childishness. There are one or two especially felicitous observations such as the remark that Wordsworth had 'a Quaker wisdom and waited on the silent voices in "a wise passiveness" with that "happy stillness of the mind" in which truth may be received unsought.'

The essay on Coleridge is as subtle and as interesting as that on Blake though it perhaps charms less. Mr Symons does not take the common view of Coleridge as a poet whose capacity was largely spoilt by his absorption in philosophy; on the contrary he points out that both the poetry and the philosophy spring from the same root:

The poet and the philosopher are but two aspects of one reality; or, rather, the poetic and the philosophic attitudes are but two ways of seeing. The poet who is not also a philosopher is like a flower without a root....Poetry and metaphysics are alike a disengaging, for different ends, of the absolute element in things.

He justly points out that Coleridge's weakness as a philosopher is identical with his weakness as a poet! both result in a want of energy, the lack of a vitality sufficient to balance his intellect:

To Coleridge there was as much difficulty in belief as in action, for belief is itself an action of the mind. He was always anxious to believe anything that would carry him beyond the limits of time and space, but it was not often that he could give more than a speculative assent to even the most improbable of creeds. Always seeking fixity, his mind was too fluid for any anchor to hold in it. He drifted from speculation to speculation, often seeming to forget his aim by the way, in almost the collector's delight over the curiosities he had found in passing.

It is the same want of fixity that prevents his settling down to poetry; he has no sooner conceived his ideas than he doubts their value, and it is only when Wordsworth is at hand to reassure him that

he really achieves anything, because his friend gives him the confidence which was lacking in himself:

Had Coleridge been able to live uninterruptedly in the company of the Wordsworths, even with the unsympathetic wife at home, the opium in the cupboard, and the *magnum opus* on the desk, I am convinced that we should have had for our reading to-day all those poems which went down with him into silence.

Mr Symons points out that the sub-conscious element plays a larger part in the poetry of Coleridge than in that of any other poet; his poems never seem to come by any intellectual process, neither by deliberate composition nor by conscious reflection; they do not arise from the waking consciousness as such, but seem to float from the background of the mind; his poems have always an affinity with the dream-world, and some of the best are dreams pure and simple, such as *Kubla Khan*, of which Mr Symons says:

It has just enough meaning to give it bodily existence; otherwise it would be disembodied music. It seems to hover in the air, like one of the island enchantments of Prospero. It is music not made with hands, and the words seem, as they literally were, remembered.

It is the same element, as of a dream fully and completely accepted, which creates the charm of *The Ancient Mariner*. Coleridge can make us suspend our disbelief so willingly because to him the whole thing is real. He does not take it, of course, for the same kind of reality as that of the outer world; it belongs to a different sphere with different laws; but it has its own logic, and it is quite certainly existent: to Coleridge whatever affected his mind was real:

It is full of simple, daily emotion, transported, by an awful power of sight, to which the limits of reality are no barrier, into an unknown sea and air; it is realised throughout the whole of its ghastly and marvellous happenings; and there is in the narrative an ease, a buoyancy almost, which I can only compare with the music of Mozart, extracting its sweetness from the stuff of tragedy.

Mr Symons calls attention also to the peculiar love of colour which characterises all Coleridge's work, and to his intense delight in music.

The chapter on Byron is full of admirable things: Byron has been both so much over-praised and so unjustly depreciated, that it is a real relief to come upon someone who, like Mr Symons, can admire without idolatry, and acknowledge the poet's faults without representing him as a mere foil to Wordsworth or Shelley. He finds the keynote of Byron's life in his love of experience and sensation: Byron really saw life as a romantic adventure and his so-called 'pose,' which might indeed be a pose with another temperament, is with him perfectly sincere: 'he turned life, as it came to him, into an impossible kind of romance, invented by one who was romantic somewhat in the sense that a man becomes romantic when he loves.... Convinced that "the great object of life is sensation—to feel that we exist, even though in pain," Byron was constantly satisfying himself of the latter part of his conviction.' Mr Symons admits that there is a great deal in Byron which

is merely oratorical, but thinks that, when the false glitter is removed, there still remains abundance of genuine metal. His romances have much 'pseudo-passion,' but also much real passion. The one thing that is always lacking in Byron is the sense of style, as really great poets possess it; he is too careless and impatient to attain perfection, and though he abounds in magnificent lines, he has no long passages, scarcely any stanzas which are truly perfect:

What is not there is precisely the magic which seems to make poetry its finer self, the perfume of the flower, that by which the flower is remembered, after its petals have dropped or withered.

It is not just to rank Byron as a mere actor; he may be that sometimes, but he is much more:

He is fundamentally sincere, which is the root of greatness; he has a firm hold on himself and on the world; he speaks to humanity in its own voice; heightened to a pitch which carries across Europe.

The secret of his great appeal to the average man lies in this fact—that with him as with the average man the world is overpoweringly real, is, indeed, the one thing that truly exists:

This quality of humanity was genius to him, and stood to him in the place of imagination. Whatever is best in his work is full of this kind of raw or naked humanity.

Shelley too hated custom and convention and the insular spirit of England, but it was not possible for him to lead the revolt against them half so effectively as Byron did, if only because they were so much less actual to him than to Byron, who was great enough to be profoundly discontented with the world, yet neither escaped from it, nor wished to escape; he loved life so dearly, that he wished to snatch and keep it as it slipped by:

To Byron life itself was imaginative, not the mere raw stuff out of which imagination could shape something quite different, something far more beautiful, but itself, its common hours, the places he passed on the way, a kind of poem in action. All his verse is an attempt to make his own poetry out of fragments of this great poem of life.

It was this keen sense of actuality which made Byron so eager for fame; being vividly conscious of the world he wished the world to be vividly conscious of him, and he succeeded, for he loomed with astonishing greatness in the mind of his age:

He could write of the Alps and fill the imagination of Europe with the mere fact of his presence there; adding history to Waterloo, because 'his tread was on an empire's dust,' when the history of that field had only just written itself.

Byron, maintains the author, is in many ways characteristically English; he has the English love of travel as Burton and Borrow had it: 'a world to roam through' is a necessity of his nature. So far as style is concerned, Byron, though he cannot rival other poets in purely poetic achievement, has a manner of his own in which he is unequalled—the colloquial. This is especially valuable to him in

his own sphere, as the man of the world; he is one of the few poets for whom society really exists, as human nature exists. His feeling for history is amazingly strong. 'Byron's thought...embraced Europe as another man's thought might have embraced the village from which he had risen.'

Notwithstanding all his great qualities the poet never achieved peace or tranquillity sufficient to possess his own soul, and the disturbance he created in others reacted injuriously upon himself:

How is content in life possible to those condemned to go about like magnets, attracting or repelling every animate thing, and tormented by the restlessness which their mere presence communicates to the air about them?

After his Byron Mr Symons' Shelley is disappointing. In his view the poet is, except in lyric, little better than Matthew Arnold's 'ineffectual angel.' He sees Shelley mainly as a visionary, a mystic unattached to earth, having no roots in reality. He surely fails to do justice to the fact that much of Shelley's work was produced by a very young man, and that it shows, even in a brief space, the most striking development in sanity and power of thought. We have only, for example, to compare the Shelley of *Queen Mab* with the Shelley of *Prometheus Unbound*, to see how far his mind had advanced in the interval. In the earlier poem he is an atheist of the most rampant and furious kind, who regards Christ as a mere imposter. In *Prometheus Unbound* Christ has become the supreme type of all human virtue, and the sight of his torture is the chief agony that the Titan has to endure. In the same way Shelley's philosophy shows an advance from mere Voltaireanism to Platonism, and from Platonism to a still wider synthesis; for in *The Triumph of Life* he represents Plato among those who, though dazzlingly great are still not the conquerors but the conquered of life. But this progressive advance in thought and sanity Mr Symons altogether neglects: he treats Shelley as if the poet were, from beginning to end, what another critic has called him, 'a footless bird of Paradise.' Occasionally too there are statements which seem inaccurate. Why, for instance, does Mr Symons say 'the daisy, which was the eye of day to Chaucer, is not visible as a speck in Shelley's wide landscape'? Surely the fact is that Shelley has written of the daisy almost as tenderly and even more beautifully than Chaucer himself:

Daisies, those pearl'd Arcturi of the earth,  
The constellated flower that never sets.

And there is another similar reference:

Where the melting hoar-frost wets  
The daisy-star that never sets.

This example is important, because Mr Symons takes it as typical of Shelley's whole method, and the deduction seems as misleading as the example.



Still there are many fine observations. We may quote this of *Epipsychidion* :

Just because it is without personal passion, because it is the worship of a shadow for a shadow, it has come to be this thing fearfully and wonderfully made, into which the mystical passion of Crashaw and the passionate casuistry of Donne seem to have passed as into a crucible,...and the draught is an elixir for all lovers.

Mr Symons also does full justice to Shelley's all-pervading grace of style :

Not only verse but poetry came to him so naturally that he could not keep it out, and the least fragment he wrote has poetry in it.

He praises the astonishing fineness of Shelley's technique, technique which seems an inspiration, it is so absolutely flawless. He says of the blank verse :

It has an illumined gravity, a shining crystal clearness, a luminous motion, with, in its ample tide, an 'ocean-like enchantment of strong sound' and a measure and order as of the paces of the boundless and cadenced sea.

And of the lyrics :

For spiritual energy the *Ode to the West Wind*, for untamable choric rapture the *Hymn to Pan*, for soft brilliance of colour and radiant light the *Lines written among the Euganean Hills*, are not less incomparable than the rarest of the songs ...in which the spirit of Fletcher seems returned to earth with a new magic from beyond the moon.

Like that on Shelley the essay on Keats suffers to some degree from the absence of any attempt to trace the development in the poet's mind and the gradual strengthening of his art, but there is much that is illuminating and suggestive. We may take, for instance, this passage :

All that swooning and trembling of his lovers, which English critics have found so unmanly, would at all events be very much at home in modern French poetry, where love is again, as it was to Catullus and to Propertius, a sickness, a poisoning or an exhausting madness. To find anything like the same frank subtlety of expression, we must, in English poetry, go back to the Elizabethan age, to which Keats so often comes as a kind of echo.

A great deal of Mr Symons' best work occurs in his studies of men who are not quite first rate such as Campbell, Moore and Landor. In Campbell he finds a great deal merely conventional and much that is quite *banal*; his one real passion was the passion for liberty; his love for his country was part of a wider human enthusiasm, and he was a patriot of all oppressed nationalities :

The dust from Kosciusko's grave, cast by a Polish patriot into the grave of Campbell in Westminster Abbey was a last appropriate homage to one who had always been 'the sanguine friend of freedom.'

The essay on Landor gives a keen and subtle analysis of that writer's genius—his classical aroma, his peculiar stateliness and charm—while freely admitting his limitations. Mr Symons traces both his qualities and his defects to his use of Latin as a poetic vehicle, and his

absorption of the Latin spirit; he unites 'whatever is characteristically English and whatever is characteristically Roman with the defects of every quality.' Landor's poems have virtues hardly found elsewhere in English, 'an exceptional, evasive, almost illegitimate charm'; but in attempting to make English do the work of Latin, he both strained its resources and neglected to avail himself of its true genius:

With a far less instinctive sense of the capacities of his own language than Herrick, Landor refused to admit that what might make a poem in Latin could fail to be a poem in English. He won over many secrets from that close language; but the ultimate secrets of his own language he never discovered.

The extracts given will be sufficient to show the value of the book; we need only add that something worthy of notice is to be found on almost every page.

L. WINSTANLEY.

ABERYSTWYTH.

*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.* Edited by SIR JAMES A. H. MURRAY. *Prophecy—Pyxis* (part of Vol. VII). Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 4to. 204 pp.

The ultimate completion and success of this monumental work is now practically ensured. This 'treble section' completes Vol. vii (O—P), the whole of which has been edited by Sir James Murray himself. But this is not all; for we also have in hand the whole of the letter Q, a considerable portion of R, and the first section of S, for all of which Dr Craigie and Dr Bradley are responsible. The indefatigable editor of O and P is already beginning, in the most literal sense, to 'tackle' T, after some preliminary skirmishes with 'tabby,' 'taboo,' and 'tabor.'

Thus the portion already completed is more than three-fourths, and the remainder is well in hand and making good progress. The work stands in a very different position to that which it occupied in the early days which we can well remember, when the first considerable portion made its somewhat tardy appearance, extending to 352 pages, and labelled *A—Ant*. 'Read from *A* to *Ant*, thou sluggard; consider thy words, and be wise' was then a fitting comment.

It is a singular fact, only known to such as have had considerable lexicographical experience, that the difficulty of English words is influenced, to an appreciable extent, by the nature of the initial letter. Words beginning with the labial letters P, F, B are likely, upon the whole, to present peculiar difficulties; and, of all the letters in the alphabet, the worst to deal with is P. It contains words from a very large number of different languages, and but a comparatively small portion of these is of native origin. Further it contains, with the sole exception of S, a greater number of words than any other letter of the alphabet; even more than C, which in this respect comes near it. It is therefore a good thing that it has fallen to the lot of the original editor

of A, who has brought to bear upon it all his vast experience; with the result that it may fairly be said, without instituting needless comparisons, that this difficult letter is as well done as any.

One of the most painful tasks, in such a work, is to exercise the art of compression. The mass of material is so great that it is difficult to know what to reject; yet much must be done in that direction. This difficult art, which the reader is not called upon to consider, comes from great practice only; and it is on that account worth considering the published results regarding C and P. C contains 21,295 main words, and P has 23,182; nevertheless, whilst C occupies 1308 pages, P takes but 1320; or only 12 extra pages for 1887 words, which is well under the average. Such a result is unlikely to be noticed by any who consult the Dictionary to solve their difficulties; but it is the outcome of increased skill, and should excite the admiration of such as understand what it means.

The celebrated words of Virgil—‘*mobilitate uiget, uiresque acquirit eundo*’—were originally spoken of Fame, which he regarded as an evil—‘*malum*.’ But we may fairly apply them, of course in a good sense, to the progress of the Dictionary. Its steady movement assists it; it is ever being better done, and it can now be done more quickly. This is especially true with regard to cross-references. When the letter C was in hand, reference to S was sometimes necessary, and there was nothing to refer to but the vast mass of written ‘slips’—originally ‘*rudis indigestaque moles*,’ as was said of chaos, though afterwards reduced to a sufficient order by diligent and patient sorting. But now, the editor of S who would refer to C, or to any other letter down to Q, has ready to hand, practically, all that is known or can be said. The difference is obvious, even to the inexperienced. For this, and for many other reasons, the end of the work is now assured to us, and that within no very long time. The last quarter will prove to be the easiest and the quickest.

To return to particulars as to *Prophesy—Pyxis*. ‘As in the other sections of P, the words of native origin are very few. Of the 3874 Main Words not more than 16 [!] are to be found in an Old English or Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, and of them *provost*, *psalm*, *psalter*, *pumice*, *punt* sb.<sup>1</sup>, *purple*, and *purse* were merely learned borrowings from Latin; one, *proud*, was from Old French; of those apparently Teutonic (and there probably onomatopœic), only *puff*, *pull*, and *put* are now words of importance. All three were words of rare use and late occurrence in Old English; and few things in the history of words are more remarkable than the development of the obscure *pull* and *put* into the much-used and hard-worked words which they have become in modern English. The article on *put* indeed is, next to that on *go*, the longest as yet in the Dictionary; and the ramifications of sense and use in the simple verb have made its arrangement a work of enormous difficulty. The sense-development of a word is not confined to a lineal order; not even, like that of a tree, to space of three dimensions; hence, the best order that can be attained in a dictionary, being merely linear (one line,

or a series of variously connected successive lines), can only very imperfectly represent the facts. It is hoped, however, that the arrangement of senses here adopted will help to guide the reader through the maze of uses which *put* is made to serve. As the ground meaning of the verb has become so attenuated, its work is now largely done by combination with adverbs, *put about*, *put aside*, *put away*, *put down*, *put off*, *put on*, etc.; and several of these adverbial combinations themselves form larger articles than many a simple verb: *put out* is used in 23, and *put up* in 35 varieties of sense. Of the other words in this section, the majority are, as usual [i.e., in P], from Old French, Latin, and Greek.'

We have quoted this terse description in full, because it cannot be better put. But we do not propose to be put about by reading the whole article on this Protean verb at once, neither do we desire to put it all aside or away; still less, to put the editor down, or to put him off with faint praise. We can see that he has put in a good deal of hard work, and are glad that his patience could put up with it. We thank him, accordingly, for putting it together, and for putting it through. Truly, a convenient verb, and worthy of much respect.

Under *propose*, we have a quotation dated as late as 1898, for the famous proverb—'Man proposes, God disposes,' with a cross-reference to *dispose*, where the Latin original is given; from Thomas a Kempis, *De Imitatione*, i, 19. Earlier instances are given from *Melusine*, xxxvi, 265, ab. 1500, and Sanderson's Sermons, ii, 302 (1634). It is worth adding that it is quoted twice, in its Latin form, in *Piers Plowman*, B. xi, 36, and C. xxiii, 34. I have already pointed out in the Notes, that it was suggested by Prov. xvi, 9.

In several cases, the ordinary account of a word, such as we should expect to find, has been supplemented by a short essay on its use, of a character without parallel in our older dictionaries; and it is written just as carefully as if the number of words beginning with P had been a mere handful, instead of amounting, as is the fact, to more than 20,000. Such an essay appears under 'psychological,' with reference to the phrase 'at the psychological moment.' It is shown that the present use of it arose in French, at the time of the siege of Paris in 1870, and was due to an error in translating the original German phrase *das psychologische Moment*, in which *Moment*, being neuter, signified 'momentum,' and not 'an instant of time,' as when it is masculine. After such mistranslation, it was imported into England, where it has been joyously adopted in our 'journallese' talk, in despite of its absurdity, with an imaginary sense of 'at the critical instant.' As an instant of time cannot be affected by psychology, it is too unmeaning to be really jocose, and has become no better than silly. But it will probably long continue to be employed by writers who do not even understand their own expressions. Like the 'blessed word' Mesopotamia, it has a pompous sound.

Those who delight in long words may find here some to their mind. We notice, for instance, such fine specimens as *psychopannychy*, *psychrolute*, *psydracium*, *pteraspidian*, *pteropodous*, *pterygoblast*, *pterylographical*,



*ptochology*, *ptyalagogue*, *ptysmagogue*, *pundigrion* (happily obsolescent, if not obsolete), *pygobranchiate*, *pylethrombosis*, *pyracanthine* (in Blackmore's *Mary Anerley*, iii, 255), *pyrenocarp*, *pyretogenesis*, *pyromeconic*, and a great many more. Those who are thirsting to use such terms may here learn precisely what they mean.

There are a considerable number of words from East Indian and Persian, and it is surprising to observe how familiar some of them have become, as, e.g., *puggree*, *pundit*, *punkah*, *puttee*, and *pyjama*. *Puttee* is merely the English spelling of the Hindi *pattī*, a bandage, related to the Skt. *paṭī*, a strip of cloth, and *paṭa*, a piece of woven stuff. It is interesting to discover that it has a cognate in English; for, as Uhlenbeck notes, the cerebral *t* arose from *lt*, so that it is connected with the Gk. δι-πλάσιος, two-fold; Goth. *falth-an*, and E. *fold*; with allusions to the *folds* in which the puttee lies.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Større Engelsk Grammatik*, af OTTO JESPERSEN. I. Lyd og Skrift. Copenhagen: Gyldendal. 1909. 8vo. viii + 251 pp.

*A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. By OTTO JESPERSEN. Part I. Sounds and Spellings. Heidelberg: Winter. 1909. 8vo. xi + 485 pp.

Sincere and cordial congratulations must be offered to Professor Jespersen on the completion of the first part of the great task that he has set himself, a task which is, in his own words, 'to represent English Grammar not as a set of dogmatic precepts, according to which some things are correct and others absolutely wrong, but as something living and developing under continual fluctuations and undulations, something that is founded on the past and prepares the way for the future, something that is not always consistent or perfect, but progressing and perfectible.'

Many excellent historical grammars have appeared in the past, but their fatal defect, at least for present day interest is, that they tend to stop short at the middle of the sixteenth century as if the language had then become stereotyped; and if anything is said of the next three centuries, a few chapters or paragraphs suffice. Professor Jespersen on the other hand devotes fully one half of his book to the changes which have taken place since the middle of the sixteenth century and this is much nearer the true proportion of things; for it is no exaggeration to say that the twentieth century differs quite as much from the sixteenth in its pronunciation of English, as does the English of the reign of Elizabeth from that of William the Conqueror. This difference of proportion is due to the fact that the author treats of the history of sounds and not of symbols, or rather he only touches on change of symbol so far as it represents change of sound. The basis of his grammar is phonetic and not

alphabetic; therefore he is not deluded by the comparatively slight changes of form in modern English, into the common error of neglecting the later history of our language, because in the printed book Victorian English differs very little from Elizabethan.

For the pronunciation of English previous to the sixteenth century Dr Jespersen's sources and his methods of using them are much the same as those of preceding writers; but for later centuries he has made a fuller and more systematic use of the various sources of information than has ever been made before. He has ransacked books on pronunciation, old grammars and dictionaries, he throws light on many points by reference to the pronunciations of modern dialect and he is full of happy illustrations drawn from his own personal observation of English speech and his own study of modern English novels and dramas, so far as their spelling permits of inferences as to modern pronunciation. It has been a source of reproach to English scholars in the past that most of our best historical grammars were the work of foreign hands; far greater is the reproach that the first historical grammar which is based largely on accurate observation of present-day speech, should be the work of one who must necessarily labour under such great initial disadvantages.

As regards the general scheme of the book, we have already mentioned its phonetic basis. It may also be pointed out that Dr Jespersen strikes out a new line in taking as the basis from which his investigation starts the English pronunciation of the days of Chaucer, and working first backwards and then forwards from that time. This new scheme of work may not be entirely an advantage, but like all Dr Jespersen's methods it tends to throw new light on various obscure points. The chief disadvantage is a certain loss of the sense of continuous development from the earliest days onward.

The fifth and the ninth chapters, dealing with Stress and with Vowels in unstressed syllables respectively, are specially mentioned by Professor Jespersen as those in which he 'enjoyed the feeling of treading on virgin soil.' His feeling will be shared by his readers, at least in the former of the two chapters. His distinction of the various forces determining stress—rhythm, tradition, unity, analogy, contrast, heaviness, psychologic importance—is invaluable. Rhythmic stress (in word and sentence) and unity stress (in compounds) have largely been neglected in the past and the part they play is by no means an unimportant one. The author is most at home however in revealing the curious interplay of influences which goes on between the various forms of stress; and the subtle way in which he destroys the common idea of the 'capriciousness' of English accent, and brings all its vagaries under rule and order, is a pleasure to study.

The scope of the book is so broad, its mass of detail so great, that it is impossible within the limits of a review to discuss the many small points on which one might be inclined to disagree with the author. At times he seems to have failed to secure or appreciate the ordinary pronunciation of certain words, at others there are additional illustrations

which might be suggested as bringing out his points more clearly. Occasionally, and it is only very occasionally, the English is slightly at fault as in 'nominative' (p. 366) or the curious use of 'étapes' (p. 319), where it seems that the English equivalent would do just as well. More space too is devoted to homonyms than is necessary in a work of this kind. But all these are mere blemishes, and we can look forward with unfeigned interest to the second part of Dr Jespersen's book, where, in the study of syntax at least, he will largely have the joy of opening up virgin lands.

At the same time that Dr Jespersen is publishing his larger English Grammar he is issuing an abbreviated Danish edition for the use of the large number of students of English in his own country. The study of English is now carried out on more thorough and scientific lines in Denmark than perhaps in any other European country, and this happy result is largely due to the efforts of Dr Jespersen himself. That his work is fully recognised in his own country is pleasantly evidenced by the fact that this book is produced with the financial support both of the Minister of Education and of the University printing fund. Dr Jespersen's work has also received happy recognition in America during the last year, when he has lectured in the California and Columbia Universities.

The Danish edition differs from the English chiefly in the omission of a good deal of historical matter. Everything which relates to the pronunciation and general usages of modern English, remains in the same form as in the larger work; and this secondary purpose, of adapting the book for the use of Danish students of modern English, explains the presence in the larger edition of some of the features which there seem open to criticism, as, for example, the disproportionate space devoted to homonyms. Lists of homonyms, in fact, may be extremely useful to foreigners who are learning English, though they are of little value to the student of historical grammar; and in this case the treatment has probably been determined by considerations of practical utility.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

*The Eight-text Edition of the Canterbury Tales.* By W. W. SKEAT. (Chaucer Society.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1909. 8vo. viii + 64 pp.

This little book contains a considerable variety of interesting matter. The eight texts are those which have been printed in full by the Chaucer Society, that is to say, those contained in the 'six-text' edition, with those of MS. Harl. 7334 and the Camb. Univ. MS. Dd. 4. 24. Professor Skeat gives us first a collection of the titles, glosses, remarks and side-notes which are found in these manuscripts, and then a collation of the eight texts, shewing the exact contents of each, and noting the insertions and

omissions; next an examination of the characteristics of the Harleian MS.; and then a discussion on the classification of the MSS. generally, with special reference to the theory set forth in Professor Skeat's previous essay, *The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales*. Finally a few particular points of criticism are dealt with separately. The most interesting part of the book is the further elucidation which we have of the evolution theory, which the author says has not been sufficiently understood. Dr Skeat, as is well known, believes that several successive attempts on the part of the author to produce a satisfactory arrangement of the tales which he had written may be traced in the existing manuscripts, that the Hengwrt MS. represents the earliest of these attempts and in general the oldest form of the text, belonging to a period when the Canon's Yeoman had not yet been introduced into the *Canterbury Tales*, and that successive stages of revision and arrangement are represented by the Petworth, Lansdowne, Harleian and Ellesmere copies, the last being a text which was produced by a process of editing, with the help of the 'Harleian' revision, after the death of the author. Dr Skeat here tests his theory by applying it to the explanation of the variations in some of the connecting links and prologues. Before his theory of chronological order can be established, however, a far more complete examination must be made of the manuscripts generally than has yet been attempted. It must be shewn much more convincingly that the text variations of the Hengwrt and the Lansdowne MSS., for example, are not merely individual peculiarities, but sufficient to characterise definite types, which may possibly have proceeded from the author, as did the successive editions of the *Confessio Amantis*, which are characterised, it must be remembered, in each case, not only by variations in the form of dedication and conclusion, but also by a large number of distinctive readings, in which all manuscripts of the group agree. It would be curious, to say the least of it, if no fewer than five of the eight texts selected by the Chaucer Society for publication should prove to be representative of distinct arrangements of the text proceeding from the author.

In the meantime, however, it is interesting to note how far this working hypothesis is capable of saving the phenomena, and Dr Skeat's theory about the history of the connecting links and prologues is at least worthy of attention. He deals fully with two passages, first that which in most modern editions is placed, with hardly any manuscript authority, as a link between the Man of Law and the Shipman (B 1163—1190), but is omitted altogether by the Ellesmere, Hengwrt and two Cambridge University MSS., and in most of the others has the reading 'Squier' for 'Shipman,' in l. 1179, with the Squire's Tale following, while in some, including Harleian 7334, we find the reading 'Sompnour,' though the Sompnour's Tale does not follow. Then secondly there is the link which in the ordinary texts connects the Squire and Franklin, on the authority of the Ellesmere and Harleian MSS., but in a large number of MSS. is used, with the reading 'Marchant' for 'Frankelcyn,' as a connection between Squire and



Merchant (these being among the copies in which Squire follows Man of Law).

According to Dr Skeat's theory the original type of text should be that which is given in the Hengwrt copy, where the former of these two passages is not found at all, and the second occurs as a link between the Squire and the Merchant. The Petworth MS. should supply the next stage of development, and here the former passage appears as link between Man of Law and Squire, while the other still connects Squire and Merchant. The Lansdowne text agrees with this as regards the link between Man of Law and Squire, but the Merchant's Tale has been removed and now follows the Clerk without a connecting link, the Squire-Merchant link disappearing. Next the Harleian removes the Squire's Tale to a later place and connects it with the Franklin's by utilising what was formerly the link between Squire and Merchant, while a skilful connection is supplied between Clerk and Merchant. In the Man of Law's end-link 'Sompnour' is substituted for 'Squier,' though the Wife of Bath immediately follows, and the now inappropriate link is broken off five lines from the end. The Ellesmere MS. agrees with this arrangement, except in the fact that the Man of Law's end-link is here omitted altogether.

This statement involves an interesting theory about the possible order of events, but the acceptance of it must depend upon the evidence which may be produced that the manuscripts in question really do represent successive revisions by the hand of the author, and especially that the Hengwrt copy gives us a pure and not a contaminated form of text. One serious difficulty is the close resemblance of Hengwrt and Ellesmere (the supposed earliest and latest forms) in the general character of their text; and another is that of supposing that Chaucer wrote the Man of Law's end-link originally with a view to the Squire. The inappropriateness of it in this application must occur to every reader, as it occurred to Tyrwhitt, and it is almost impossible to believe that such a violation of dramatic propriety was due to the author. We hope that Professor Skeat will continue his labours, and will be able to remove some at least of the difficulties which at present stand in the way of the acceptance of his theory.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*From Montaigne to Molière, or the Preparation for the Classical Age of French Literature.* By ARTHUR TILLEY. London: John Murray. 1908. 8vo. viii + 265 pp.

Dans la préface de son livre, l'auteur nous indique très nettement le plan qu'il s'est tracé. Il ne s'est pas proposé d'écrire une histoire de la littérature française pendant la période de transition qui va de la Renaissance à 1660, mais seulement d'indiquer 'the various forces, political, religious, social and literary, which helped to bring about this

change.' Il ajoute (p. 12) que, pour ce qui concerne toute la première partie de cette période—jusqu'en 1636,—'our attention will be directed rather to political, religious and social forces than to purely literary ones.' Voilà des déclarations pleines de promesses et que nous enregistrons avec un plaisir d'autant plus vif qu'il nous est plus rarement offert. Je me fais un devoir de déclarer tout d'abord que ces promesses, M. Tilley les a tenues, au moins dans l'ensemble. Malgré les remarques que j'aurai à lui adresser sur plusieurs points, j'ai trouvé dans son livre, à côté d'une exactitude et d'une sûreté de documentation à laquelle ses travaux précédents nous avaient déjà habitués, beaucoup d'idées justes, souvent neuves. Les 'courants directeurs' comme les appellerait G. Brandes, qui dominent la littérature d'avant 1660, sont mis en relief avec une netteté remarquable, et sur tous les points qui prêtent à la controverse, M. Tilley appuie son opinion d'arguments basés sur une solide et consciencieuse érudition.

Malheureusement, la méthode suivie par lui offrait un danger qu'il ne me semble pas avoir évité. Il était à craindre que ces 'courants directeurs'—étudiés tour à tour et à part, chaque étude formant un tout homogène—ne fissent l'impression de quelque chose de morcelé, de décousu, comme d'autant d'essais isolés qui auraient été réunis en volume après coup. N'est-ce pas Chateaubriand qui reprochait jadis au paganisme d'avoir 'rapetissé la nature' en la subdivisant en une infinité de petits compartiments, dont chacun était placé sous l'égide d'une divinité spéciale? Mais le christianisme est venu, et désormais, 'libres de ce troupeau de dieux ridicules qui les bornaient de toutes parts, les bois se sont remplis d'une divinité immense.' Je ne sais pourquoi, en fermant le livre de M. Tilley, cette phrase de Chateaubriand m'est revenue à la mémoire. J'ai eu le sentiment que, faute d'une ou deux grandes idées générales capables de servir de lien entre les différents chapitres et d'assurer l'unité de l'ensemble, le livre restait pour ainsi dire fragmentaire.

Je sais bien que M. Tilley ne s'est pas proposé d'écrire 'a complete history' (il a soin de nous en avertir dans la préface), mais justement il me semble que, sans sortir le moins du monde du cadre qu'il s'était tracé, rien n'était plus facile que d'enchaîner les différents chapitres, en les reliant à deux ou trois idées centrales. Par exemple, ne semble-t-il pas extraordinaire que, dans un volume consacré aux différentes 'forces' qui ont agi sur toute cette littérature, celles que l'on pourrait considérer comme les deux principales, celles en tout cas dont *l'effet* s'est fait le plus généralement sentir, soient presque complètement ignorées—je veux dire l'esprit héroïque et le libertinage? Et pourtant, on pourrait presque affirmer qu'il n'est pas un volume publié entre 1630 et 1660 qui ne se rattache naturellement, soit à l'une soit à l'autre de ces deux influences!

Je prends le mot héroïque, non pas dans son sens précis et étroit, mais dans le sens plus large et plus élastique qu'on lui attribue d'ordinaire en pareil cas. L'esprit héroïque, c'est d'une part le goût du romanesque, des sentiments exaltés, des actions d'éclat, de l'autre, c'est

l'énergie du tempérament, la force de volonté, la maîtrise de soi—c'est à peu près ce que le président Roosevelt appelait si heureusement 'the strenuous life.'

Romanesques ou énergiques—souvent les deux ensemble—voilà justement ce qu'ont été tous les hommes de cette génération, les hommes qui ont fait la guerre de Trente ans et la Fronde—et puisque, si l'on en croit Voltaire, le mot 'homme' est 'un terme générique qui embrasse la femme,' je ne vois pas pourquoi nous excluons les femmes, celles qui ont servi de modèles aux héroïnes viriles de Corneille (qu'on se rappelle la Grande Mademoiselle dirigeant l'artillerie au fort de Vincennes). Si la littérature est 'l'expression des sociétés' n'y avait-il pas là une belle occasion de rattacher la littérature aux mœurs, en recherchant l'origine de cet 'Esprit héroïque' et en montrant comment il a pénétré à la fois toutes les branches de la littérature?

Au théâtre, c'est le *Cid*, *Cinna*, ou même l'*Alidor* de la Place Royale. Le Roman est 'héroïque,' avec *Cyrus*, *Clélie*, et plus tard *La Princesse de Clèves*, si Cornélienne à certains égards. Dans la Poésie, les principaux personnages de l'épopée sont Clovis et Charlemagne, St Louis et Jeanne d'Arc, les grands 'héros' de l'histoire nationale. Héroïques, aussi les mémoires, avec Retz et La Rochefoucauld.

En philosophie, c'est Descartes avec son traité des passions et sa fameuse théorie de la Volonté. Et qu'est-ce que la Préciosité, sinon, en un certain sens, une forme féminine de l'Esprit héroïque? Ces femmes remarquables n'ont pas seulement la distinction, la délicatesse de l'esprit et des manières, elles ont l'énergique volonté d'agir sur les mœurs, de relever le niveau intellectuel de leur sexe, le niveau social des gens de lettres, etc. Qu'est-ce que le Jansénisme, sinon la 'strenuous life' dans le domaine de la religion et de la morale? Et le burlesque lui-même est-il autre chose que l'héroïsme tourné au grotesque? Il n'y a pas eu, je le veux bien, d'intention critique, de la part de Scarron et de ses émules (cf. p. 189), mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que le *Virgile Travesti*, *Don Japhet d'Arménie*, etc., appartiennent au genre héroïque ('mock-heroic' si l'on veut) et seraient aussi incompréhensibles sans lui que *Don Quichotte* sans la chevalerie.

Quant au libertinage, ou à l'esprit gaulois (peu importe le terme), je n'ai pas besoin de montrer qu'on peut y rattacher la plupart des ouvrages d'où l'esprit héroïque est absent. Cela est trop évident.

Voilà donc deux courants qui comptent parmi les plus importants de cette partie du dix-septième siècle. J'irai plus loin : M. Tilley se propose de faciliter aux étudiants de la littérature l'intelligence du Naturalisme Classique, auquel son livre sert pour ainsi dire d'Introduction. Or ce Naturalisme n'a pu s'imposer qu'en s'opposant à l'Esprit héroïque, c'est contre l'héroïque sous toutes ses formes que Boileau a tout d'abord dirigé les traits de sa satire. Il était donc de la plus haute importance que ce courant fût étudié à fond, dans ses origines et dans ses manifestations. M. Tilley lui consacre (p. 95) quelques phrases isolées ; il nous dit par exemple que : 'In Gomberville's hands, the pastoral romance had been transformed into the heroic romance'—mais



sans avoir l'idée de rattacher ces romans à un courant général. Au bas de la page, il reconnaît que 'M. Morillot has well pointed out the analogies between the romances of La Calprenède and the plays of Corneille.' C'est tout. Il est permis de trouver que ce n'est pas assez. Quant aux libertins, ils sont mentionnés une fois, et cela tout à la fin du volume (p. 237).

Je regrette aussi que M. Tilley ait remis jusqu'à la page 245 sa courte—trop courte—étude sur Balzac (deux pages), alors que tout au début de son volume il consacre un chapitre entier à Malherbe. L'influence de ces deux écrivains ayant été absolument identique, ils auraient, croyons nous, dû être étudiés ensemble. Balzac a fait pour la prose exactement ce que Malherbe a fait pour le vers. Tous deux ont réalisé en des formes d'art les mêmes idées critiques, tous deux ont éliminé l'individuel de leurs œuvres, et si Malherbe est plus connu, c'est, comme le dit Brunetière, à cause du 'privilège de poésie.'

Et puis, j'aurais voulu que M. Tilley, après nous avoir montré en Balzac 'a master of rhetoric and of the formal qualities of style,' ne se contentât pas d'en citer un extrait et de laisser le lecteur se débrouiller tout seul. J'aurais voulu qu'il nous montrât, exemples à l'appui, en quoi a consisté la 'trouvaille' de Balzac, et comment il fut le premier à comprendre que le caractère analytique du français rendait impossibles les longs circuits de la période cicéronienne, qu'il fallait au contraire s'efforcer d'isoler les idées, de les enfermer dans leurs limites logiques, de mettre un peu d'air dans la phrase.

À la page 33 je relève cette phrase: 'In these (songs), Desportes comes, perhaps, nearest to our Cavalier poets, especially to the easy grace of Suckling.' Il y a à cela une excellente raison, c'est que Suckling a imité et même fréquemment traduit Desportes. La vérité est donc, non pas que Desportes approche de la grâce aisée de Suckling, mais que Suckling approche de la grâce aisée de Desportes.

Le troisième chapitre, intitulé 'the Catholic Revival,' m'a très vivement intéressé. C'est un sujet qui a été malheureusement trop négligé par les critiques français et dont M. Tilley a compris toute l'importance. Son chapitre est rempli de faits—et d'idées. C'est certainement le plus original du volume, et aussi celui qui a nécessité le plus de recherches personnelles. J'ai surtout beaucoup profité des renseignements qu'il donne—d'après M. Allier—sur la fameuse cabale des dévots, ou, pour l'appeler par son vrai nom, la Compagnie du Saint Sacrement. Il y a là des révélations tout à fait intéressantes et qui jettent un jour curieux sur la genèse de *Tartuffe*. Mais pourquoi, dans un chapitre consacré au 'Catholic revival' M. Tilley ne dit-il pas un mot du Jansénisme? Je sais bien qu'il en parle, tout à la fin du livre (à propos de Pascal), et que c'était bien là en effet, le lieu et le moment de l'étudier à fond. Mais les *origines* du Jansénisme, et l'importance qu'il devait bientôt prendre, auraient dû être indiquées au chapitre III. De même, en effet, que la Renaissance païenne fut suivie d'une renaissance du catholicisme, la Réforme calviniste devait être suivie d'une tentative de réforme dans le catholicisme. La première fut



surtout l'œuvre des Jésuites (M. Tilley n'a peut-être pas assez insisté sur ce point) et la seconde fut l'œuvre des Jansénistes, et les deux me semblent inséparables, tout comme Malherbe et Balzac.

Les chapitres VII et VIII sont consacrés respectivement à la Tragédie Classique et à la Comédie. Il y avait sans doute certains avantages à les étudier à part, mais il y avait aussi un inconvénient dont M. Tilley ne semble pas avoir reconnu toute la gravité, celui de couper Corneille en deux, d'un côté un Corneille tragique, de l'autre un Corneille comique, qui ont l'air de ne rien se devoir l'un à l'autre. Et cela est bien regrettable, surtout en ce qui concerne *le Cid*. Je veux bien que *le Cid* marque le véritable point de départ de la Tragédie Classique, mais ce dont je suis parfaitement certain, c'est que *le Cid* se rattache bien plus directement aux comédies ou tragi-comédies qui l'ont précédé—la Place Royale et l'Illusion Comique par exemple—qu'à *Horace* ou à *Polyeucte*, et qu'il est impossible de comprendre la genèse du *Cid* si on le sépare violemment de la chaîne dont il est un anneau. Par exemple, la théorie de 'l'amour soumis à la volonté' est déjà tout entière dans la Place Royale (cf. le rôle d'Alidor). Il semblerait même, si l'on en croit la curieuse Dédicace de la pièce (à un certain M\*\*\*), que cette fameuse théorie ne soit pas du crû de Corneille, mais qu'elle lui ait été suggérée par une autre personne—à laquelle Corneille exprime, en termes non équivoques, toute sa reconnaissance du service rendu: 'C'est de vous que j'ai appris que l'amour d'un honnête homme doit être toujours volontaire.... Toute sa morale (d'Alidor) serait plutôt un portrait de votre conduite qu'un effort de mon imagination.... Cette possession de vous même que vous conservez si parfaite parmi tant d'intrigues...etc.' Il serait bien intéressant de savoir qui est ce M\*\*\* auquel Corneille attribue lui-même la paternité d'une de ses principales théories dramatiques. Il y a là un curieux problème d'histoire littéraire.

Les épreuves ne semblent pas avoir été revues avec beaucoup de soin. Les deux vers de Boileau cités à la page 5 sont tous deux estropiés d'une syllabe. Autre vers faux, hideusement faux, à la page 31: Et le peuple qui trembla aux frayeurs de la guerre. Autres vers faux ou dénaturés aux pages 144 et 202. Enfin, à la page 63 on trouve trois fois *Sainte Lazare* pour *Saint-Lazare*.

Telles sont les remarques que m'a suggérées la lecture du livre de M. Tilley. Peut-être ai-je donné trop de place à la critique des 'défauts' et pas assez à celle des 'beautés.' Je prie M. Tilley de vouloir bien y trouver la marque de toute l'estime que j'ai pour son excellent volume. S'il en eût été autrement, quelques lignes auraient suffi. Si je me suis attaché, peut-être un peu trop longuement, à certaines critiques de détail, c'est justement parce que je suis sûr que son livre mérite d'obtenir les suffrages d'un nombreux public—public de lettrés et d'étudiants, auxquels il sera d'une très réelle utilité. J'ai été surtout frappé, au cours d'une lecture attentive, par la remarquable sûreté, j'allais presque dire l'infaillibilité, de son érudition; j'ai pris la peine de la mettre à l'épreuve sur tous les points où une erreur de fait

même légère était possible. Jamais je ne l'ai trouvée en défaut. Je tiens à en donner un exemple, entre beaucoup d'autres. À la page 133, M. Tilley parle de la *Tyr et Sidon* de J. de Schélandre. Il y a en réalité deux pièces distinctes, une tragédie publiée en 1608 (dont un exemplaire fut découvert au British Museum en 1883, et un autre à l'Arsenal en 1897), et une tragi-comédie en deux journées, publiée en 1628. Or, les historiens de la littérature Française, les critiques, les auteurs de manuels, les compilateurs de recueils—Weiss, Lacroix (le bibliophile Jacob), Asselineau, P. Jannet (dans son *Ancien Théâtre Français*), Vapereau, Guérard, Faguet, Aulard, Rigal, Doumic—sont unanimes, soit à confondre les deux pièces en une seule, soit à ne voir dans la seconde qu'une simple réimpression de la première—M. Tilley s'est bien gardé de tomber dans l'erreur générale—et cela fait grand honneur à sa perspicacité. Mais pourquoi, au lieu de renvoyer seulement le lecteur à l'édition de la tragi-comédie, M. Tilley ne cite-t-il pas aussi l'excellente édition critique de la tragédie donnée par M. J. Haraszti dans la *Société des Textes Modernes*? Peut-être son volume a-t-il paru peu de temps avant celui de M. Haraszti (ils portent la même date, 1908). En ce cas, les deux auteurs seraient arrivés indépendamment aux mêmes conclusions, et M. Tilley partagerait avec M. Haraszti l'honneur d'avoir remis les choses au point. Ce serait encore une preuve, ajoutée à toutes celles qu'il nous a déjà données, de l'étendue de ses recherches, et de la sûreté de sa documentation.

H. E. BERTHON.

OXFORD.

*Chapters on Spanish Literature.* By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.  
London: Constable and Co. 1908. 8vo. ix + 259 pp.

*Lecciones de Literatura Española.* Por JAIME FITZMAURICE-KELLY.  
Traducción directa del inglés por DIEGO MENDOZA con un prólogo de RUFINO JOSÉ CUERVO. Madrid: V. Suarez. 1910. 8vo.  
xxi + 326 pp.

To all lovers of Spanish literature any book from the pen of Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly makes instant appeal, and we find here all that his readers have long since learnt to expect: wide and minute research combined with that lightness of touch and power of selection which are the mark of a true master of his subject. One naturally turns for purposes of comparison to the same author's *History of Spanish Literature*, but here he is able to give much freer play to his powers: he is not cramped by the limitations of the handbook and its inexorable masses of detail. Nor does he repeat himself or merely state afresh opinions already enunciated. He always has something new to tell or some modification to make of previous judgments.

In the opening chapter the real and the, to most of us, far better known legendary Cid are each excellently treated in all their bearings and the interesting question is touched upon as to the indebtedness of the *Poema* and the *Crónica rimada* to early French literature. We have no hesitation in saying that no such excellent account has ever been written of the *Libro de buen amor* (as Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly reminds us is the true title of the work) of the Archpriest of Hita. His foibles, his originality, his poetic genius, in spite of the vast amount of older material he adapts to his purpose, are all most skilfully delineated. Equal praise may be bestowed on the chapter on the Literary Court of Juan II. The prominent figures are brought out with true artistic power and critical insight, and nowhere perhaps is this more marked than in his treatment of Perez de Guzmán and his *Generaciones y Semblanzas*. In the chapter on the *Romancero*, though by far the longest in the book, the author himself admits that he has 'merely brushed the fringe of the subject,' and we hope he will, on some future occasion, find time to return to this most fascinating theme. The succeeding chapters treat of the three greatest figures in Spanish literature. We are glad to see that the slight asperity, with which the author is sometimes inclined to speak in his *History*, of the faults of Cervantes gives place here to a kindlier tone, though none would be disposed to deny, in the opening words of the chapter on the Works of Cervantes that 'the best and wisest of men have their delusions—especially with respect to themselves and their capabilities.' The world would probably have suffered little loss if no other works of Cervantes had survived but *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas Exemplares*, but can we quite agree with Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly that Shakespeare, to anything like the same extent as Cervantes, owes 'to a single masterpiece the greater part of his transcendent fame'?

A prominent feature throughout the book is the extraordinary felicity with which the author has found means in comparatively few pages to sketch the lives of the principal writers, without either overloading the narrative with detail or omitting a single important fact. The lives of Cervantes and of Lope de Vega are admirable productions and show what strides research has made in recent years—labour to which the author has himself contributed in no mean degree. Lope de Vega, as was to be expected, is assigned a higher place as a dramatist than Calderón, this view having now become almost a commonplace, but at the same time he does Calderón ampler justice than in his previous work. A great advance is also shown in his treatment of the Dramatic School of Calderón. The last chapter is devoted to Modern Spanish Novelists, among whom Pereda and Valera naturally take the most prominent place, but the main characteristics of all the leading novelists are excellently portrayed, and nowhere, perhaps, may this be said with greater truth than in the case of living authors like the Condesa Pardo Bazán and Vicente Blasco Ibáñez.

The translator has accomplished his difficult task in a thoroughly competent manner. We have compared many passages where a

foreigner might be expected not to bring out the full force of the original, but we have not in any case found him missing the point. The introduction by Señor Cuervo contains a delicate compliment to the high place which England has always occupied in Spanish studies.

O. H. FYNES-CLINTON.

BANGOR.

*Dante. Quaestio de Aqua et Terra.* Edited and translated by CHARLES LANCELOT SHADWELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 8vo. iv + 74 pp.

To the third edition of Dr Moore's *Oxford Dante*, Dr Shadwell contributed a new text of the *De Aqua et Terra*. Previous to this all editions had been entirely unsatisfactory. As is well known no manuscript of this treatise is extant, but fortunately the *Editio Princeps* of 1508 generally gives clear enough indications of the contractions in the MS. which the editor expanded with so little intelligence. Subsequent editors, however, while correcting the grossest of his blunders, left others undetected and introduced confusions and irrelevancies of their own, and it was reserved to Dr Shadwell to produce the first satisfactory text. He did the work so thoroughly as to leave very little to his successors. This text he has now reissued in a separate volume with very slight alterations (I have noticed only the substitution of *quae* for *qua* in § XII, 61, and *quare* for *quia* in § XX, 50), and he has accompanied it with a slight but adequate *apparatus criticus*, a translation, and a brief commentary. There were already four English translations of the work (including Professor Thompson's contribution to Boffito's Polyglot edition), but Dr Shadwell's will at once take undisputed place as the standard version. It would be easy to give numerous examples of his superior insight into the Latinity, whether general or technical, of the treatise, but two may suffice. In the first paragraph he shews that discussing a point *ad apparentiam* does not mean 'according to appearance,' but 'for display'; and in the eighteenth paragraph he unravels with complete success an apparently complicated passage by shewing that *instantiae principalis* means 'the objection brought *against* the principal argument.' Aristotle repeatedly uses the phrase ἐνστάσις τούτου for 'an objection urged against this,' and the slavish medieval translations (though Dr Shadwell, who never condescends to depart from the Greek text of his Aristotle, does not supply this link) render the phrase *instantia hujus*. Against the important passages in which Dr Shadwell has seen the true meaning of the text for the first time must be set one or two where (in the judgment at least of the present reviewer) he appears to have gone gratuitously wrong. For instance in § II, 7, *principium investigandae veritatis* surely does not mean 'the first step in the investigation of the truth,' since the point in question is the conclusion not the starting-



point, but (on the analogy of parallel passages in the *De Monarchia*) 'for the establishment of a norm by which investigations may be tested.' But such instances, even if they can be established, are in no case of serious or material significance. The commentary, however, is disappointing. It brings nothing fresh of any importance, and in no way advances the discussion of the question of authenticity; and from time to time it shews imperfect acquaintance with the work of Vincenzo Biagi. For instance in his Appendix on the difficult and important passage, § XX, 56—71, Dr Shadwell refers to 'the difficulty of finding authority for the belief that the moon approaches nearer to the earth in the southern hemisphere than in the north,' and adds that 'no explanation has yet been offered'; whereas Biagi calls attention to a passage in Pliny's *Natural History* which contains the astronomical blunder in question. Again the treatise contains two citations from Averroes. One is referred to the Commentary on the Third Book of the *De Anima*, and the other to the *De Substantia Orbis*. Both references are false. For the identification of the first passage Dr Shadwell has nothing better to offer us than a reference to the text of Aristotle *De Anima*, iii, 3, which is not Averroes, and which is only very vaguely to the purpose; whereas the *ipsissima verba* attributed to Averroes actually occur in his Commentary on the *Physics*, viii, 26. For the identification of the second passage Dr Shadwell follows Toynbee in the supposition that the author of the treatise had in mind a passage not of Averroes at all but of Albertus Magnus. But this passage is only in the loosest way applicable, whereas again the *ipsissima verba* attributed to Averroes occur in his Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, xii, 18. Both these identifications are to be made out (through a tangle of false references it is true) from Biagi's treatise, as was pointed out in the review of that work in this journal, Vol. IV, No. 2 (January, 1909).

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

CHILDREY, BERKS.

*Francesco Petrarca: Poet and Humanist.* By MAUD F. JERROLD.  
London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1909. viii + 350 pp.

In the publishers' puff preliminary it is claimed for this book, not only that it is 'the most important work on Petrarca yet published in the English language,' but also that 'it will take in England the place filled in France by Pierre de Nolhac's great work.' The first of these claims may possibly be allowed; but no one, we feel sure, who has even a cursory acquaintance with M. de Nolhac's epoch-making work, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, which ranks as a classic of its kind, would for a moment dream of admitting the second. M. de Nolhac's book, as is well known to students, was the outcome of many years' arduous research, during which he examined some thousands of manuscripts in France and Italy for the purpose of tracing such as had been in Petrarch's possession, or had been copied or annotated by him, and of so determining what were the authors which he most closely studied; whereas, so far as we can discover, the writer of this book has not even so much as handled a manuscript, or made a single original contribution to the humanistic side of her subject. Against such an ill-advised and misleading claim as this of the publishers, which is calculated to create a prejudice at the outset against Mrs Jerrold's book, and which we can hardly suppose to have been made with her approval, we feel bound to enter an emphatic protest. In one respect, indeed, the comparison between the two books is unfair to Mrs Jerrold, for she has devoted a large proportion of her space to a careful study of Petrarch's poems, Italian and Latin, whereas M. de Nolhac, as the title of his work implies, is concerned almost exclusively with Petrarch the humanist. Mrs Jerrold's work is quite able to stand on its own merits, without any adventitious aid from advertisement.

The first four chapters of the book, together with chapters vii and ix—a somewhat awkward arrangement—deal with Petrarch's life, the main facts of which, literary and political, are now pretty well ascertained, and have lately been admirably retold in Mr Hollway-Calthrop's book on *Petrarch, His Life, Work, and Times*—a work which was reviewed recently in these pages, and of which, we note, no mention is made by Mrs Jerrold, even in her bibliography. Petrarch's relation to the troubadours is discussed at some length in the chapter entitled 'La joya de la violeta,' where we are given a good deal of detailed information about the lives of the troubadours, which would be appropriate enough in a commentary on the *Trionfi*, but is hardly in place in a biography of Petrarch. The attraction of Arnaut Daniel, the reputed inventor of the *sestina*, for both Dante and Petrarch, is not altogether easy for us to understand. Even in those days he had the reputation of being a 'difficult' poet—'las soas chanssons non son leus ad entendre ni ad aprendre,' writes the old Provençal biographer of him. Perhaps this very quality was the secret of his attraction. At any rate, Dante, in a well-known and often misunderstood passage in the *Purgatorio*, ranks him above all writers of 'versi d'amore e prose

di romanzi,' while Petrarch gives him the first place, as 'gran maestro d' amor,' among love-poets who were not natives of Italy. In her list of Provençal poets mentioned by Dante, Mrs Jerrold overlooks one of the most famous, viz., Bertran de Born. He is not mentioned by Petrarch in the *Trionfo d' Amore*, probably because his most congenial theme was war, not love, whence he was selected by Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* as the representative 'singer of arms.' This same chapter contains an illuminating and sympathetic study of the *canzoniere*, the 'rerum vulgarium fragmenta,' as Petrarch himself somewhat affectedly entitled it. In the matter of the arrangement of the two parts of the *canzoniere*, a vexed question as to which the critics are sharply divided, Mrs Jerrold follows the most recent authorities in rejecting the time-honoured division into poems written before and after the death of Laura. The translations from the poems are as a rule well done, the renderings being spirited without being too free, but the ear is too often shocked by such false rhymes as 'breeze' and 'less,' 'light' and 'sit,' 'face' and 'loveliness,' and so on. We are surprised that M. de Nohac's famous discovery of Petrarch's autograph copy of the *canzoniere* (Vatican MS. 3195) should not have been thought worthy of even passing mention by Mrs Jerrold. It was supposed until recently, by M. de Nohac himself and other scholars that this MS. was the basis of the text of the first Aldine edition of 1501, which was produced under the direction of Cardinal Bembo (at one time the owner of the MS.); but the latest researches, as M. de Nohac points out in a note in the second edition (1907) of his *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, have shown that this was not the case, the actual 'copy' used by Aldus having been another Vatican MS. (3197), which is in the hand not of Petrarch but of Bembo himself. As a matter of fact, Bembo does not appear to have become acquainted with Petrarch's autograph copy until as late as 1544. Mrs Jerrold is not quite accurate in her account of how these manuscripts passed into the possession of the Vatican. They were not 'presented' to the library by Fulvio Orsini (who had purchased them from Bembo's son), but came by bequest from Orsini in 1602, two years after his death, as is recorded in M. de Nohac's *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*.

The second part of the *canzoniere* and the *Trionfi* (in regard to which the writer acknowledges her extensive obligations to unpublished studies of Mr Edmund Gardner) are dealt with at length in a later chapter. The accepted authority on the *Trionfi* is the critical edition of Herr Appel, whose conclusions as to the chronology and sequence of the cantos Mrs Jerrold briefly summarises. It is a little disconcerting to have these poems quoted by Latin titles, which smacks somewhat of pedantry, but there is good ground for supposing that Petrarch himself supplied these titles. The Latin poems and prose works are discussed in a chapter not very happily entitled 'In the footsteps of Cicero'; while the vast collection of letters, which consists of more than forty 'books,' has a chapter to itself. These chapters are enlivened by a series of extracts, in which Mrs Jerrold once again displays her

skill as a translator. We have not found Mrs Jerrold always a safe guide in this section of the book. Though M. de Nolhac's work on the *De Viris Illustribus* figures in the bibliography and is referred to in the notes, it does not appear to have been consulted to much purpose. For instance—to note but a single point—Mrs Jerrold is under the impression that the *De Viris Illustribus* has never been printed, though Razzolini's edition, which was published at Bologna in 1874–9, and which contains both the Latin text and the Italian translation of Donato degli Albanzani, is described at length and frequently quoted by M. de Nolhac.

The penultimate chapter of the work contains a brief but interesting survey of the influence of Petrarch in English literature. The statement in this chapter that Dante left more profound traces upon Chaucer than did Boccaccio will hardly, we imagine, be accepted without question by Chaucerian scholars. Mrs Jerrold is in error in stating that Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, presented his library to Balliol College. Duke Humphrey's gifts of books were made, at various periods, to the University of Oxford, which commemorated his munificence in the building over the Divinity School, still known as Duke Humphrey's Library.

Mrs Jerrold supplies a very full bibliography, which however is not so complete as it might be. Several works, for instance, of M. de Nolhac which ought to have been included do not figure here; and we think mention should have been made of the latest edition (1908) of the *canzoniere* with the notes of Rigutini and Scherillo. We have already noticed the omission of Mr Calthrop's book. On the other hand, the list is encumbered with a large number of unnecessary items relating to the works of English poets, which have no connection with the subject proper of the book. Some of the entries are not particularly intelligent. Mahn, for instance, is apparently credited with the authorship of the *Lives of the Troubadours* translated by Miss Farnell—an absurdity which is emphasised by the cross-reference from Farnell to Mahn on the previous page. Raynouard's name appears in the bibliography, and wherever it is mentioned elsewhere, as 'Raynouald'—a strange blunder on the part of a writer who professes acquaintance with Provençal literature. Similar carelessness in matters of detail is betrayed in the index, which is by no means free from misprints, and from which a great many names and references are omitted. There are only two references, for example, to M. de Nolhac, who is mentioned repeatedly in the book. But more or less mechanical defects of this kind do not seriously detract from the solid and often brilliant qualities of Mrs Jerrold's work, which, if it does not offer anything strikingly original to the student, at any rate deserves a warm welcome as an attempt to set before the English reader in an attractive form, and as the result of a close personal study, a conscientious estimate of Petrarch, humanist, 'politician,' and poet, by the light of the most recent researches of continental scholarship.

PAGET TOYNBEE.



## MINOR NOTICES.

Professor Franz's *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, of which a second edition now appears (Heidelberg, 1909: xxviii + 602 pp.), was first published in 1900, and at once took its place as the only scientific and satisfactory work on its subject. From the fact that the body of the book consisted then of 427 pages against the 602 of the new edition, it will be seen how much new matter has been included in the work before us. What that new matter is, is explained by Professor Franz in his Preface. He has added an Introduction which embodies the substance of his paper, *Die treibenden Kräfte im Werden der englischen Sprache* (1906), as well as sections on Elizabethan orthography, pronunciation and word-formation. The first of these is reprinted with slight alteration from a paper in *Die Neueren Sprachen* (1904), the third from a paper in *Englische Studien*, vol. xxxv, while the chapter on pronunciation is based on a paper *Orthographie, Lautgebung und Wortbildung in den Werken Shakespeares* (1905). In addition fifteen paragraphs of the Grammar are new, and a number of others have been enriched by new observations and examples. Statements in the first edition which on second thoughts appeared to the author unsatisfactory have now been removed from the text or rewritten. There has been some change also in the arrangement of the material. Professor Franz has taken advantage of all the serious criticism which his first edition encountered, and the result is a work which will be indispensable to every student of Shakespeare, and which will be a lasting monument to the learning, the unwearied industry and the acute observation of its author.

G. C. M. S.

Without claiming any very striking merits for Miss Alice I. Perry Wood's book, *The Stage History of Shakespeare's King Richard the Third* (Columbia University Studies in English, New York, 1909), we may agree with the Department of English in Columbia University that it is 'a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication.' The authoress is on the most difficult ground at the beginning of her work, when she attempts to give *Richard III* its place in relation to contemporary plays, and discusses its presentation on the Elizabethan stage. Her later chapters trace the stage history of the play in England from the Restoration to 1897. Here she has merely to add touches from other authorities to the account given by Genest. Her last chapter deals with the stage history of the play in America, and this to English readers will be the freshest part of the work. Other pages of interest are those which deal with 'favourite situations' in the pre-Shakespearian Chronicle plays. No one can give a history of the performances of a particular play from the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century without throwing a good deal of light on the general history of

the stage and of the actor's different conceptions of his art during the period. Miss Wood's monograph from this point of view will be instructive to all who do not know the tale too well. Her style is clear and unpretentious. It is a pity, however, that the Department of English of Columbia University did not suggest to her to remove some rather glaring errors, as when she dates Milton's *Eikonoclastes* '1690' (p. 4), speaks of Lodge and Peele as Cambridge men who must therefore have been familiar with Legge's *Richardus Tertius* (p. 6), and says that in 1698 Jeremy Taylor 'lashed the immorality of the contemporary stage' (p. 96). She expresses the extraordinary opinion (p. 3) that 'a kingdom for stage' in *Henry V* is 'Shakespeare's own imitation of "a kingdom for a horse."' A sentence on p. 57 defies emendation: 'In "Henry the Fifth" the scenes in which Henry does not appear are either comic or more important by the figure of Henry the Fourth.' The date of the performance of Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, though often given as here (p. 5) '1579,' should be '15<sup>79</sup>/<sub>80</sub>'.

G. C. M. S.

A very useful purpose should be served by Mr O. T. Williams' *Short Extracts from Old English Poetry, chiefly for Unseen Translation* (Bangor: Jarvis and Foster, 1909), seeing how comparatively inaccessible are the chief Old English poetical texts, apart from *Beowulf* and those to be found in Anglo-Saxon readers. The choice of extracts seems to be a wise one under the self-imposed limitations of the editor, viz., that the passages selected should be representative of Old English Christian poetry. One cannot but regret, however, that those limitations are laid down. There is little doubt that for most readers of Anglo-Saxon the poetry which is not distinctively Christian is of equal if not of greater interest. Some examples of the riddles, one or two of the charms, an extract or two from *Widsith* or *Deor* or *Waldhere* would serve just as useful a purpose so far as translation is concerned, and would have the additional merit of introducing the student to the customs and manners of our English forefathers, and telling them something of the legends and stories current among them. This is an aspect of Old English poetry which is far too much neglected at the present time.

The text is satisfactory; not a normalised one, and embodying only such emendations as are absolutely necessary. There are a few notes, concerned chiefly with the text, and a glossary of the less familiar words. The printing is good, except for the capital Ð, which is unduly heavy in type, and stands out unpleasantly on almost every page.

A. M.

A rather voluminous work on *Du Bartas en Angleterre*, by H. Ashton (Paris, É. Larose, 1908), written in pleasant French, for the 'doctorat d'université,' is a very disappointing performance. It is divided into three parts, which deal respectively with the life and fame

of Du Bartas, the life of Sylvester and the value of his translations, and lastly the influence exercised in England by the Huguenot poet. Excepting an interesting communication from the assistant-librarian of the Royal Library of Copenhagen which disposes of Du Bartas' reported journey to Denmark in the retinue of James VI, the first part of the thesis adds practically nothing to the information furnished by G. Pellissier's dissertation and by the introduction to O. de Gourcuff's *Choix de poésies* (Auch, 1890). It also contains several minor errors and a number of omissions, and the author's conclusions are seriously invalidated in that he fails to discriminate between the relative importance of Du Bartas' numerous admirers in France and England. In the second part Mr Ashton, who appears not to have known of P. Weller's excellent dissertation (*Joshua Sylvesters englische Übersetzungen der religiösen Epen des Du Bartas*, Strassburg, 1902), has done badly what his German predecessor did well. In the last section, which treats of the influence of Du Bartas in England, Mr Ashton is plainly unprepared for his task; he only deals with Du Bartas' influence on Milton (following, save for *Paradise Lost*, closely in the footsteps of Dunster's antiquated essay), and on William Browne. Not a word is said concerning Du Bartas' influence on Drayton (*Moyse in a Map of Miracles*), Phineas Fletcher (*Purple Island*), William Alexander (*Doomesday*), Drummond of Hawthornden (some of the longer pieces, particularly in the *Flowers of Sion*), etc. The present essay compares very unfavourably with the average dissertation for the 'doctorat d'université,' and one wonders how it secured official acceptance.

L. E. K.

*Dante e la Lunigiana* (Milan, Hoepli, 1909) is the first of a pair of volumes projected by the committee for the commemoration of the sixth centenary of Dante's visit to the Valdimagra, three years ago. The present volume, clearly printed and profusely illustrated, is a worthy product of that gathering. Among its thirteen contributors figure the well-known names of Del Lungo, D'Ancona, Rajna and Vandelli; a pledge of solid material for study. A companion volume is promised shortly, in which the relations of Dante with the House of Malaspina are to be set out in full. Meanwhile we have here a most interesting collection of essays on various topics connected with the Lunigiana of Dante's day, grouped round Del Lungo's commemorative oration delivered on the spot in 1906. Of special interest is Rajna's facsimile and transcript of the famous 'Letter of Frate Ilario,' and his remarks thereon. A facsimile is also given of Dante's 'Epistle to Moroello Malaspina' (from the Vatican MS.); and of a fragmentary Codex of the *Divina Commedia*, written in Florence (so Prof. Vandelli judges) in the middle of the fourteenth century, and discovered twenty years ago by Prof. Achille Neri (one of the contributors to this volume) in the *Archivio Notarile* at Sarzana.

L. R.

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November, 1909—January, 1910.

### GENERAL.

- ARMAS, J. de, *Ensayos críticos de Literatura inglesa y española*. Madrid, V. Suárez. 4 pes.
- BUSSE, B., *Das Drama*. I. Von der Antike zum französischen Klassizismus. (Aus *Natur und Geisteswelt*, 287.) Leipzig, Teubner. 1 M.
- LANDAU, M., *Hölle und Fegfeuer in Volksglaube, Dichtung und Kirchenlehre*. Heidelberg, Winter. 4 M.
- REIMARUS SECUNDUS, *Geschichte der Salome von Cato bis O. Wilde*. III. Herodias von Matthaeus bis Wilde. Leipzig, Wigand. 3 M.
- SAUNDERS, W., *Ancient Handwritings*. An Introductory Manual for intending students. London, Simpkin, Marshall. 4s. net.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### General.

- Bibliotheca romanica*. 91. G. Leopardi, *Prose, Pensieri*. 92. P. Corneille, *Le Menteur*. 93. G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ix. 94—5. Brunetto Latino, *Il tesoretto e il favoletto*. 96—8. H. de Balzac, *Le cabinet des antiques*. 99—100. G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, x. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no. 40 pf.
- MEYER-LÜBKE, W., *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*. 2. Aufl. (Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher, I, i.) Heidelberg, Winter. 5 M.

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- NORLIND, T., *Latinska Skolsånger i Sverige och Finland*. (Lunds universitets Aarskrift, v, ii.) Lund, Gleerup. 3 Kr.

#### Italian.

- CICCHITELLI, V., *Sulle opere in prosa di M. G. Vida*. Naples, Tip. Sannitica. 2 L.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI, *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*. Edited and translated by C. L. Shadwell. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. net.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI, *The Trilogy; or Dante's Three Visions*. Translated by J. W. Thomas. 3 vols. London, Calley. 3s. net.
- GABRIELE, M. DA ALEPPO, e G. M. CALVARUSO, *Le fonti arabiche nel dialetto siciliano*. I. Rome, Loescher. 25 L.



- LEE, A. C., *The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues*. London, Nutt. 12s. 6d. net.
- MARTINES, I., *La donna nella vita e nelle opere di V. Alfieri*. Mistretta, Tip. del Progresso. 2 L.
- MASCETTA-CARACCI, L., *Dante e il 'Dedalo' Petrarchesco con uno studio sulla malattia del Petrarca*. Lanciano, Carabba. 8 L.
- MASSARANI, T., *Studi letterari e artistici*. Gruppo II, vol. 2, 3; Gruppo III, vol. 3—5. Florence, Le Monnier. Each 4 L.
- Novella, La, *della figliuola del mercatante*. Faksimile eines um 1500 in Florenz hergestellten Druckes. Erlangen, M. Mencke. 2 M.
- PORTA, M. T., *Madame de Staël e l' Italia*. Florence, Gonnelli. 2 L. 50.
- SABERSKY, H., *Das Verhältnis des Italieners zu seiner Landsprache aus De Amicis, l' idioma gentile*. 2 Vorträge. (Romanische Studien, ix.) Berlin, Ebering. 2 M.
- SETTEMBRINI, L., *Scritti inediti a cura di F. Torraca*. Naples, Soc. commerciale Libr. 4 L.
- TOMMASINI, M. P., *Il pensiero di C. Cattaneo e di G. Mazzini nelle poesie di G. Carducci*. Saggio critico. Città di Castello, S. Lapi. 2 L. 50.
- WILEY, S. K., *Dante and Beatrice*. London, Macmillan. 5s. net.
- WILLERT, M., *Dante Alighieri und seine Zeit*. Eine Einführung. Leipzig, Xenien-Verlag. 2 M.

### Spanish.

- BONSONS Y SICART, I., *Fragmentos de las traducciones catalanas de la 'Fiameta' y del 'Decamerone' de Boccaccio, ambas anónimas y del siglo xv*. Barcelona, Imp. de la Casa Provincial de Caridad.
- CATALINA, M., *La Poesía en el teatro antiguo, colección de trozos escogidos*. Tomo I. Madrid, Tip. de la 'Revista de Archivos.'
- DÍAZ DE ESCOVAR, N., *Algunos datos sobre el antiguo autor de comedias Alonso de Olmedo*. Madrid, Imp. Helénica.
- FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, R., *Bibliographie hispanique, 1905, 1906*. New York, Hispanic Society. Each, 1 dol. 25.
- GARCÍA DE LA RIEGA, C., *Literatura galaica. El Amadis de Gaula*. Madrid, E. Arias. 3 pes.
- LE GENTIL, G., *Le poète Manuel Breton de Los Herreros et la société espagnole de 1830 à 1860*. Paris, Hachette, 10 fr.
- LE GENTIL, G., *Les revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, aperçu bibliographique*. Paris, Hachette. 5 fr.
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- VALERA, J., *Obras completas*. xx. Crítica literaria (1857-60). Madrid, Imp. Alemana.

**Provençal.**

- WEHOWSKI, E., Die Sprache der Vida de la benaurada sancta Doncelina. Lautstand, Formen und einige syntaktische Erscheinungen. Eine Studie zum Dialekt von Marseille. (Romanische Studien, VIII.) Berlin, Ebering. 4 M. 50.

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- BRUNOT, F., Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900. Tome III. Paris, A. Colin. 12 fr. 50.
- KONTA, A. L., The History of French Literature from the Oaths of Strassburg to Chanticleer. New York, Appleton. 2 dol. 50 net.
- PARIS, G., Mélanges linguistiques, publ. par Mario Roques. Fasc. 4. Notes étymologiques, appendice. Paris, H. Champion. 6 fr.
- PLAN, PH., Choix de gallicismes et d'expressions figurées du français parlé. Préf. de F. F. Roget. Paris, Kischbacher. 3 fr. 50.

(b) *Old French.*

- BODEL, JEAN, Saxonlied, II. Herausg. von E. Stengel. (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der roman. Phil., c.) Marburg, Elwert. 5 M.
- LUNS, F., Over het ontstaan van het Fransche drama en zijn ontwikkeling in den loop der middeleeuwen. Amsterdam, Losco-uitgaaf. 1 fl. 40.
- LUQUIENS, F. B., An Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press. 1 dol. net.
- SIMUND DE FREINE, Œuvres, publ. d'après tous les textes manuscrits connus par John E. Matzke. Paris, Firmin-Didot. 10 fr.

(c) *Modern French.*

- AUGÉ-CHIQUET, M., La vie, les idées et l'œuvre de J. A. de Baïf. Paris, Hachette. 15 fr.
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- BARBEY D'AUREVILLY, J., Critiques diverses. Paris, Lemerre. 3 fr. 50.
- CAGNAC, M., Fénelon, études critiques. Paris, Soc. fr. d'impr. et de libr. 3 fr. 50.
- CHAMPION, E., J. J. Rousseau et la Révolution française. Paris, A. Colin. 3 fr. 50.
- CRUCÉ, EMERIC. Le nouveau Cynée. Reprinted from the original edition of 1623. With English translation and introduction by T. W. Balch. Philadelphia, Allen, Lane and Scott. 2 dol.
- DROUHET, CH., Le poète F. Mainard, 1583—1646. Étude d'histoire littéraire. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.
- GARBORG, H., Rousseau og hans Tanker i Nutiden. Christiania, Gyldendal. 3 Kr. 50.
- GUILLEMOT, J., L'évolution de l'idée dramatique chez les maîtres du théâtre De Corneille à Dumas fils. Paris, Perrin. 3 fr. 50.
- HARISPE, P., Lamennais et Gerbet. I. Paris, Soc. d'édit. fr. et étr. 5 f.
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## THE PROBLEM OF SPENSER'S SONNETS.

THE received accounts of Spenser's life tell us that he was born in 1552; that, in consequence perhaps of an unrequited passion for the 'Rosalind' of his *Shepherd's Calendar*, he remained a bachelor till he was over forty; that shortly after his return to Ireland in 1591 he fell in love with a lady there, by name Elizabeth and now identified as Elizabeth Boyle, married her on 11 June, 1594, after a courtship of some eighteen months, and celebrated his wooing in the *Amoretti* and his wedding in the *Epithalamion*.

In a recent number of the *Modern Language Review* this little idyll has been criticised with great acuteness and learning by Mr Percy Long. He has shown conclusively on how slight a basis of objective fact the whole neat edifice rests. That the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*, after being entered together on the Stationers' Register in November, 1594, were published together in 1595—this is the sole objective fact: the rest is inference and assumption.

The construction of the idyll proceeds thus. When Ponsonby published the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* in 1595, he described them as 'written not long since by Edmund Spenser.' It is inferred that the wedding which the *Epithalamion* celebrates took place in the preceding year. And the allusion in the *Epithalamion* itself to 'Barnaby the bright' gives 11 June, 1594, as the actual wedding-day. It is next assumed that the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* are addressed to the same person; and since the *Amoretti* begin just before a New Year and last well into the next year but one, it is inferred that Spenser's courtship covered the years 1592-3-4. Finally since in Sonnet lx, written just before the New Year of 1594, the poet uses language which implies that he was then forty-one years old, we arrive by subtraction at 1552 as the year of his birth.

Mr Long attacks the received view at its weakest point, the link namely between the *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion*. If he can sever

that link, the *Amoretti* are, so to speak, at his mercy. And a closer scrutiny seems to show that no such link exists. Nay, the epilogue to the *Epithalamion*—

Song! made in lieu of many ornaments,  
With which my love should duly have been dect—

seems to prove that the *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion* cannot be addressed to the same lady. For how could Spenser speak of the latter poem as 'made in lieu of many ornaments' if he had already adorned his bride with such a string of poetic jewels as the *Amoretti*?

The *Amoretti*, Mr Long concludes, were not addressed to Spenser's wife. To whom then were they addressed? Mr Long replies that they were addressed to Lady Elizabeth Carey; that they are not a genuine record of Spenser's wooing at all, but merely one of those complimentary sonnet-sequences, conventional pieces of knight-service, which were in vogue at the time.

Mr Long's theory grows more and more upon us as he reviews the relations of Spenser to Lady Carey. She was one of the daughters of Sir John Spenser of Althorpe. She was the eldest of three sisters—the two others being Lady Strange and Lady Compton and Mountegle—with whom Spenser claimed kindred, and (like Goldsmith's spend-thrift) 'had his claim allowed'; to all of whom he dedicated poems in the *Complaints* volume of 1591; and all of whom he celebrated in *Colin Clout* under the names of Phyllis, Charillis and Amaryllis. But while Spenser thus paid court to all three sisters, he singled out Lady Carey for special devotion. Charillis is praised at much greater length and with much greater ardour than either of her sisters; and the name Charillis, says Mr Long, is an anagram for Eliz. Carey. Again, the dedication of *Muiopotmos* to Lady Carey is couched in warmer terms than either the dedication of the *Teares of the Muses* to Lady Strange or of *Prosopopoia* to Lady Compton. Finally, Spenser paid Lady Carey a compliment which he paid neither to her sisters nor to any other lady 'in especial' save only the Countess of Pembroke (Sidney's sister)—he inscribed to her one of the Dedicatory Sonnets appended to the first instalment of the *Faerie Queene*. This inscription marked him out, in the language of the day, as her 'servant.'

Now in this Dedicatory Sonnet the poet promises, when time permits, to display his good will 'in ampler wise.' How did he make good this promise? Not in *Muiopotmos*, which is but an airy trifle, and in any case contains no praise of any lady. He made it good, says Mr Long, in the *Amoretti* and in the *Faerie Queene*, VI, x.

There is nothing improbable in all this so far. It is not at all unlikely that Spenser, while still heart-whole, might pay a conventional courtship to Lady Carey; nor even that he might do so when he had been some years married. But it is not so easy to believe that he could have conducted an imaginary courtship with one lady at the very time when he was really courting another, and then have published the poetic records of both affairs in one volume. Yet this is what we must believe, if Spenser was married in 1594. For the *Amoretti*, as published, cannot be shifted off the years 1592-3-4, by reason of the reference in Sonnet lxxx to the completion of *six* books of the *Faerie Queene*. For *F. Q.*, v, xi contains an allusion to Henri IV which must be later than 25 July, 1593; and though I do not press that argument (for I suspect the latter portion of *F. Q.*, v, xi to be an afterthought) it is certain (from the change that he made in the Scudamour-Amoret story) that Spenser did not begin Book IV until after the publication of Books I—III; and he cannot have finished Book VI before 1594, even if he wrote the second three books twice as fast as he had written the first three. Mr Long does not indeed use these arguments, but he would probably admit their force; he evidently feels the difficulty of allowing the real and the imaginary wooing to synchronize, and he seeks to avoid it by disputing the received date of the former. There are two reasons, he holds, for believing that Spenser was married before 1594: (1) one account says that he had five children, not four; (2) in 1603 his eldest son Sylvanus appears in a petition, and there is nothing to show that he did not act in person.

Such is Mr Long's main argument. Now it is vain to try to rehabilitate the traditional view while the epilogue to the *Epithalamion* blocks the way. I therefore give it in full:

Song! made in lieu of many ornaments,  
 With which my love should duly have been dect,  
 Which cutting off through hasty accidents,  
 Ye would not stay your dew time to expect,  
 But promist both to recompens;  
 Be unto her a goodly ornament,  
 And for short time an endlesse monument.

We have seen how Mr Long takes this. But I submit that to interpret 'ornaments' metaphorically deprives the sixth line of its point. A plainer, if a more prosaic, interpretation lies to hand. The Epilogue means—or might mean—simply that (for reasons unknown) the wedding had been hurried forward before the bridegroom's presents arrived from England; that he had promised to make amends to his bride both for



the lack of these presents and for the hasty wedding; and has fulfilled both promises in this poem, which is at once an ornament above rubies and (in compensation for the shortness of time allowed for the wedding preparations) a monument to all time.

If the Epilogue means—or might mean<sup>1</sup>—no more than this, we have turned Mr Long's most formidable position, and can now lay siege to his weakest—the identification of Lady Carey with Charillis. 'Phyllis the faire is eldest of the three' (*Colin Clout*, 541): Lady Carey was the eldest of the three Spenser sisters; therefore, it should seem, Lady Carey is Phyllis. Mr Long is of course aware of this fact; he sees clearly how dangerous it is to his argument; and he tries hard to turn its point. Spenser, he thinks, may really have been mistaken as to the ages of the sisters; or he may have aimed a compliment at Lady Carey. Neither of these explanations commands one's assent. Would Spenser pay Lady Carey a rather vulgar compliment at her sister's expense? Or advertise his want of intimacy with a family that he was so proud to claim kinship with?

But if Lady Carey is *not* Charillis, the argument based on the comparative ardour of the dedication to *Muiopotmos*, and even of the dedicatory sonnet to the *Faerie Queene*, is seriously weakened.

There remains the *fact* of this dedicatory sonnet. The significance of that I admit. But no argument can be drawn from the *promise* which it contains; for precisely the same promise is made to Lady Strange in the dedication to the *Teares of the Muses*, and to Lady Compton in the dedication to *Prosopopoia*. (I may add that no such promise is made in the dedication to *Muiopotmos*; but this, as we shall see, admits of another explanation.)

I proceed to consider the two arguments by which Mr Long tries to push back the date of Spenser's marriage. The view that he had five children rests, so far as I know, upon no evidence more reliable than Ben Jonson's gossip about an infant that perished in the sack of Kilcolman, which is of a piece with the legend that Spenser died of starvation. If there be any evidence more substantial, we are still free to believe that Peregrine and Lawrence were twins. But this discussion threatens to lose seriousness.

Mr Long's second argument proves too much. For if Sylvanus was not a minor in 1603, his father must have been married by 1581. And

<sup>1</sup> 'Or might mean,' I say, for my argument requires no more. About the rhythm and the syntax of this Epilogue there hangs what Meredith would call 'a strong smell of something left out.'

this is impossible. For (1) the scene of the *Epithalamion* is laid at Kilcolman ('Ye Nymphes of Mulla,' St. 3), and Spenser did not reside there before 1588, probably not before 1589; (2) in *Colin Clout* (1591) Spenser is still faithful to his love for Rosalind; and (3)—which is quite conclusive—the opening of the *Epithalamion* proves it to be subsequent at least to the first instalment of the *Faerie Queene*, to *Daphnida*, and to the *Ruines of Time*. Nor can we, after all, ignore (4) the 'written not long since' of Ponsonby. By these two sets of arguments the date of the wedding—or at least of the wedding-song—is pushed and pulled back towards 1594, and the synchronism of the real and the imaginary courtship is again on our hands.

Is there, besides this synchronism, any positive evidence that would lead us to identify the mistress of the *Amoretti* with the bride of the *Epithalamion*? There is some.

There are, first, some general correspondences, or echoes from the one poem to the other. *Epith.*, l. 14 'Helpe me mine owne loves prayses to resound' seems to echo Sonnet lxxx, 'Till then give leave to me, in pleasant mew To sport my muse, and sing my loves sweet praise'; while Sonnet xix, 7, 'That all the woods theyr ecchoes back rebounded' recalls the famous refrain of the *Epithalamion*.

These correspondences grow more numerous and striking as Spenser proceeds to descant on the appearance of his mistress. He notes the proud humility of her mien: compare *Amoretti*, xiii,

In that proud port which her so goodly graceth,  
Whiles her faire face she reares up to the skie,  
And to the ground her eie-lids low embaseth,  
Most goodly temperature ye may descry;  
Myld humblesse, mixt with awfull majesty.  
For looking on the earth whence she was borne,  
Her minde remembreth her mortalitie,  
Whatso is fayrest shall to earth returne.  
But that same lofty countenance seemes to scorne  
Base thing, and thinke how she to heaven may clime;

with *Epithal.*, Stanza 1x,

Loe, where she comes along with portly pace,  
Lyke Phœbe from her chamber of the East,  
Arysing forth to run her mighty race,  
Clad all in white, that seemes a virgin best.

Her modest eyes, abashed to behold  
So many gazers as on her do stare,  
Upon the lowly ground affixed are;  
Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,  
But blush to heare her prayses sung so loud,  
So farre from being proud.

He dwells upon the charms of her person: compare *Amoretti*, xv,

Ye tradefull Merchants, that with weary toyle,  
Do seeke most pretious things to make your gain, etc.

with *Epith.*, St. x,

Tell me, ye merchants daughters, etc.

and upon the inward beauty of her character: compare the last two lines of the above-mentioned sonnet,

But that which fairest is, but few behold,  
Her mind adorn'd with vertues manifold.

with the beginning of *Epith.*, xi,

But if ye saw that which no eyes can see,  
The inward beauty of her lively spright, etc.

and the latter part of the same stanza,

There dwels sweet love, and constant chastity,  
Unspotted fayth, and comely womanhood,  
Regard of honour, and mild modesty;  
There vertue raynes as Queene in royal throne,  
And giveth lawes alone,  
The which the base affections doe obey,  
And yeeld theyr services unto her will;  
Ne thought of thing uncomely ever may  
Thereto approach to tempt her mind to ill.

with *Amoretti*, lxxxiii,

Let not one sparke of filthy lustfull fyre  
Breake out, that may her sacred peace molest;  
Ne one light glance of sensuall desyre  
Attempt to work her gentle mindes unrest:  
But pure affections bred in spotlesse brest,  
And modest thoughts breathd from wel-tempredd sprites,  
Goe visit her in her chaste bowre of rest,  
Accompanyde with angelick delighes.

These parallels are too numerous, too close, too individual, to be easily ignored; and to these may be added a comparison of *Amoretti*, lxiv with *Epith.*, St. x.

Some of the sonnets are very lover-like. It would be hard, I think, to parallel such sonnets as xv, lxiv, and lxxvi from any purely ideal sequence. And some of the later sonnets have a matter-of-fact note which is curiously convincing. After the third year has begun (Sonnet lxii) the course of true love begins to run smooth; the poet begins to descry the happy shore (lxiii); he kisses his lady's lips (lxiv)—she has yielded; in Sonnet lxv she fears to lose her liberty; and with the advent of Spring, in Sonnet lxx, he bids her 'her selfe soone ready make To

wayt on Love amongst his lovely crew'—to be getting ready, one would take it, for the wedding.

These arguments all point us back to the traditional view. Yet I am sensible of the weight of some, at least, of Mr Long's contentions. There is the dedicatory sonnet to the *Faerie Queene*; there is the ardent dedication to *Muiopotmos*; and if Charillis is not Lady Carey, the anagram on her name is an odd coincidence. And if, for reasons already shown, I cannot accept Mr Long's view as it stands, I find difficulties scarcely less serious in accepting the traditional view as it stands. (1) The lady of the *Amoretti* seems to be above the poet in station (see especially Sonnet lxxv); of this there is no hint in the *Epithalamion*. True, the language of the *Amoretti* may on this point be merely conventional; in any case we cannot dogmatize until we know more about Elizabeth Boyle. (2) An attentive reader of the sonnets cannot but feel that they are in two different keys. Some, as I have said, are very lover-like; they sound like the natural expression of unaffected passion. And it is significant that it is precisely these sonnets that find verbal echoes in the *Epithalamion*. But between these outbursts there are stretches of comparatively tame country—occasional poems, one might call them, suggested by such unstated incidents as the lady's smiling, or tearing up his verses, or sitting at her drawn-work, or watching him write her name upon the sand—poems in fact which might well find a place in a conventional sonnet-sequence. (3) The dates, too, present a difficulty. There are eighty-eight sonnets in all, spread over eighteen months. There are, in fact, fifty-eight to the unbroken year. Yet of the whole series no fewer than twenty fall after the second Easter. If the wedding took place on 11 June, this seems a disproportionate allowance. And (4) there is the singular ending, on which Mr Long so justly dwells. In Sonnet lxx, as we have seen, Spring has come, and is told to go to the bride and bid her make ready. Yet in Sonnet lxxxv, by which time, on the most lenient allowance, we must be hard upon the wedding, in Sonnet lxxxv we discover that some one has been slandering the poet to his mistress: in Sonnet lxxxvi he has been parted from her 'Many wearie dayes'; Sonnets lxxxvii and lxxxviii still bemoan this severance; and so the series ends. A strange ending, surely, to the record of a happy wooing; a strange prelude to the raptures of the *Epithalamion*.

Is the key to this riddle given in Sonnet lxxi? In that sonnet the poet tells how his lady in her drawn-work compares herself to the Bee, and him to 'the Spyder, that doth lurke In close awayt, to catch her



unaware.' What is this, in effect, but the theme of *Muiopotmos*? Is it fanciful to infer that the sight of Lady Carey at just such a piece of 'drawn-work' may in fact have inspired that poem? For *Muiopotmos*, unlike most of the pieces in the 1591 volume, was not an early poem. It is not so described in its dedication, as are *Virgil's Gnat* and *Prosopopoia*. It has a separate title-page, bearing date 1590. And—what has not, I think, been previously observed—it abounds in echoes from the *Faerie Queene*: ll. 28, 33 and 34, 86, 134, 165–6, 217, 356 all echo familiar lines of the *Faerie Queene*. I make no doubt that it was written in 1590.

Consider next the 'ideal time' covered by the *Amoretti*. The series begins just before a New Year, lasts through the whole year following and well into the year after that. Does not this tally closely with the actual duration of Spenser's stay in England from 1589 to 1591? He probably came to England late in November, for the *Faerie Queene* was licensed on 1 Dec. 1589. He left it, I believe in spite of the ambiguous date of *Daphnaida*, in the spring or summer of 1591.

It seems to me possible that during this stay Spenser *did* indite a series of complimentary sonnets to Lady Carey; that some misunderstanding arose between them just before his departure for Ireland, and that they afterwards had, or feigned, a quarrel<sup>1</sup>; or, more simply, that absence soon wore out his conventional devotion; that, in either case, he presently fell genuinely in love, and used up parts of this complimentary series in addresses to her whom Prior would have called his 'real flame.'

This hypothesis, I believe, explains all that is really difficult in the ordinary view of the sonnets—the difference of station, the difference of key, the length of the series after the second Easter, and above all the singular close. For the parting which Spenser bewails would thus belong to the original series, and would, in fact, be nothing more or less than his return to Ireland. And it conserves all that is really sound in Mr Long's argumentation<sup>2</sup>. It even permits us to believe that when Spenser wrote *Colin Clout* in 1591 he meant Charillis for Lady Carey, though when he published it in 1596 he juggled with the names and ages so as to transfer her praises to her sister.

<sup>1</sup> In two of the three copies known to me of the second (1596) edition of *F. Q.*, I—III this sonnet to Lady Carey was not reprinted. I mention the fact; but the huddled state of the appendicial matter in the 1596 edition forbids one to base any inference upon it.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Long himself glances, in one sentence, at the possibility of just such a *contaminatio*, but in the opposite sense; i.e., he thinks that sonnets originally written to Spenser's wife may have been incorporated in the complimentary set. But the dates seem to make this impossible.

Nor will all this seem incredible to those who know what men and poets are<sup>1</sup>.

If I do not at present follow Mr Long into his discussion of *Faerie Queene*, VI, x, I have an excellent excuse. In a footnote to his admirable article Mr Long dangles before us an alluring promise of fuller discussion on the Sixth Book of the *Faerie Queene*. If he should do me the honour to read this paper, I would appeal to him to make good that promise forthwith. Few scholars in Britain or in America are so well qualified for a task, the neglect of which begins to be a discredit to English scholarship—the historical exegesis of the *Faerie Queene*.

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Grierson tells me that Lamartine similarly sent to his Elvire poems that had already done other duty, and that the Dutch poet Hooft in his wooing of Eleonora Hellermans made use (with a few changes) of poems which had been written for Susanna van Baerle.

## THE TROUBLES OF A NORMAN SCRIBE.

DESCRIBING the Trinity manuscript (B. 14. 39) in his excellent edition of the *Proverbs of Alfred* (Oxford, 1907), Professor Skeat writes:

‘we find at the foot of the first page of the poem, the following remarkable note:—

iye	w	ant	iporn
3	p	ɿ	þ

The meaning of this is obvious and significant. Before the scribe began to write out the poem, he made a note of the four new characters he had to employ....But he had by no means learnt his lesson aright. He uses ɿ freely and correctly, for he had only to reproduce it; but he was quite unable to distinguish the A. S. *w* from the A. S. *th*, and frequently misuses them. But the strangest part of the story is that he could not remember the meaning of 3, and constantly uses it in place of *w*!’

If I have rightly apprehended Professor Skeat’s meaning, I think that there are serious logical difficulties in accepting his account of the matter. The confusion of *wen* and *thorn* by a scribe unfamiliar with the language would, of course, be natural enough, for p, þ, and y (unless dotted) are indistinguishable in many early hands. But that anyone should write 3 for p through unfamiliarity with the signs is surely inconceivable. The scribe, we are told, uses ɿ correctly, ‘for he had only to reproduce it.’ But he presumably only had to reproduce 3: why then should he introduce it in place of another sign which it in no way resembles?

There is another difficulty in Professor Skeat’s account. If the scribe needed a note to remind him of the value of þ, a gloss which contained the symbol itself would not help him. This puzzle made me turn to the manuscript, when I saw that the word above þ was

not 'iþorn,' as printed, but 'iȝorn.' I do not think this was a mere slip of the pen on the scribe's part, but that it rather represents as close a phonetic rendering as he could manage: in other words, that he was incapable of clearly differentiating between the values of þ and ȝ. He may have realized and even reproduced the difference in speech, but in writing the phonetic symbols at his command failed him. Regarding the prefixed *i*, Professor Skeat remarks that the scribe 'was unable to sound the initial *y* without prefixing the slight vowel-sound *i*.' I am not sure that I understand exactly what this means, for the consonantal sound always starts from the vowel position. The *i* I take to be merely a scribal device indicating that *y* has here the consonantal value, for this, so far as I can find, it never has in the text. As to the general significance of the note it is best to confess ignorance. Professor Skeat's view can certainly not be accepted as it stands, for þ and ȝ at least were far from being 'new characters' to the scribe. Some clue to the secret may perhaps be discovered when the manuscript is carefully studied as a whole.

Mr Macaulay has pointed out to me that if the scribe was unable to distinguish between *th* and consonantal *y*, it may account for the confusion between þ and ȝ which occurs in the manuscript. This is so, and it is possible that some of the instances did actually so arise. But we have to account for the fact that the substitution of ȝ for *w* (an error which would involve first a misreading of þ for *p* and then a confusion of ȝ with þ) is far commoner than that of ȝ for *th*. We shall find that there is a simple hypothesis which will explain all these confusions and others as well.

But first let us see exactly how the matter stands. The scribe made some attempt to distinguish between the forms of þ and *p* (so much is evident from his note) but he was not always successful, cases occurring in which it is difficult, apart from the context, to say which was intended. But, an undoubted þ also frequently occurs for *w*, that is by mistake for *p*. Whether an undoubted *p* ever occurs by mistake for þ is not so certain. Professor Skeat mentions two instances, but in one of these I think *w* is meant, while in the other the letter seems to me clearly þ. Nevertheless, I believe that just a few cases do occur: mere slips of the pen presumably. Professor Skeat notes at least nine instances of the use of þ in place of ȝ. He also notes six instances of the use of *p* for ȝ, but here I disagree: in every case the letter seems to me þ and not *p*. The error of ȝ for *th* (þ) is noted once; that of ȝ for *w* (þ) six times. In these cases there is,



of course, no doubt as to the reading of the manuscript, and Professor Skeat's emendations seem unassailable, since in every case but one he can quote the authority of the Jesus manuscript for the change. Thus we find that þ is freely misused for *w* and frequently for 3, that 3 is sometimes misused for *w* and once for *th*, but that *p* is (practically) never used except for *w*.

In order to account for these confusions all we have to assume is that the sign 3 did not occur in the original from which our scribe copied. The value would, in that case, be represented by *y*. But for our scribe *y* was a vowel: in his text of the *Proverbs* it is always equivalent to *i*. Hence his desire to replace it by 3. But he evidently found that in practice þ, *p*, and *y* were indistinguishable, and having but a very imperfect knowledge of the language he made frequent errors in his endeavours to differentiate them. We never find him using *w* in place of þ or *y*, whence I infer that *w* already appeared in the original by the side of *p*. If this was so, much the commonest value of the puzzling symbol before him would be *th*: he would have to render it by þ much more frequently than by either *p* or 3. This explains why he often writes þ for the other letters, but seldom the other letters for þ. Indeed, he wrote þ so constantly for *p* that there were very few real cases of *p* left, and the fact that *w* occurred side by side with it apparently made the scribe reluctant to give this value to the sign at all. Thus he actually wrote 3 more frequently than *p*, and we consequently find him substituting 3 occasionally for *p* but only once for þ, while he replaces *y* (= 3) frequently by þ but never by *p*. Lastly we have *p*, which largely disappears before the encroachments of þ and 3, and is never used in the place of other letters, except very rarely, and probably unintentionally, for þ.

That there is in the Trinity manuscript not only confusion of þ and *p*, but of *y* as well, is evident apart from any consideration of 3. For there are at least two instances in which the scribe has written *y* where he should have written *p*. If I am right in supposing that 3 was replaced by *y* in the original manuscript (the source, that is, of the Trinity manuscript) it is probably a rather early instance of the substitution. But it would be by no means unique. The Trinity manuscript, it is allowed, presents a later redaction of the *Proverbs* than the Jesus manuscript, though the date of the two is about the same. This suggests that the source of the former was probably little, if at all, older than the latter. But the Jesus manuscript has *y* throughout, and so has the collection of Kentish Sermons preserved in MS. Laud

471, which again is ascribed to about the same period, namely 1250. What might perhaps cause surprise is that the *y* should have been left undotted at this date, but that it was so seems clearly proved by the cases of confusion with *p* mentioned above. Another point which might be thought improbable is that a scribe who was so modern as to write *y* for *ȝ* should ever have written *p* at all, as the scribe of the original of the Trinity manuscript evidently did not infrequently. I imagine, however, that he was copying from an earlier manuscript which had *p* and *ȝ* consistently, and he may very likely have left a number of *p*'s standing through inadvertence, just as, for aught we know, he may have left some *ȝ*'s.

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## NOTES ON 'BEOWULF.'

l. 31. MS. *penden wordum weold wine scyldinga leof landfruma lange ahte*. The absence of an object for *ahte* is not a serious difficulty, as *ahte* merely repeats *weold*, and its object *word* is understood. It is just possible, however, that the writer may have thought he had written *worda gewæld* in l. 30; cf. l. 79 *his wordes gewæld wide hæfde*. In any case, there is no need to suppose, with Holthausen, a lacuna.

l. 204. The MS. reading *hæl gesceawedon* is generally translated 'looked for prosperity,' or else 'observed (or looked for) an omen.' For the latter rendering the O.H.G. *heil scouwōn* is adduced. But *hæl(o)* has nowhere else the sense of 'omen,' nor can *sceawedon* mean 'looked for.' I would suggest *hæl geeawedon*, 'gave him a farewell greeting.' In ll. 653, 1217 *hæl(o)* means 'greeting'; in l. 2418 it means 'farewell.' The usual expression is *hæl(o) abeodan*; thus l. 653 *him hæl abead*, l. 2418 *hælo abead*. For *geeawed* with the sense of *aboden* cf. l. 1194 *wunden gold estum geeawed*.

ll. 223, 224. MS. *þa wæs sund liden eoletes æt ende*. *Liden* cannot be right, as *liðan* is intransitive. *Eoletes* is not found elsewhere. We might read *þa wæs sund lides ealles æt ende* 'then was the voyage of the bark quite at an end.' Is it too fanciful to regard *eoletes* as having arisen from *eal<sup>et</sup>7es* in the MS. from which our text was copied, the *et* being a Latin gloss of a second *l* written like the abbreviation for *and*? In this connection see note on ll. 2333—2335.

ll. 413—414. MS. *siddan æfenleoht under heofenes hador beholen weorpeð*. The difficulty is *hador*, which is not used as a substantive but as an adjective, meaning 'bright,' 'clear.' The passage might be emended by reading *hador under heofene*.

l. 567. MS. *þæt syðþan na ymb brontne ford brimliðende lade ne letton*. *Bront* 'lofty' is almost always used of a ship (see Bosworth-Toller). Here it is used absolutely, = 'ship.' Reading *forð* for *ford* we

translate 'so that henceforward (syðþan forð) they did not around the ship hinder seafarers from their course.'

l. 985. MS. *steda nægla gehwylc*. Read *stiðnægla* 'strong or sharp nails'; cf. Beow. l. 1533 *stið ond stylecg* used of a sword; also *Be Domes Dæge*, l. 179 *mid stiðum sticelum*.

l. 991. MS. *ða wæs haten hreþe heort innan weard folmum gefrætwod*. I would read *ða wæs hat on hreþre; Heorot innan wearð folmum gefrætwod*; translate 'then was there fervour in their hearts; Heorot was adorned inside with hands.' *Hat* as adjective frequently means 'fervid' as applied to feelings; it also occurs as a substantive. Here it may be taken as either adjective or substantive. Cf. l. 2328 *hreow on hreðre*. Or else read *haton* (= *hatum*) *hreþre H. innanweard*.

ll. 1134, 1135. MS. *opðæt oþer com gear in geardas swa nu gyt deð þa ðe syngales sele bewitiað*. If for *þa* we read *þam* we may translate 'until a second year came to dwellings (i.e., to men), as it (the year) still does (come) to those who are continually watching the seasons.' *Sele* = *sæle*.

l. 1161. MS. *beorhtode bencsweg*. *Beorhtode* is generally rendered 'sounded clearly,' but there is no other instance of such a meaning for *beorhtian* (though cf. *heaðotorht*, l. 2553). By reading *beorhtmode* we get the required meaning. The form *beorhtm* = W.S. *breahm*, *bearhtm* 'a noise,' occurs in *Elene*, l. 205; the verb *breahmian* 'to make a noise' is quoted in Bosworth-Toller from a gloss.

l. 2029. MS. *oft seldan hwær æfter leodhryre lytle hwile bongar bugeð*. I would read *oft selð* (= *sælð*) *onhwearf æfter leodhryre; lytle hwile bongar bugeð* and translate 'often has fortune changed after the fall of a prince; but a little time does the murderous spear rest.'

ll. 2333—2335. MS. *hæfde ligdraca leoda fæsten ealond utan eorðweard ðone gledum forgrunden*. It seems to me that *eorðweard* can hardly be the right word. Read *eall utanweard, eorðweall ðone gledum forgrunden* and translate 'the fiery dragon had destroyed the people's fortress utterly from the outside, (had destroyed) the earthwall with flames.' Such transpositions by scribes are common. Possibly *ealond* arose from the second *l* of *eall* being written below the level of the first and mistaken for the abbreviation for *and*.

l. 2475. MS. (omitting intervening words) *þa wæs...herenid hearda syððan hreðel swealt oððe him ongenðeowes eaferan wæran frome fyrdhwate*. In this passage *oððe* seems out of place; we may replace it with *seoððan* (or the weak form *seoðða*) and put a semicolon after *hearda*. *Syððan* and *seoððan* are correlatives.



l. 2525. MS. *nelle ic beorges weard oferfleon fotes trem*. It is better to omit *ofer*. Cf. *Battle of Maldon*, l. 247 *fleon fotes trym*.

ll. 2558, 2559. MS. *hruse dynede biorn under beorge*. A full stop is usually put after *dynede* and *biorn* is translated 'the warrior.' But we may put a comma after *dynede*, a semicolon after *beorge* and translate 'the earth resounded and burned under the hill.' For *beorn* = *born* 'burned' cf. l. 1880 *beorn wið blode*.

l. 2659. MS. *urum sceal sweord ond helm byrne ond byrdu scrud bam gemæne*. The use of *urum bam* as equivalent to *unc* is not idiomatic. I would suggest *huru* for *urum* and translate 'surely sword and helmet, corslet and armour must be common to both' (Beowulf and the Geatish warriors), i.e., both parties must share in the conflict.

l. 2766. MS. *sinc eaðe mæg gold on grund[e] gumcynnes gehwone ofer higian*. For *ofer higian* we might read *oferhiwian*. *Hiwian* means 'to assume a false appearance,' 'to feign'; so that *oferhiwian* might well mean 'deceive.' The general sense of the passage is that hidden treasure will in the long run frustrate the intention of him who hides it. A possible though not very convincing alternative would be *ofer hige hean* (taking *hean* as a dissyllable) 'exalt above his (usual) mind,' 'unduly exalt.'

l. 2854. MS. *wehte hyne wætre*. For *wehte* should we read *wette* (= *wætte*) 'wetted'?

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

## OLD SCANDINAVIAN PERSONAL NAMES IN ENGLAND.

THE study of English place and personal names has been pursued in this country and on the continent with no little vigour during the last few years. Professor Skeat has written monographs on the place names of no less than four English counties, and is I believe now at work on those of a fifth; Mr Duignan has dealt with the place names of two more counties, Dr Moorman of Leeds has in preparation a work on Yorkshire place names. In Germany, Dr Middendorff has written a useful book on the elements of O.E. place names, and, as recently as last year, there appeared the original and suggestive work of Zacchrisson of Lund, on the influence of Norman-French on English place names. In the domain of family and personal names, we have Searle's *Onomasticon*, the Index to the Birch Chartulary, the copious and laborious compilation of Bardsley, and Mr Baring-Gould's book which only appeared a few months ago, and now we have Professor Björkman's book on Scandinavian personal names in England during the Old and early Middle English period<sup>1</sup>, which will be exceedingly welcome to students in more than one field of research. We have here for the first time a systematic attempt to collect together from late O.E. and early M.E. sources, the Scandinavian personal names which are found in the documents of these periods.

Those who know Professor Björkman's earlier volumes on the Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English will not be surprised to learn that his recent work is carefully and intelligently performed. If he has not searched all the early English documents, Rolls, Charters and Calendars, in which Scandinavian names might be expected to occur, he has ransacked such important documents as *Doomsday Book*, the *Hundred Rolls*, *Pipe Rolls*, *Rotuli de oblatiis et finibus*, the *Hyde Register*, *Liber Vitæ*, Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, Birch's *Cartu-*

<sup>1</sup> *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit*, von Erik Björkman. Halle, Niemeyer. 1910.

*larium*, and several more. He has arranged the names alphabetically, under a typical spelling, and has given the various forms of each which he has found with chapter and verse. He has also given a few examples of English place names in which the Scandinavian personal names occur—these appear to be chiefly from Doomsday. The true Norse forms of the names, as they occur in Norse documents, are also given, or when these fail, the reconstructed forms. The aim and methods of the work are, as the author says, purely linguistic or philological, and he has very wisely left historians to do their own business, and to make what use they please of the material which he supplies. The vital problem of such an investigation as this, namely to say just which names are unquestionably Norse, is one which only a scholar trained in modern philological learning can settle satisfactorily, and there are some names whose origin the subtlest known linguistic tests leave undecided.

Professor Björkman devotes about thirty pages at the end of his volume to considering the distinguishing tests between the Norse and English origin of names. The linguistic criteria, which are practically those enumerated in the author's earlier book, appear to me to be the only really convincing tests. Curiously enough Björkman himself considers as more important tests than the phonological those which 'in den Verschiedenheiten in der Bildungsart der Personennamen der Engländer und der Skandinavier begründet sind.' He admits the imperfect state of our knowledge of Germanic names, but lays great stress upon the fondness of the old Norsemen for nicknames—often of an uncomplimentary and even an abusive character. Personally, while I do not of course deny this feature in Norse nomenclature, nor yet that these nicknames often became permanent baptismal names, I doubt very much whether this characteristic is confined to the Norse, and am inclined to believe that if we knew more about O.E. and other old Germanic personal names, and had a thorough analysis according to the nature and origin of all those which are preserved, we should find that, among the English at least, the number of names which were nicknames in origin was considerable.

It is with Norse names as with Norse words. There are some found in this country which are quite unequivocally Norse, either from their form alone, or from this combined with the fact that, so far as our information goes, the equivalent native name was not in use among the English. The name *Āskel* or *Āsketil(l)* is a case in point. The first syllable would be *Īs-* in O.E., and the second element *-ketill* is believed never to occur in a genuine O.E. name.

Another class of names are hybrids, that is to say one element is Norse in form, the other English. Such is *Ulfhere* which in pure O.E. is *Wulfhere*, and in pure O. Norse *Ulvar*, or *Wulfstain* where the first element is O.E. and the second Norse. The genuine O.E. form of this name is *Wulfstān*. Again, such a M.E. form as *Uluet* presupposes an earlier *Ulfjēat* which in the first element shows the typical O. Norse loss of *w* before a rounded vowel, but in the second has a pure O.E. diphthong corresponding to Germanic *au* which remains in O.N. The O.E. form of this name is *Wulfjēat* while the O.N. would be *\*Ulfgautr*. The former would give M.E. *\*Wulviet* or *\*Wulvet*, the latter *\*Ulgot*. A third class of O.N. names are those which have been as it were 'translated' into O.E. and here the ground is often very ticklish for the investigator. A large number of names are common to all Germanic peoples, and appear in each language, modified according to the phonetic laws of that language. When a name of which a Norse form is known to exist occurs in a purely O.E. form, it is a question open to discussion whether each of the forms is native to England and Norway respectively, being developed out of a common ancestral type, or whether one language has borrowed the name from the other, and so altered its form that its elements appear in the purely native form of the language into which it has been borrowed. O.E. has a name *Gūphere* which presupposes an earlier *\*Gunpharja-*. This Germanic type would develop in O.N. into *Gunnar*, in which form it is actually found, and in O.H.G. into *Gunther*, which form also is well known in that tongue. In this case it is quite unnecessary to assume any but the obvious explanation that each type has normally developed out of a common original. At any rate if one language borrowed from another at all, it was at such an early date that the primitive form of the word was practically unaltered, so that it underwent the ordinary phonetic changes of an inherited word. On the other hand such a name as *Ōscýtel*, irreproachable as an O.E. name in form, is rightly claimed as a mere adaptation of the Norse *Āsketil*, because from what we know of O.E. names we are led to believe that this name, although common among the Norse, was not a name originally possessed by our ancestors, and in the earliest cases of its occurrence in English documents, it is applied not to Englishmen but to Scandinavians (Björkman, p. 19). But, again, there is absolutely no reason to assume that the unexceptionable O.E. *Hrōpwulf* is derived from an early O.N. form before this had passed into the later *Hrōlfr*. It may have been the case, but it cannot be proved, any more than it can be proved that the Norse



name was borrowed at an early period from the English. It is surely safer when such a form as M.E. *Rōðulf* is found to assume that it is normally descended from an O.E. form, and that that form was native, and on the other hand that the M.E. type *Rolf*, *Roulf* etc. is the descendant of the O.N. cognate. As a matter of fact it is quite possible that even M.E. *Roulf* might represent an O.E. *Hrōþulf* with loss of þ between vowels. before an unstressed syllable. Lastly there are names like *Crōc* or *Krōk(r)* whose form throws no light whatever which helps us to decide whether it is English or Norse. It would be the same in both languages, and was probably used by both peoples as a name. The name *Crooks* is the descendant of this name, and it occurs also in many place names—e.g., *Croxsteth*, *Croxby* etc. Even such names as *Āsmund*, clearly distinguished from the O.E. form *Ōsmund* by its *ā* in the O.E. period, are often indistinguishable from the English form in M.E. spelling, since this *ā* was rounded to *ō* in M.E. in the South and Midlands. Thus a M.E. spelling *Osmund* may imply either an O.E. *Ōsmund* or an O.N. *Āsmund*. It is true that the *ō* would be differently pronounced according to whether it represented earlier *ō* or *ā*, but no difference is made in the spelling.

It is clear that all these problems are the business of the philologist alone, and it is only by having these and other similar problems which confront the student of place and personal names solved, according to the best available expert linguistic method, that the antiquary and the historian will get reliable material to work from, upon which they may base their theories of settlements, and race mixture, race distribution and national genius and the rest.

The study of English names is as yet only in its infancy, and Professor Björkman has made a notable contribution to it. But an enormous amount still remains to be done in every direction. Our vast store of ancient records of all sorts is barely skimmed by Björkman, and there is material enough to keep an army of investigators busy in collecting Scandinavian personal names alone. Then there are the names of this origin in English place names to be identified and tabulated. It is probable that this latter source would yield material, if we had a complete and manageable index of all the early forms, from which we might decide the approximate date at which this or that settler who gave his name as a permanent designation of a dwelling or a hill, lived, at any rate to which of the various 'Danish' invasions he belonged. This fact, which might be established from linguistic evidence, would be of prime importance to historians.

I should be very sorry if any expression I have used with regard to Professor Björkman's sources were interpreted to mean disparagement of his labours which are solid and praiseworthy. All English students will render a tribute of admiration to the foreign scholar, who, having to contend with many difficulties, and being doubtless often deprived of access to sources which he would fain have used, has yet given us so much. But the magnitude of the task of providing material for an adequate study of English names should spur on more English labourers to enter this field of research, a hope which Björkman himself expresses with regard to that part of the subject in which his own is pioneer work.

In the course of the last three or four years Dr Hirst of the University of Liverpool and myself have been collecting materials for a work on the Place Names of Lancashire which I hope may appear during the current year.

Had I had Professor Björkman's book in my hands during the last few years I should have been saved a very large amount of labour in establishing the existence of certain Scandinavian personal names, and tracing their use in this country. This labour however I undertook, and I now append two lists of such of these names as I have identified in Lancashire place names. List A contains names mentioned and discussed in Professor Björkman's lists. List B below, which is very much shorter, contains a few names which he does not mention so far as I can see. In most cases I have given enough early forms of each name to make it quite clear that the particular personal name under discussion actually did form the first element. I have in all cases given the date of the document from which the forms are taken.

## A.

SCANDINAVIAN PERS. NAMES MENTIONED BY BJÖRKMAN WHICH  
OCCUR IN LANCASHIRE PLACE NAMES.

NORSE NAME	MOD. LANCS. PL. N.	EARLY FORMS
<b>Auðgrímr</b>	<i>Orrell</i> (Wigan)	<i>Otegrimele</i> , Doomsday Book.
<b>Agmundr</b>	<i>Amounderness</i>	<i>Agemundernessee</i> , D. B.
<b>Anleifr</b> (O.E. form <i>Anlaf</i> )	<i>Anglezarke</i>	1224, <i>Anlauesargh</i> , Lanc. Fines, I, p. 45.
<b>Arngeir</b> (O.E. * <i>Arngār</i> )	<i>Angerby</i>	<i>Angoreby</i> , Testa de Nevil, p. 409.
<b>Arnketill</b>	<i>Artlethorn</i>	1228, <i>Arkillesthorn</i> , L. F. I, p. 58.
Arnkil, etc.	<i>Arlebeck</i>	
<b>Arnulfr</b>	<i>Arnside</i>	1208, <i>Arnuluesheued</i> , L. F. I, p. 39.

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NORSE NAME	MOD. LANCS. PL. N.	EARLY FORMS
<b>Āsmundr</b>	<i>Osmotherley</i>	1440, <i>Asmunderlaw</i> , G. de, Furness, Ch. II, p. 351. 1300, <i>Osmunderlaw</i> , W. de, Furn. Ch. II, p. 381. [The forms with <i>Osmunder-</i> as late as 1667, cp. Richmond, Wills, p. 247. <i>Osmother-</i> begins 1588 Rich. Wills, p. 163. Is there confusion with the name <i>Āsmōþ</i> ?]
<b>Coupman</b> Kaupmaðr	<i>Capernwray</i>	<i>Coupmawra</i> , 1263-72, Lancs. Ch. 27.
<b>Kati</b>	<i>Catterall</i>	<i>Catrehala</i> , D.B.; 1244, <i>Katirhale</i> , Lanc. Inq. p. 159.
<b>Kollr</b>	<i>Cowford</i> Colton	<i>Colleforthe</i> , 11 Edw. III. Forest Peramb. cit. Lanc. P. Roll, p. 425.
<b>Gunnulfr</b>	<i>Gunnell's Moors</i>	1328, <i>Gonolfemores</i> , Whalley, Ch. p. 268. 1329, <i>Gunnolvemores</i> , Testa de Nevil, p. 403.
<b>Grimketill</b> Grimkel	<i>Cringlebarrow</i> Wood	No early forms, but initial <i>C</i> for <i>G</i> , common in Lancs. Pl. Ns. Cp. also forms <i>Grinkel</i> (O.N. form); <i>Gringeleia</i> , Northants, D.B.; <i>Gryngeley</i> , 2 Edw. I, Plac. Abbrev. p. 187. Thus the chain of forms from <i>Grimkel</i> to <i>Cringle</i> is complete.
<b>Krōkr</b>	<i>Croxteth</i> Croston	1257, <i>Croctad</i> , L. Inq. p. 210. 1094, <i>Croston</i> , Lanc. Ch. 9; but <i>Croxton</i> , T. de N. 408, 408 b, and <i>Croxton</i> , Furn. Ch. 203, 1401.
<b>Finn</b>	<i>Finsthwaite</i>	1337, <i>Finnesthwait</i> , Furn. Ch. p. 173.
<b>Forna</b> , etc.	<i>Formby</i>	1227, <i>Forneby</i> , Cal. Rotl. Ch. p. 40. Note the curious form <i>Fornethby</i> , Cal. Inq. P.M. I, p. 137, 1297.
<b>Gamall</b>	<i>Gambleside</i>	
<b>Geirr</b>	<i>Garstang</i>	1204-5, <i>Geirstan</i> , Lanc. P. Roll, 51, p. 192.
<b>Gaukr</b>	<i>Gauzholm</i> <i>Gawthorp</i> from * <i>Gaukthorp</i> ?	1521, <i>Gawkeholme</i> , Ducatus Lancast. I, p. 23.
<b>Grimr</b> or Grimm	<i>Grimisargh</i> <i>Grimshaw</i>	D. B. <i>Grimesarge</i> . 1189, <i>Grimesherk(am)</i> , Ch. I, Ser. XXI, L. P. R. p. 437. 1284, <i>Grymeschawe</i> , Lanc. Assize Rolls, p. 181. 1311, <i>Grimeschagh</i> etc., Lanc. Inq. 12. [These forms appear to disprove Bardsley's view, accepted by Björkman, p. 51, that <i>Grimshaw</i> = <i>Grimes haga</i> .]
	<i>Greystonley</i>	1200-1, <i>Grimestonlyd</i> , L. P. R. 47, p. 131.
<b>Griss</b>	<i>Grizedale</i> <i>Grisehead</i>	1337, <i>Grisedale</i> , Furn. Ch. 173. 1259, <i>Griseheu</i> , L. Inq. p. 224.
<b>Gunnhild</b>	<i>Gunnell's Fold</i>	1258, <i>Gunnildisford</i> , L. Inq. p. 214. The Pers. N. <i>Gunnyld</i> occurs in 1332 in an Exchequer Lay Subsidy, Lanc. and Chesh. Misc. II, p. 93.
<b>Gunnar</b>	<i>Gunner's How</i> or <i>Gummer's How</i> . <i>Gunnerthwaite</i>	
<b>Haukr</b>	<i>Hawkshead</i> <i>Hawkley</i> <i>Hawkshaw</i>	1198-1200, <i>Howkesete</i> , Ch. IV, Ser. XII, L. P. R. p. 363. 1208, <i>Howkeset</i> , Furn. Ch. p. 439. 1332, <i>Haukesleghe</i> , Lanc. and Chesh. Misc. II, p. 18. <i>Hawkshaw</i> is doubtful since the form <i>Haukesheghe</i> occurs L. A. R. p. 259, 1218-19, though other 13th century examples have <i>Haukes-</i> . I do not agree with B.'s remark, p. 66, note, that <i>Hafoc</i> is never used in O.E. as a personal name. In <i>Hafoceshlæw</i> , C. D. IV, p. 93, it is almost certainly a personal name.

NORSE NAME	MOD. LANCs. PL. N.	EARLY FORMS
<b>Knütr</b>	<i>Knothill</i>	12th century ?, <i>Cnouthull</i> , Whall. Ch. p. 149.
<b>Muli</b>	<i>Moubrick</i>	1287, <i>Molebreke</i> , Lanc. Inq. p. 265. <i>Moulebreke</i> , L. F. II, p. 78.
<b>Ormr</b>	<i>Ormerod</i> <i>Ormskirk</i> <i>Ormeston</i>	
<b>Osulfr</b>	Mod. forms lost	but cp. <i>Osolvescroft</i> , Ch. I, Ser. XVII, in Lanc. P. Roll, p. 405. <i>Osuelustache</i> , Ch. VI, Ser. II, L. P. R. p. 329, 1190-1212.
<b>Olfr</b>	<i>Owthwaite</i>	1202, <i>Ulvethwaite</i> , L. F. I, p. 12.
<b>Rafn</b>	* <i>Ravenmeols</i> (now lost) <i>Ravenswinder</i>	1246, <i>Ravenesmeles</i> , L. F. I, p. 102.
<b>Rauðr</b>	Upper <i>Rawcliff</i>	1212, <i>Routhclif</i> , Gt. Inq. L. Inq. p. 37. <i>Upperouthcliff</i> , L. F. II, p. 26. [The first element here is clearly Scand., but it may be merely the adj. 'red' and not a Pers. N.]
<b>Röskinn</b> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Rossendale</i>	<i>Roscynedale</i> , L. F. II, p. 3, 1294. <i>Roscindale</i> , De Lac. Comp. p. 7, 1305.
<b>Hröðulfr</b>	<i>Roddlesworth</i>	1159-64, <i>Rodtholfeswerth</i> , Ch. I, Ser. XIV, L. P. R. p. 374.
[There is really no reason except conjecture for assuming a Norse origin for this name. It is pure English in form and occurs very early in English documents quite apart from Beowulf. The Norse form is <i>Hrölf</i> (Björkman, p. 113), and from this no doubt the Norman <i>Raulf</i> , <i>Roulf</i> , etc., and English <i>Ralph</i> are derived. The Oxfordshire <i>Rousham</i> , as appears from the investigations of Mr H. Alexander of the University of Liverpool, has such old forms as <i>Rolvesham</i> , <i>Rovesham</i> from this Norman type.]		
<b>Sigwars</b>	<i>Silverdale</i>	1241, <i>Siuerdelege</i> (bis), L. F. I, p. 82.
<b>Skalli</b>	<i>Scaleber</i>	1202, <i>Scaleberge</i> , L. F. I, p. 151.
<b>Snell</b>		1294, <i>Snelleshowe</i> , De Lacy, Comp. p. 14.
<b>Steinn</b>	<i>Stainall</i>	1176, <i>Steinola</i> , L. P. R. 23, p. 35.
	<i>Stainton</i>	1249, <i>Staynole</i> , L. Inq. p. 172.
		1256, <i>Steynton</i> , L. F. I, p. 124.
<b>Styrr</b>	<i>Stirzaker</i>	1332, <i>Steresaere</i> , Lanc. and Chesh. Misc. II, p. 94.
		1342, <i>Stiresacre</i> , L. F. II, p. 114.
	<i>Steerspool</i>	1235, <i>Styrespol</i> , L. F. I, p. 59.
<b>Swegen</b> ( <i>Sveinn</i> )	<i>Swainshead</i>	D. B. <i>Suenesat</i> .
<b>Toki</b>	<i>Toxteth</i>	D. B. ( <i>S</i> ) <i>tochestede</i> ; 1212, <i>Tokestath</i> , Gt. Inq. L. Inq. p. 14.
	<i>Tockholes</i>	1285, <i>Tokholes</i> , Whall. Ch. p. 111.
<b>Þorbrandr</b>	<i>Thorburnshead</i>	13th century. <i>Thorebrandesheved</i> , Lanc. Ch. 19 (5 times).
<b>Þorun, Þurun</b> (Engl. form <i>Thoran</i> )	<i>Thornton</i>	D. B. <i>Torentun</i> . 1245, <i>Thorenton</i> , L. F. I, p. 92. 1258, <i>Thorinton</i> , L. F. I, p. 103.
<b>Þorfinn</b>	<i>Thorpinlees</i>	cp. 1228, <i>Thorpincoles</i> , Whall. Ch. 371.
<b>Þorelfr</b>	<i>Threlfall</i>	D. B. <i>Trelefeld</i> , show confusion with <i>feld</i> in the 2nd element. The name means <i>þorelf's halth</i> .

<sup>1</sup> Variant of *Röskil*, etc., with interchange of suffix *-inus* for *-illus*, as in *Asketil*, *Asketin*, *Askil*, *Askin*; cp. Björkman, pp. 17-19.



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NORSE NAME	MOD. LANCS. PL. N.	EARLY FORMS
<b>pursteinn</b>	<i>Thurstan Water</i>	1196, <i>Thurstaine water</i> , L. F. I, 4 and 5 (4 times). 1154-63, <i>Turstiniwatra</i> , Ch. ix, Ser. iv, L. P. R. p. 311.
<b>poraldr</b>	<i>Torrisholm</i>	1205-6, <i>Turoldeholme</i> , L. P. R. 52, p. 205. 1206, <i>Thoraldesholme</i> , Lanc. Ch. 385.
	(?) <i>Tarlescough</i> (?)	1189-96, <i>Tharlescogh</i> , Ch. i, Ser. xi, L. P. R. p. 350.
<b>porulfr</b>	<i>Torver</i>	1202, <i>Thorwerge</i> , L. F. I, p. 17 (= <i>þorulf hærh</i> ). 1246, <i>Thorfergh</i> , L. F. I, p. 97.
<b>þörr</b> or <b>þōra</b> (?)	<i>Turton</i> <i>Torbock</i>	1257, <i>Thurton</i> , Cal. Ch. Rolls, I, p. 474. 1242, <i>Thorbock</i> , Scut. of Gasc. L. Inq. p. 148. 1252, <i>Thorebok</i> , Lanc. Ch. 34.
<b>Valþjófr</b> (Engl. form <i>Walpeof</i> )	<i>Walthew House</i> (Wigan).	I have no old forms of this Pl. N. <i>Walthew</i> and the Latinised <i>Waldevius</i> occur constantly in Lancs. documents in 12th century. The name <i>Walthew</i> survives down to the present day in Lancs.
<b>Ulfhere</b>	<i>Ulverston</i>	1230, <i>Ulvoston</i> , Cl. Rolls, III, p. 34. 1266, <i>Ulvreston</i> , Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 94. 1302, <i>Ulvereston</i> , L. F. I, p. 99. It is curious that the earliest forms are spelt as that of 1230 above. After 1266 all my forms are spelt <i>Ulvre</i> - etc.

The name Ulfhere is of course a hybrid—Norse as regards the first element, with loss of *v* before *u*, and English as regards the second element.

## B.

### SCANDINAVIAN PERS. NAMES NOT REFERRED TO BY BJÖRKMAN, WHICH OCCUR IN LANCS. PLACE NAMES.

<b>Ainulfr</b>	<i>Ainsdale</i>	D. B. <i>Einuluesdale</i> .
<b>Einulfr</b>		1190-1206, <i>Aynuluisdale</i> , Cockersand Ch. p. 568.
<b>Gunnbjorg</b>	<i>Cumeralgh</i>	1292, <i>Gumberhalgh</i> , Plac. Q. Warr. p. 375.
<b>Garðr</b>	<i>Garswood</i> <i>Garscow</i>	1479, <i>Gartiswoode</i> , L. F. III, p. 137. 1220-46, <i>Garthschoh</i> , cit. Farrer, L. P. R. p. 360, fr. Ch. of Will. of Lancaster.
<b>Ingulfr</b>	<i>Inglebreck</i> <i>Inglehead</i> <i>Inglewhite</i> (= * <i>Ingulvesþweit</i> ). <i>Inglewood</i>	1236-56, <i>Ingelbrek</i> , Lanc. Ch. 195. 1332, <i>Ingolhed</i> , Lanc. and Chesh. Misc. II, p. 67.
<b>Yrr</b>	<i>Ireby</i> <i>Ireleth</i>	D. B. <i>Irebi</i> . 1292, <i>Irelith</i> , Furn. Ch. 634.
<b>*Kelfgrimm</b>	<i>Kellamergh</i>	1200 <i>Kelfgrimeshereg</i> , L. P. R. 47, p. 132.
I have never identified this Pers. N. satisfactorily. It cannot be Colgrim (cit. Björkman). Can it be for * <i>Kjölfgrim</i> - from earlier <i>þjóðulf</i> -? cp. Rygh, <i>Norske Gaardn.</i> I, p. 269.		
<b>Hävarðr</b>	<i>Haverthwaite</i>	1337, <i>Haverthwait</i> , Furn. Ch. p. 173. 1584, <i>Harderthat</i> , Rich. Wills, p. 226. The first element of this name is of course capable of a different explanation, but the above is to me the most probable.

## TWO UNPUBLISHED MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN POEMS.

### ‘DIE VUNFZEHEN ZEICHEN’ AND ‘WIE GOT DAS JUNGST GERICHT BESITZEN SOL.’<sup>1</sup>

THE legend of the fifteen signs, which were to announce the advent of the day of judgment, arose in the course of the centuries. Originating with the apocryphal book of *Esdra* the tradition gradually developed until it assumed the form we find in Beda Venerabilis, who seems to be the first to mention the number fifteen and to allot a separate sign to each of the fifteen days. In most medieval texts St Jerome is given as the authority for the legend; he, we are told, was the first to discover the signs in the *Annales Hebraeorum*. No such passage, however, is to be found in his works<sup>2</sup>, and Bede, who is the first to quote St Jerome, must either have made use of a version of the *Annales* now no longer extant, or else, what is more probable, the legend must have arisen at a time when St Jerome had become an authority on matters ecclesiastical (i.e., after the year 400), and was thus made responsible for its invention<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The following are among the more important works from the bibliography of the subject: Nölle, *Die Legende von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gericht* in *P.B.B.* vi, 413, supplemented and rectified by Reuschel in his dissertation, *Untersuchungen zu den deutschen Weltgerichtsdichtungen des xi. bis xv. Jhs.*, Chemnitz, 1895, and in his larger work, *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit, Sammlung Teutonia*, 1906. Cf. also Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichts*, in *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, xxxi, Halle, 1908 (especially pp. 261 ff.); Klee, *Das mittelhochdeutsche Spiel vom jüngsten Tage* (Marburg Dissertation), 1906; Wadstein, *Die eschatologische Ideengruppe*, Leipzig, 1896, especially part I A, ‘Weltende und Weltgericht.’

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nölle, *l.c.*, p. 419 and the note in Hoffmann’s *Fundgruben*, II, p. 127. Heinrich von Hesler in his *Apocalypse* (edited by Helm, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, viii, 1907), 19832 seq. makes the following interesting remarks on the sources of the ‘fifteen signs’: ‘Ouch tar ichz nicht schriben / Durch gelougenen veichen / Die vumfzen Gotes zeichen, / Die gnuc sagen sie sin war; / Sint aber ich sie nicht entar / Under andern minen meren / Mit warer schrift beweren, / Wen ich ir han nicht war gelesen, / Des laz ich gar die rede wesen.’

<sup>3</sup> See Grau, *l.c.*, p. 273.

Nölle, in his article in the *P.B.B.*, has divided the various versions of the legend into several groups, according to the sequence in which the signs follow one another. According to his division the present poem (I) belongs to Type II and thus agrees with the version of Pseudo-Beda 'De quindecim signis,' with the single deviation that the order of signs 13 and 14 is reversed<sup>1</sup>. This is in itself noteworthy as being the only example of a German poem which follows this type<sup>2</sup>, most of the others following the version given by Petrus Comestor in his *Historia Evangelica*, or Type III according to Nölle's notation<sup>3</sup>. It is clear from a comparison with the Latin original that the author followed his source almost word for word. For convenience' sake I have subjoined the Latin in a foot-note, making use, however, of the amended text as revised by Grau (*l.c.*, p. 264 ff.)<sup>4</sup>.

When we come to examine the sources of the longer poem on the Last Judgment (II) we are beset with difficulties on every side. The two treatises usually quoted as sources for eschatologic poems are the *Libellus de Antichristo*<sup>5</sup> and the *Elucidarium* of the so-called Honorius Augustodunensis<sup>6</sup>. The first need not be taken into consideration at all, for the poem contains no mention of the Antichrist. Whether, on the other hand, the author was familiar with the *Elucidarium* and drew on it for his poem must remain doubtful, for the passages I quote from this work in the commentary are, after all, little more than parallels. The matter seems to me to stand as follows: the basis of the poem is a summary of the more or less detailed references to the last judgment in Holy Scripture<sup>7</sup>. On this foundation the author then built up his poem with all kinds of embellishments, derived partly from the popular views current in his day, and partly from the traditional learning of the schoolmen<sup>8</sup>. I must at least confess

<sup>1</sup> See Grau, *l.c.*, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> The sermon in Leyser, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, p. 61, and the Frisian *Asega* book both follow Type II. Cf. also Grau, *l.c.*, p. 273 A.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten*, p. 152 (word for word), as Reuschel has already noted; thus, too, the two versions printed by Bartsch-Jeitteles in *Germania*, xxix, 402.

<sup>4</sup> Amongst the mss. of Freiherr August von Arnswaldt in Hanover there are two further low German versions of the legend, to which Dr Reuschel draws my attention. Cf. A. Reifferscheid, *Jahrb. d. Ver. f. nd. Sprachforschung*, 1883, ix (1884). For English versions cf. *The Chester Mysteries*, ed. by T. Wright, Vol. II, pp. 147 and 219.

<sup>5</sup> Either Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. 101, 1298 or in the edition by Ernst Sackur, *Sybillinische Texte und Forschungen*, Halle, 1898, p. 97.

<sup>6</sup> Migne, 172, 1164 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The biblical passages have been collected by Wadstein, *l.c.*, and by Voss, *Das jüngste Gericht in der bildenden Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1884. Cf., too, the title of Hans Sachs' play: 'Tragedia mit 34 Personen, des jüngsten Gerichts, aus der Schrift überal zusammengezogen,' Stuttg. Lit. Ver. cxxxvi, pp. 400—450.

<sup>8</sup> Klee (*l.c.*, p. 33) exposes similar views with regard to the sources of the 'mittelhoch-deutsches Spiel.' Heinrich von Hesler affirms that he has drawn on many sources for his

my inability to lay my hand upon any one single Latin treatise as the source of the poem.

We have but to glance at the index of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXX, pp. 291—307 ('de iudicio universali et ultimo') to realise how strong the tradition was in those days. It is a well-known fact, that during the whole of the middle ages the second coming of the Son of Man was thought to be imminent. The fear of doomsday has always been present among the lower classes, not only during medieval times but even down to the present day<sup>1</sup>. The date of the awful event was continually being fixed, and it will be remembered how the year 1000 was especially feared on this account<sup>2</sup>.

The story of the last judgment permeated all medieval art and literature. Painters and workers in the plastic arts drew much of their inspiration from the subject<sup>3</sup>. We frequently find judgment scenes on the pediments of church porches<sup>4</sup>, on pulpits, lecterns, tombs<sup>5</sup> and even on church utensils<sup>6</sup>, and pictures on the subject are legion.

The last judgment lends itself particularly well to dramatic representation and was in fact one of the most popular dramatic subjects of the middle ages<sup>7</sup>. It is but natural that the vividness and dramatic qualities of the story should have appealed strongly to the playwrights of the day. It is significant that the MHG. *Spiel vom jüngsten Tage*<sup>8</sup> shows many points of contact (so far as the motives are concerned) with the present poem.

But not only the dramatist, the lyric poet, too, was inspired by the subject, which is especially well-adapted for lyrical expression. As a

*Apocalypse*, though, of course, statements of medieval writers as to their sources are only to be accepted with a certain reserve. The passage in question is the following: 17830, 'Sint ich den sin han geregit / Daz ich beschreibe die zit / Umme Antecristen und sit / Wen biz an den jungesten tac, / So sal ich, als ich beste mac, / Irsuchen tiefen sinnes such / In alle meisterliche buch / Die dar von iht gesprochen haben, / Und wil den sin gar undergraben, / Wen hier ist tief gesprochen war.'

<sup>1</sup> One may gauge the popularity of the subject from the fact that the last judgment formed the contents of a Volksbuch, which has only been preserved in Simrock's reprint. Cf. Reuschel, *l.c.*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> On this point cf. Wadstein, *l.c.*, p. 7: 'Eschatologische Zeitbestimmung,' or Grau, *l.c.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> On the question of the influence of the plastic arts on contemporary literature cf. especially the dissertation of Voss mentioned above, Jessen, *Die Darstellung des Weltgerichts bis auf Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1883, and Portig, *Das Weltgericht in der bildenden Kunst*, Heilbronn, 1885. The chapter on 'Bildende Kunst' in Wadstein, *l.c.*, p. 44, will also be found very useful.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. such well-known examples as the west porch of Amiens or Bourges.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., on the tomb of Lúes de Castro at Alcobaça.

<sup>6</sup> See Wadstein, *l.c.*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> See Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 77, 128, 232, 244.

<sup>8</sup> Edited by Klee, *l.c.*



proof of this, I need only refer to those noble medieval Latin hymns<sup>1</sup>, such justly famous examples as the *Dies irae* attributed to Thomas of Celano. These hymns certainly helped to spread eschatologic ideas amongst the people. And again, the splendid array of German 'Sprüche'<sup>2</sup> on the subject furnish yet another proof of the vogue the themes enjoyed in popular estimation.

The end of the world and the last judgment have always been a favourite subject with the preacher, who is never tired of dilating on the horrors of the last day and of the necessity for the immediate repentance of those who would be saved. Advent is especially suited for such sermons. It is also worthy of note that the gospel for the last Sunday in the year, the Twenty-fourth Sunday after Whitsunday (dominica XXIV post pentecosten), is taken from the 24th chapter of St Matthew which contains a detailed description of doomsday<sup>3</sup>. A number of sermons on this gospel have been preserved<sup>4</sup> and it is interesting, on comparing them with poems on the same subject such as II, to see how closely related the two groups are. The poems are practically metrical recasts of the sermons: both contain the same thoughts, motives and illustrations<sup>5</sup>. From such considerations as the foregoing it is evident, I think, that the poem is closely related to the homiletic literature of the day. But even should this not be deemed sufficiently demonstrated, the following circumstance establishes the matter almost beyond doubt. In several poetical versions of the last judgment the Virgin Mary intercedes with her Son on behalf of

<sup>1</sup> Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, I, Freiburg i. B. 1853, pp. 400–410.

<sup>2</sup> See Reuschel's Dissertation, p. 33. Cf. also the 'Sprüche' in Bartsch, *Meisterlieder der Colmarer Hs.* (Stuttg. Lit. Ver., Vol. LXVIII, 1862), especially 588, 75 and 589, 93.

<sup>3</sup> I would remind English readers that they will search in vain in the Book of Common Prayer for this gospel on the 23rd Sunday after Trinity, for the Anglican Church (like the Greek orthodox Church) has its own selection of pericopes and follows the 'Sarum Use.'

<sup>4</sup> The following are the principal collections of medieval German sermons: Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jhs.*, Stuttgart, 1844. Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, 3 vols., Graz, 1886–91. Leyser, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. und XIV. Jhs.*, Quedlinburg, 1838. Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete aus Handschriften*, Basel, 1876. Jeitteles, *Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St Paul in Kärnten*, Innsbruck, 1878.

<sup>5</sup> An excellent example of this is the sermon in Grieshaber, *l.c.*, I, p. 148 ff. Cf. also Schönbach, *l.c.*, II, Nr. 3, p. 14, Nr. 3, p. 9 ff., and Vol. I, 199a: 'de ascensione'; Jeitteles, *l.c.*, p. 14 ff.; Wackernagel, p. 182. On Easter Sunday the resurrection of our Lord offered the very best excuse for a sermon on the general resurrection at the sounding of the last trump. Cf., for example, Schönbach, *l.c.*, Vol. III, p. 76; Leyser, *l.c.*, p. 61. Or, again, we find that in a sermon for the Twentieth Sunday after Whitsunday the text from St John iv, 'Domine descende ut sanes filium meum priusquam moriatur,' is expounded from quite an eschatologic point of view (see Grieshaber, *l.c.*, p. 139 ff.). Cf. also the sermon in Schönbach with the significant title 'Sermo quando volueris per totum annum' which likewise contains a description of the last judgment (see Schönbach, Vol. II, Nr. 64).

the damned. The question as to whence this image was derived has been satisfactorily solved quite lately by the discovery of a similar passage in a sermon of Berthold of Regensburg<sup>1</sup>. Now this same image is also to be found in the second poem (II). We need hardly look for further evidence of the popular origin of this version, and it is making no very rash assertion to state that the author based his poem on the thoughts and ideas current in the sermons of the day. It is not impossible that such rhymed sermons were on occasion preached from the pulpit; at least we find similar metrical homilies in an English collection, which show every indication of having been used as veritable sermons<sup>2</sup>.

It is no easy matter to form a fair estimate of the literary merit of the present poem. The author is anything but original—it is true that originality on theological questions was scarcely to be expected from an orthodox poet of the middle ages—but even the language itself is drawn very largely from the stock of words and formulas common to the didactic religious poetry of medieval Germany, a fact which may be easily verified by a comparison with the parallels I have collected in the commentary. It is a very ordinary didactic poem, neither more nor less, and it fulfilled its purpose if it so influenced men's minds and consciences as to lead them to repentance.

The author, or rather the authors—for, as will be seen presently, we must assume two such—were ecclesiastics; this follows quite clearly from such verses as 18 ff.: 'den zehenden teil zu rechte geben' or II, 278. That both poems I and II are to be considered as independent, unconnected productions is apparent, in the first place from the many otherwise meaningless repetitions such as II, 10 ff., and secondly from the positive assurance in II, 6 ff.: 'Daz kunde ich uch nu zu stunt,/Nach Sant Jeromimus sagen.' That they are, besides, the works of two separate authors, is evident from the fact that the two poems are composed in two distinct dialects, and also, that they show important differences of metrical technique. This will appear during the course of these investigations.

The poem on *The Signs of Doom* (I) is preserved on fol. 281<sup>v</sup>—283<sup>v</sup> of a single MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale having the press mark All. 150<sup>3</sup>. The second poem on *The Last Judgment* (II) is to be found

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Klee, *l.c.*, p. 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for instance, the Homily for the second Sunday in Advent, *English Metrical Homilies*, edited by John Small, Edinburgh, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> The poem is also known to Dr Reuschel who mentions it on p. 336 of his book. Dr Reuschel also recognised the relation to Bede's version of the fifteen signs.

in two late MSS. which I have labelled P and V. P, the Paris MS.<sup>1</sup> above mentioned, I was able to collate myself. It consists of two originally distinct MSS. now bound together. The first, which contains the travels of Mandeville in the translation of Otto von Diemerungen, bears the date 1418, the second consisting of a collection of short poems was written at Spires in 1419, as appears from an entry of the scribe<sup>2</sup>. Poem II follows I immediately on folios 283<sup>v</sup>—292<sup>r</sup>. *The Last Judgment* is contained besides in MS. 356 of the Stadtbibliothek of St Gall (Vadiana). Privatdozent Dr Reuschel of Dresden very kindly placed at my disposal a transcript of this MS. copied by the librarian in St Gall, Dr Dierauer<sup>3</sup>.

The two MSS. differ considerably. From a series of common mistakes<sup>4</sup>, however, it is clear that they are both derived from the same original, which itself must have been corrupt in several instances. Both copyists are extremely careless in their work, but, from the investigation of the variant readings, it appears that V dealt much more freely with his original than did P. V shows a decided tendency to omissions, and, again, often makes an attempt to restore the true reading, whilst P for the most part is content to copy his text quite mechanically. I have therefore chosen P as the basis of the present text, but have given the preference to V now and then, especially in doubtful cases of word order.

Before proceeding with the investigation of the dialect in which these poems are written, we must first show, from a brief survey of their rhyme technique, that we are justified in assuming 'pure rhymes' for the original<sup>5</sup>.

Poem no. I is composed of 52 rhyming couplets. Of these 46 are certainly 'rein<sup>6</sup>,' and, this being the case, we are fully justified in making

<sup>1</sup> A brief description of this MS. will be found in Vol. I, p. 58 of this *Review*. An exhaustive account has been sent by Professor Priebsch to the Hss.-Archiv der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dis buch ist geschriben und vollebracht in dem Jare do man zalte von Christi geburte vintzehn hundert und Nunzezen Jare off Sant Stephans dag dez heiligen Babstes und Mertelers als die alt Kirch wyhunge ist dez Herren Stiffes der Stad zu Spir.'

<sup>3</sup> G. Scherer, on pp. 28 and 33 ff. of his book *St Galler Hss.*, St Gallen, 1859, gives a somewhat scanty description of this MS. and quotes the beginning and end of each poem. Reuschel also quotes a few extracts from the MS., *l.c.*, pp. 110, 142, 144.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.*, 186, 263, 349.

<sup>5</sup> It is more or less evident from such spellings as the following that the MS. does not present the text in its original dialectal form: 3 lebent : geben, 41 geschehn : fliehen, 49 sol : uberal, 55 macht : craft, 69 gewagen : tage, 73 offten : emphan.

<sup>6</sup> And that in the proportion of 34 masculine to 12 feminine rhymes. The strong preponderance of masculine over feminine rhymes is very characteristic of MHG. poems of a later period, cf. Kochendörffer, *ZfdA.*, xxxv, 291. Besides these pure rhymes, there are two which may still be considered doubtful (17, 71), and four which for the eye are

use of the rhymes in order to fix the dialect of the poet. The rhymes point to Middle Franconia as his home. Cf. the following: 53 gezeide: nyde, 103 missetaden: gnaden, 55 macht: crafft, 81 tag: gewach, 11 also: ho (cf. § 246)<sup>1</sup>, 43 zurgan: slan (§ 52), 41 geschien: vlien (§ 53), 9 han: san (sagen) (§ 33). Amongst the other rhymes the following deserve mentioning: 69 gewagen (Inf.): tage (§ 217), 39 crut: bluot (§ 140). We have no conclusive instance of apocope; 27 might also be read grunde: stunde and as for 45 stein (Masc. Pl.): gemein, we note that feminine lines of four beats occur (see below p. 310). As regards umlaut, the rhyme 19 apgrunde: kunde is not conclusive, for kunde is probably prt. conj. Long and short vowel rhyming: 13 sin: min<sup>2</sup>. The forms gewagen 69 and sal 49, 89 are interesting. Single verbs: stan and gan only show â forms: 23 stan: getân, 31 verstan: undertân, 43 zurgan: slân, 59 ussgan: getân, 73 offstan: emphâm *P.B.B.* XXVIII, 4. The e-sounds are kept carefully apart in both poems and only rhyme with one another.

It is impossible from the scanty material at hand, to fix the dialect of the poem with any geographical exactitude. No uf, no unshifted p occurs in the rhyme and the characteristic MFr. flection of tuon (deist, deit) is wanting. In line 61 there occurs the word ersturt, past part. of erstürzen, which not being understood by the scribe, remained in its MFr. form with the unshifted t (cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 92). The spelling boven also points to a MFr. original<sup>3</sup>. The percentage of pure rhymes in the second poem (II) is also large enough to warrant our making use of them to determine the dialect in which the poem was originally composed.

certainly 'unrein' (13, 41, 55, 69); we shall see, however, that they only appear so from the point of view of High German.

<sup>1</sup> Paragraphs refer to Weinhold, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Or sin[t]: min?

<sup>3</sup> Other words and expressions of dialectical interest are the following: 8 s'ich snellen=sich rasch bewegen, beeilen cf. Lexer; Bartsch, *Über Karlmeinet*, p. 324; Keller, *Erzählungen*, 255, 27. 15 boven especially a Low German word, but also MFr., see Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*. It is common in Modern Low and Middle German dialects, cf. Hönig, *Wörterb. der Kölner Mundart*, 1905; *Wörterbuch der Eupener Sprache*, 1899; Berghaus, *Sprachschatz der Sassen*, 1888. 63 sich vermechen, a rare, specially Low German word; see Lexer and Bartsch, *Über Karlmeinet*, p. 339. Bartsch translates 'hindern.' 75 by ein='bei einander,' 'zusammen.' Cf. Bartsch, *Erlösung*, p. 367, Note to 5112. Cf. also Herbort von Fritzlar, 5653 after ein='nach einander.' 82 gewach, a strong masc. ?='Erwähnung.' See Bartsch, *Über Karlmeinet*, p. 291, Müllenhof and Scherer, *Denkmäler*<sup>3</sup>, II, p. 246. 90 For tal as a masculine cf. Braune, *Althochd. Gram.* § 196, note 1; Lexer, *Mittelhochd. Wörterb.*; Bartsch, *Erlösung*, Note to 1025 ('tal als Masc. und in der Zusammensetzung mit helle ist mir sonst nirgends begegnet und fehlt auch im mhd. Wörterb.'). cf., too, Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, XI, 115 and the further references he quotes. Tal as a masc. we also find in poem no. II, 116. 100 estan, 'werden,' like *Karlmeinet*, 195, 11. 101 scheid, str. Masc., 'Scheidung,' 'Trennung,' 'Sonderung.'



Poem no. II consists of 382 lines. From these we must deduct 4 rhymeless lines (65, 171, 215, 271), and the 4 odd lines of the 4 rhyming triplets (164, 208, 236, 318). There are thus 372 lines or 187 pairs of rhymes to be taken into consideration. Of these 164 are certainly pure<sup>1</sup>, this leaves us with 23 rhyming couplets, which, for the present, must be considered 'unrein'. But it will appear below that the dialect accounts for all these seeming irregularities.

The following are the rhymes which are of importance for fixing the home of the poet: 319 dorst : rost<sup>3</sup>, metathesis of the r? (§ 214). Dropping of n: (a) In the infinitive: 3 gesagen : tage<sup>4</sup>, 59 dar : farn, 98 gewichen : glich[e], [222 fliessen : susse]; (b) In the Dative: 128 dotslegern : ebrecher; (c) In the flectional endings of verbs: 66 Adame (ms. adyme) : quamen, 86 gericht[e] : verslicht[en]. Dropping of h between vowels: 276 diet (ms. dieth) : verzet (zihet); a > o: 53 kol[e] : male; uo : u<sup>5</sup>: 377 dun : sun. Apocope: 311 bot N. Sg.<sup>6</sup> : erledigot, 134 schiere (adv.) : dier; the latter rhyme not conclusive, however, for one might also read diere, cf. Paul § 123 Note 4. Old flectional endings preserved (§ 361): 310 got : erledigot. 2nd pers. pl. in -nt: 188 kint : (ir) sint, but 74 sit : zit. Umlaut not carried out: 349 sunden : wunden, 39 turne : zurne? Short and long vowels rhyming: (mostly before n but also before other consonants) 120 gan : Adam, 265 kan<sup>7</sup> : getan, 272 man : stan, 377 dun : sun, 84 toden : geboden<sup>8</sup>. Single verbs: stan : 96 stan : getan, 272 man : stan; gan : 116 ergat : Josaphat, 120 gan : Adam; han : 80 rat : hat, 278 hat : wat, 130 hant : hand (manus), 234/5/6 hant : lant, 261 hant : uberl[anc], 3rd pers. pl. in short a, cf. *ZfdA.*, XLIV, 363<sup>2</sup> (the preterite does not occur in the rhyme); komen : pret. quamen 66 quamen : Adame. m : n 211 arm : farn, 120 Adam : gan. -iche: only forms with long i are found, cf. *ZfdA.*, XLV, 94: 98 gliche : gewichen, 104 jemerlichen : entwichen, 174 gezogenlichen : richen.

The above rhymes are, as a whole, characteristic of Middle German. Certain others (viz., 167, 261), which might have afforded us some definite clue, are unfortunately conjectures. The rhyme fliessen : stüezen

<sup>1</sup> In the proportion of 116 masculine to 48 feminine rhymes. Cf., too, the note, page 302.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. 3, 43, 53, 59, 66, 78, 84, 98, 120, 136, 167, 204, 211, 213, 222, 261, 265, 272, 278, 319, 333, 377, 381.

<sup>3</sup> The ms. V reads frost. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gram.* § 214, only quotes one example of metathesis before st, viz. from *Rother*, 1587, where, however, 'vrosten' is not the rhyme-word. And so I am rather inclined to consider the case in point as an instance of the ecthipsis of the r.

<sup>4</sup> V ich sage.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. von Bahder, *Über ein vokalisches Problem des Mitteldeutschen*, Habilitationsschrift, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 7, 35.

<sup>6</sup> V got.

<sup>7</sup> kam V.

<sup>8</sup> But this is the interpolated passage!

may be dismissed as an interpolation; dorst:rost—supported by the formula 'hunger und dorst' as against the reading of V—speaks in favour of Rhenish Franconian or Hessian. Everything seems to point the same way: the predominance of d (= Germanic d) in the in-sound of MS. P cannot be explained by the South Franconian dialect of the scribe. The rhyme 339 daz:basz precludes the possibility of the dialect being Middle Franconian; the great probability is then that the origin of II was written in Hessen or Rhenish Franconia<sup>1</sup>.

As was mentioned above, the MS. P was written at Spires in 1419. The linguistic peculiarities of the MS. agree with what we know of the medieval dialect of that town. In many cases, however, it is impossible to differentiate between scribe and poet as both have many peculiarities in common. Firstly, as regards the dentals, we find that our MS. conforms almost exactly to the table as set up by O. Böhme on p. 19 of his dissertation (*Zur Kenntnis des Oberfränkischen im XIII., XIV., und xv. Jh.*, Leipzig, 1893). He gives the following data:

	ANLAUT		INLAUT					AUSLAUT
1400-1500	t (d)	inl. Anl. t	Nach Vokalen t, tt	rt	lt	nd	-te	t

An investigation of the MS. gives the following results:

I {	22 t 4 d	7 t	4 t 7 d <sup>2</sup> 6 tt	1 rt	4 ld	7 nd <sup>3</sup>	9 -te <sup>4</sup>	t <sup>5</sup>
	22 t 19 d 1 th <sup>6</sup>	6 t	5 t 34 d 15 tt 1 td <sup>7</sup>	2 rt	3 lt	29 nd	9 -te	
II {								

The numerous d's in the on-sound of II are probably derived from the original; the predominance of d in the in-sound must likewise be explained as belonging to RhFr. or a still more northerly dialect.

<sup>1</sup> The many 'vochten' of MS. P are scarcely all due to the scribe; the metrical characteristics, as will be seen below, also point to central Germany as the home of the poet. The two emendations 261 lanc: hant and 167 verwen: werben are both in accordance with MFr.-Hessian dialectical peculiarities. For the first cf. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 219 and Bethmann, *Untersuchungen über die mhd. Dichtung vom Grafen Rudolf (Palaestra, xx)*, p. 22 ff.; for the second see Bethmann, *l.c.*, p. 28.

Including a spurious d in 'vermaledide' (i, 99).

<sup>3</sup> We find nt quite regularly in winter (see Paul, § 74, 4, note 1), cf., too, gesegenten 299.

<sup>4</sup> Four wolte instead of the usual wolde (cf. Paul, § 71, 4, note 2).

<sup>5</sup> Exceptions (a) 131 hand (manus); possibly to differentiate from the homonymous rhyme. Elsewhere we find hant. (b) 109, 112 sind.

<sup>6</sup> II, 39.

<sup>7</sup> II, 269.

The following peculiarities are common to most Middle German mss.; only a few are specifically Hessian: II, 15 bronnen. II, 39 thorne, 82, 90, 102 komet, 96 konig, 113 sonnen, 160, 280 dorch (but 281 durch), 324 dorres. II, 56 nummer, likewise ummer 305, 308, 345, 356, 364 (but nommer II, 49, 290), cf. § 50 and J. Meier, *Jolande, Germ. Abhandl.*, VII, p. xxxii. II, 62, 214 soment cf. § 121. e for i: 219 weder. 298 freidenrich, 351 freide cf. § 128. 360 bradet (â-umlaut not denoted). I, 13, 77, 80, II, 2, 11, 43, 76, 106, 213, 281, 291, 301 off; but 243 uff cf. § 122. 221 mede cf. § 34 and Sievers, *Benediktinerregel*, p. xiii. vochten (8 times: II, 20, 33, 52, 73, 89, 95, 334, 338) cf. Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, XI, 101 and Sievers, *l.c.*, IX ff.<sup>1</sup> I, 8 dinst (Middle Germ. shortening). 213 erden (the Middle Germ. characteristic weak declension) cf. § 461. bident, 265, 275, wyeget 176 (ie probably another spelling for i, or possibly an instance of 'Nachschlagvokal' cf. § 48, Wilmanns, *Gram.*, I, § 220, Bethmann, *l.c.*, p. 40). thorne II, 39 cf. § 201. 226 schopfer, 269 zwolff cf. § 29, *Jolande*, p. xxii. I, 101 siecht, II, 25 gediecht, 379 angesiecht cf. Weinhold, *Alem. Gram.*, § 45, but see bident, etc., above. pf is the rule in South Franconian<sup>2</sup>: II, 155 opfer cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*, § 133 note, 226 schopfer. Nasalising: 332 meinsterschaft, § 217. I, 70 drytzensten, 81 funffzehenste (elsewhere funffzehen, e.g., I, 2; II, 8, 27, etc.) cf. § 338; raden ich cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 167, note 3, *M.S.D.*<sup>3</sup>, II, 386. 2nd pers. pl. in -nt: II, 40 sehent, 70 horent, 75 wachent, 76 sollent, 84 wachent, 86 koment, 106 stant cf. § 369 and § 371, Paul, *Mhd. Gram.* § 155, note 3. Addition of a spurious e in the Nom. Sing.: 208 mensche, 340 wunsche cf. § 448.

The following peculiarities are of orthographical interest: 276 dietht. II, 8 zurgee (doubling as a sign of length?). 131 linckt. f is often doubled (34 times), even after diphthongs and long vowels, e.g., 163 brieffe, 362 ryff. n and m (more rarely l) are also frequently doubled after a short vowel, e.g., II, 10, 15, 17, 28, 49, 83, 119, 172, 173, etc. The spirant derived from Germanic t is spelled variously z, s, ss, sz without any apparent rule, z even renders an old s, e.g., 199, 229 waz = was. The t in glant 113 is probably a slip for c of the original, cf. the spelling of *Jolande*, 3991 ganc, and introduction p. li. Suppression of a weak e: II, 32 michels, 44 gnug, 119, 292, 382 himelsche, 161 zehendn, 218, 377 megde (but 259 megeden, 221 mede)<sup>3</sup>, 250 antwurt,

<sup>1</sup> But cf. p. x where Sievers says he has not followed the phenomenon farther South.

<sup>2</sup> On the pf:pp boundary in modern Spires see Bohnenberger, *Zs. f. hochd. Mundarten*, iv, 129 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See Kieger, *Das Leben der heiligen Elisabeth* (Stuttgart Lit. Ver., vol. xc), 1868, p. 30.

334 kunde = kundete?, 299 gesegenten, 304 tufels, 353 fynsters. Instead of ou, öü we have au, ai, e.g., I, 9, 39; II, 19, 23, 39, etc. The sign ū has a very varied application: short and long u are thus denoted, it appears also for older uo (e.g., 159 gūde), for the umlaut of u and ū (e.g., I, 2 funff<sup>1</sup>, 160 kusch). The same applies to ü. The simple u is used for u and its umlaut. y is often found instead of i (some 140 times), once for ie (e.g., 171 lygen). This is especially the case before or after nasals, but we have no certain indication of the further regulations as laid down in *P.B.B.*, xxii, 265. The usual abbreviations occur.

The MS V, as was noted above, is preserved at St Gall. That the scribe, too, was a native of Alemannia is proved by the following dialectal peculiarities:

ai for a: 49 klaiget, 51 ain (ain also 56, 163, 197, 201), 139, 379 aingesicht, 348 ainvanck, 350 kain, the rhyme 169 veratten: mainaiden, cf. Fischer, *Geographie des schwäbischen Mittelalters*, Map 15, Rudolf von Ems, Junk *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, p. xxix, Weinhold, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 123, Weinhold, *Alem. Gram.*, § 34. Once (22 tailen) we have ai for the umlaut of a, three times a for ai: 75 gan = gain = gein = gegen, 11 zachen, 161 tal. ou > o (öu > ö): 19, 324 lob, 23 tobet, 39 böm, 110 tob, 125, 132, 163, 262 och, 158 geloben, 165, 323 rob, 222 ogen, 351 fröd cf. *Alem. Gram.*, § 42. -e > ö 269 zwölf cf. *Alem. Gram.*, § 28, 117. â > ô: 59, 137 one, 296 vne?, 34, 322, 376 won cf. *Alem. Gram.*, § 44. ch < k: 128 Chain. m:n:265 kam: getan, 269 sament: genamt. Nasalising: 60 ewenklich, 160 kunschlichen; 3rd pers. sg. pres. ind.: 24 schigent, 214 soment; past part.: 234, 262, gedienent, 235 gevastent. Dropping of n in consequence of nasalising: 304 sprechet (or = 3rd pers. sg.? cf. *Alem. Gram.*, § 331). 2nd pers. pl. in -ent: 303 hörent cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 155, note 3. 354 niment Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 348. i < iu: 152, 153 guoti, 141 turnini, 292 himelschi, 332 frölich, 130 weli < welhiu (cf. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 490). The words: kilche 157, mentsch 137, 190, 193, 208, 232, 295, 352 (cf. *Alem. Gram.*, § 175). sond 300 cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 181. gnuo 44. den tode (addition of a spurious e cf. Weinhold, § 448). a-umlaut not carried out: 218, 229 maget (but 221, 259 mägten), 289 tusentfaltigen, 303 angstlichen, 360 bratt. High Germ. apocope is very common, e.g., in the substantival declension: 13 berg nom. pl., 119 all himelsch nom. pl., 124 tod dat. sing., 141 kron nom. sing.; in the verb: 188 grütz 1st pers. sing. pres. ind., 201 sag 2nd pers. sing.

<sup>1</sup> On funf see Kauffmann, *P.B.B.*, xii, 512, note 1.



imper., 124 wolt 3rd pers. sing. pret. Suppression of e: 44, 46, 52 m<sup>u</sup>āncklich, 127 verretren, 129 w<sup>u</sup>chrer, 148 jecklichs, 225 spricht, 229 magte, 230 gnad, 299 gesegnotten, 353 finsters, 357 manger, 370 k<sup>u</sup>ng. t in the 3rd pers. plur. pret. of str. verbs: 110, 115 w<sup>u</sup>arent, 222 begudent, 237 liessent, 286 tattent. s interchanges with ss: e.g., s for ss: 252, 378, 381 m<sup>u</sup>sent, 365 bisen (perhaps, too, 339 wisen); ss for s: 124 l<sup>o</sup>ssen, 125 b<sup>o</sup>ssen, 154 al<sup>u</sup>ssen cf. Weinhold *Mhd. Gram.*, §§ 207, 209. 130 geb<sup>u</sup>tzet, 188 gr<sup>u</sup>tz cf. *Alem. Gram.*, § 185. h > ch: 12 veriechent, 47 lechen, 40, 190, 381 sechen, 156 empfachen, 157 gachen, Weinhold, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 234. The lenis t: 31 tonren, 141 turnini, 194 tornen, 324 t<sup>u</sup>res, Paul § 63. w written for b, 147 unverwunden, cf. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 178, and Marold in his *Tristan* edition, pp. xi, xxx. d for t in the off-sound of 3rd pers. plur.: 38 stossend, 106 stand etc., but also in other instances, e.g., 124 tod; in all these cases we also have t, apparently without rule. In the off-sound tt is very common, especially in such words as ratt, gott, nott etc. The usual assimilation after n: 161 zehenden, 169 hinder etc. mb already assimilated to mm > m: 47, 193, 276 umb, 108 krum, 172 nimpt. The following forms deserve a passing note: 222 begudent cf. *ZfdA.*, XLV, 29. 193a zerblon. 109, 112, 143 d<sup>o</sup>rt. 178 het. 244 tr<sup>u</sup>st = tr<sup>u</sup>stt = tr<sup>u</sup>stet. Umlaut in the plur. ind.: 28 s<sup>u</sup>lent, cf. § 411. 350 n<sup>u</sup>t cf. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gram.*, § 494. sw regularly > schw. The rhyme 169 veratten: mainaiden seems to be an interesting instance of an unshifted d (= Germanic d) in the in-sound, which, if not impossible in Alemanic, is rare<sup>1</sup>. The curious form 53 schwart with unshifted t is probably a scribal error (cf. glant, P. 113, and see above p. 306). 163, 349, tiefel (nom. sing.), 293 (nom. plur.), but 132 (= V 92) we have t<sup>u</sup>flen (dat. plur.). The following are of orthographical interest: 343 lilgen. The umlaut of a is written <sup>ä</sup> except in 30 mengen, 115 werent; once <sup>ä</sup> is wrongly put for old e viz. 278 w<sup>ä</sup>r = quis. The umlaut of o is written <sup>ö</sup>, that of u <sup>ü</sup>. The diphthong uo is denoted by <sup>u</sup>. The umlaut of uo is written <sup>ü</sup>, <sup>ü</sup>. ai regularly renders an older ei. Doubling of consonants: 213 uff, 274 nitt etc. y is always found for ie in the nom. and acc. plur., or the nom. acc. sing. fem. of the personal pronoun sy, otherwise we find i. b, d, g remain in the auslaut. daz and waz are abbreviated to dz (140,

<sup>1</sup> For a few isolated examples cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*, § 163, note 5; *M.S.D.*<sup>3</sup>, II, 577; Marold's *Tristan* edition, pp. xii, xxi, xxx, xxxviii; Wackernagel, *Altd. Pred.*, p. 475; Böhme's *Dissertation*, p. 38.

375) and wz (201), which are perhaps to be placed on a par with the specifically Alemannic abbreviations *de we*, cf. *P.B.B.*, xxxiii, 379. The substitution of *ai* for *a* renders it extremely probable that the MS. was written at St Gall itself; *ai* for *ei* confirms this; it was characteristic of the dialects of the Thurgau, St Gall, Constance from the beginning of the thirteenth cent. (cf. *P.B.B.*, xxxiii, 378; *Germanist. Abhandlungen*, xxi, 25).

It is apparent to the most casual observer of the metre that the lines will not conform to the usual scheme of four lifts for masculine, and three lifts for feminine endings, even with the assumption of three to four syllables 'Auftakt<sup>1</sup>' and frequent 'beschwerte Hebung.' This irregularity, however, is not due to a corrupt text; it is accounted for by the freer metrical technique which was in vogue in Low and Middle Germany during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>2</sup>. The chief criterion of this metre is the freedom which is permitted with regard to over-burdened feet; dips of two<sup>3</sup> and even of three<sup>4</sup> unaccented syllables are quite frequent, and it is by no means easy to adjust the metre to the accepted schedule by means of syncope and such like expedients. It may be laid down as a general rule that the lines are to be read in a natural tone of voice, allowing at the same time for frequent examples of 'beschwerte Hebung'.<sup>5</sup> I will only anticipate

<sup>1</sup> An Auftakt of 2 syllables occurs: I, 1, 8, 13, 15, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 59, 60, 68 (sollen), 70, 76 (alle), 81 (alle), 86, 88, 96, 97 (zu den), 98, 100, 103 (daz sie); II, 8 (wie die), 9, 17 (alle), 56 (sie en-), 60, 79, 83, 135, 146 (sine), 148, 156, 173, 207, 209, 218 (alle). 241 (omitted in V), 250, 253, 264, 266, 270, 285, 288, 295 (sine), 309, 311, 337, 343, 344, 348, 349, 350, 351 (sine), 358.

Auftakt of 3 syllables: I, 35, 44; II, 53, 96, 116 (sie koment), 118, 132 (dar komet), 207, 225 (Maria, or to be accented as a dissyllable *Márja*? There is perhaps a scribal error here, and we should possibly read 'sie sprichet'), 298, 304 sie sprichet, 322, 341, 376?, 382 (des helffe). As is evident from the above examples, many of these Auftakte might easily be reduced a syllable by means of slurring, syncope, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Paul's *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, II, 88 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Examples are very numerous. Many of them are 'leicht,' e.g., the cases where a single consonant comes between two unaccented e's; others, on the other hand, are not so easily reduced to monosyllables.

<sup>4</sup> The following instances occur: I, 17, 23, 33, 41, 42, 44, 50, 59, 68, 70, 75, 100; II, 11, 19, 54, 56, 90, 98, 124, 130, 163, 172, 177, 183, 231, 242, 266, 302, 334. Line 164 cannot be made to fit in with any metrical scheme.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jänicke, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Seifried Helbing*, *ZfdA.*, xvi, 402; Kraus, *Zur Kritik des Meier Helmbrecht*, *ZfdA.*, xlvii, 305; Kraus, *Zur Kritik der Rittertreue*, *ZfdA.*, xlviii, 103. Cf., too, Brendel, *Über das mhd. Gedicht 'der Borte'*, Halle 1906 (Dissertation), p. 33 seq. Although we have to deal here mostly with poems of the classical period of MHG. literature, yet the rules formulated in these treatises bearing on 'beschwerte Hebung' apply equally well to poems of a later period. I quote the examples of 'beschwerte Hebung' in full: (a) After the 2nd lift: I, 4, 16, 49, 64, 90, 100, 102; II, 6, 29, 42, 134, 178, 318, 331, 339, 347, 361, 362, 369, 376. (b) In a few other cases authorised by the universal practice of MHG. poets. The word accent plays a great part here: I, 19 *apgrunde*, 28 *offkomen*, 29 *freyslich*, 53 *Adame*, 63 *yclicher*, 68 *ertrich*, 70 *drýtzeihensten*, 74 *urteil*, 76 *by ein*, 77 *glicher*, 81 *fünfzehenste*, 92 *lieplich*; II, 27 *fünfzehen*, 50 *richtum*, 52 *menlich*, 66, 120 *Adam*, 69, 312 *man unde*

so far as to mention that in this respect poem no. I shows much more freedom than II, which fact probably has some connection with its more northerly home<sup>1</sup>.

It seems impossible to avoid recognising masculine lines of only three beats<sup>2</sup>. This appears unmistakably from the following examples which can hardly be ascribed to a corrupted text, there being absolutely no evidence of any omission or scribal error of any sort: I, 3, 37, 55, 69, 83, 87; II, 26, 37, 38, 58, 69, 157, 184, 200, 219, 235, 296?, 314, 342.

Similarly, there are numerous examples of feminine lines of four lifts: I, 8, 15, 16, 17?, 18, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 45, 46, 48, 54, 61, 62, 63, 64, 71, 96, 103, 104; II, 11, 16, 36, 46, 50, 53, 54, 92, 98, 99, 105, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 137, 141, 147, 158, 159, 167, 168, 169, 202, 203, 222, 253, 260, 295, 343, 344, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 373, 374. It is curious to note how such lines seem to occur in groups of three or four.

We have several instances of rhyming triplets, though they are not used, as they often were in MHG. poetry, to indicate the end of a paragraph<sup>3</sup>: II, 206 mich: mich: ich, 234 hant: hant: lant, 316 selikeit: arbeit: bereit. Of these 206 and 234 are so-called identical rhymes, to this latter category might be added: I, 29 -lich: -lich, 68 himelrich: ertrich; II, 230 -heit: -keit (cf. *ZfdA.*, XLV, 304 seq.), 247 geeret: geeret (omitted in V), 274 lich: lich. The following cases of so-called 'rührende Reime' occur: I, 87 stan: verstan; II, 298 freidenrich: rich (regnum), 130 hant (habent): hand (manus) cf. *ZfdA.*, XLV, 286. I note the following instances of hiatus: II, 2, 90, 283, 317, 318 (but cf. 329), 377.

The comparatively late date of the MSS. renders an attempt to discriminate between the dialectic peculiarities of poet and copyist out

wip, 71 grosz unde cleyn, 108 krump oder sleht, 110 daup oder blint, 126 rihteren, 127 verrederen, 128 dotsleger, 129 ebrecher, 132 valant, 156 lieplich, 160 kuschlich, 162, 230 warheit, 168 unrecht, 173, 244 heilant, 193, 352 menschheit, 202 ellende, 291 offsten, 303 engstlichen, 306, 317 arbeit, 341 frolichen. (c) In enumerations: II, 19 laub, gras, 48 golt, sylber, 165 steln, raub, mord, brant, 236 lip, lude. (d) In a few other somewhat doubtful instances for the sake of emphasis: I, 6 her nach?, 89 got selber. II, 5 forchtlich (cf. the modern pronunciation fürchtbär), 7 Jeronimús ságen?, 18 kein hertze, 34 zurgán sól?, 44 gaug wit?, 46 sin criegen?, 74, 88 disz ist, 83 also, 99 nyeman, 106 stant off, 100 állèn ge-, 112 dort sind, 141 dornyne, 143 dort her, 149 dér zéiget yé sá, 160 gót kuschlich?, 180 got selber, 184 got scheidet, 200 den léit ich dúrch dich?, 212 bass han, 234 die mir, 247 dich hat, 268 der gat, 272 héilige, 276 súndige, 286 uch daden, 289 tusentvéltigen, 294 fúrigen, 300 éwigen, 359 hie húnger, dá dórst.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Paul's *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> It is a moot-point whether owing to the vowel lengthening process the 'verschleifbaren' lines of three beats are not to be considered as 'klingend' for our poet. Of the above I, 3, 37, 69; II, 37, 38, 219, 296, 314, would then be examples of regular feminine lines of three beats.

<sup>3</sup> See Wackernagel, *Literaturgeschichte*, § 48, note 39.

of the question, especially since, as we shall see below, the home of II cannot be located with any degree of certainty. And so I have ventured to restore the language of the poet only in a few cases where the rhyme offered a certain security<sup>1</sup>. The orthography of the best MS. P has been retained throughout. In the critical appendix I have only given such variants as seemed indispensable for a true perception of the relation of the two MSS. to one another, whereas general alterations of spelling and dialect forms are grouped together above. Instances of apocope in V are only noticed where they occur in the rhyme and might be considered of importance for metrical questions. It seemed to me a still more hazardous undertaking to attempt textual alterations for metrical reasons, as the loosely constructed metre of the poem affords but the slightest support for such emendations<sup>2</sup>. In order to indicate clearly the relation of the two MSS., I have added the numbering of V in brackets in the margin. The specification of the folios refers to P. The abbreviations of the MS. have been resolved without further comment. Emendations and conjectures are indicated in the foot-notes, where, if they are not my own, the names of their respective authors are added. The passages which I hold to be interpolations of the MS. P are enclosed in square brackets. I am alone responsible for the punctuation.

<sup>1</sup> If, however, the dialect is, as I believe, Hessian, the following alterations were justified: 100 geseit; cleit changed to saget; claget in accordance with *Zfda.*, XLIV, 353, and similarly all -liche to -liche in such verses as 98, 239, 381 (cf. *Zfda.*, XLV, 94 and Bethmann, *Untersuchungen über die mhd. Dichtung vom Grafen Rudolf, Palaestra*, XX, p. 36).

<sup>2</sup> Such were, for instance, the following, some of which are very tempting, but I have not ventured to insert them in the text:—I, 30 g[e]lich, 36 welt[e] (also in II, 67), 40 rot[ez], 66 wunderlich[e], 91 wol[e]; II, 13 dan[ne], 63 vier[e], 96 zu recht[e]. und[e] instead of und: I, 9; II, 95, 154, 175, 176, 204, 343. jung[i]ste: II, 4, 72, 182, 380 (but cf. II, 88, 117). The insertion of the pleonastic article: II, 199, 208, 351, cf. also II, 58, 142, 145. In the following cases, however, the emendation seemed to be justified by the grammar or the rhyme, and I have admitted them to the text: I, 27-8, 45-6; II, 86-7, 140-1, 239-40, 274-5.



## I.

## DIE VUNVZEHEN ZEICHEN.

- f. 281<sup>v</sup> Vor dem jungsten tage sol geschehen  
 Funfftzehen zeichen sol man sehen,  
 Alle die dan leben.  
 Nu wil ich mich dar zu geben,  
 5 Daz ich sie lasse verstan:  
 Sie werdent her nach gan.  
 Wer sie sol horen erzelen,  
 Der sol sich zu gottes dinst snellen  
 Und got vor augen han.  
 10 Nu wil ich uch daz erste san.  
 Daz erste zeichen ist also,  
 Daz sich daz mere sol heben ho  
 Und alle wasser, die off der erden sin,  
 Vyrtzig clafftern—me noch min—  
 15 Boven alle berge, wider ir nature,  
 Und sollen stan als ein mure.  
 Dez anders tages sollen die wasser alle  
 Hernyder komen mit eyne valle  
 So dyeffe in apgrunde,  
 20 Daz enkein mensche gesehen kunde,  
 War die wasser komen weren.  
 Dez mag sich ein iglich mensche erferen!  
 Dez drytten tages sollen die wasser stan  
 f. 282<sup>r</sup> Als sie vor ewig hatten getan.  
 25 Dez vyrden tages sol geschehen,  
 Jemerlich ding sol man sehen:  
 Waz da lebet in dez meres grunde,

1 geschehn. 3 lebet. 15 und ir. Cf. *Martina* by Hugo von Langenstein,  
 p. 177, 139<sup>b</sup>, 51 Sich daz mere uf rihte :... | Wider siner rehten nature. 17 wassere.  
 20 e kein. 22 erfern. 27 grunt.

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Quindecim signa quindecim dierum ante diem iudicii invenit Hieronymus in  
 annalibus Hebraeorum. Prima die eriget se mare in altum quadraginta cubitis,  
 super altitudinem montium, et erit quasi murus et amnes similiter. Secunda die  
 descendent usque ad ima, ita ut summitas eorum vix conspici possit. Tertia die  
 erunt in aequalitate, sicut ab exordio. Quarta die pisces et omnes belluae marinae

- Daz sol offkomen in der stunde  
 Und zu samen ruffen freysslich,  
 30 Daz man nie gehorte dez glich.  
 Daz enmag nyeman verstan  
 Dan got; dem ist alle ding undertan.  
 Dez funfften tages sol ein weder komen,  
 Daz nye so gross enwart vernomen,  
 35 Und sol die wasser verbrynnen in der zit,  
 Wo sie sint in der welt wit.  
 An dem sechsten tage,  
 —Nu horent waz ich uch sage!—  
 Sollen die baume und alle crut  
 40 Von engsten switzen rot blut.  
 Dez sybenden tages sol ein zeichen geschien,  
 Daz die lute unter die erde sollen flien;  
 Wan ir wonunge sollen zurgan:  
 Die gottes gewalt sol sie dar nyder slan.  
 45 Dez achten tages sollen die steine  
 Zu samen faren alle gemeine,  
 Und sich alle zu samen tryben,  
 f. 282<sup>v</sup> Daz ein teil an dem andern nit sol blyben,  
 Wan der engstlicher tag komen sal,  
 50 Daz got selber gibet urteil uberal.  
 An dem nunden tage sol ein ertbydem komen,  
 Die nie so gross enwart vernomen  
 Von Adames gezide,  
 Wan sie sol komen mit grossem nyde  
 55 Und mit grosser macht.  
 Daz sol dun die gottes cracht.  
 Dez zehenden tages sol berge und dal  
 Sich gelichen uberal.  
 An dem eylfften tage sollen die lude ussgan,

28 stunt. 41 geschehn. 42 fliehen. 44 gewalt gottes. Cf. verses 8, 56  
 and Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 190, 2. 45 stein. 46 gemein. 53 adames.  
 56 crafft.

et congregabuntur super aquas, et dabunt voces et gemitus, quarum significationem nemo scit nisi Deus. Quinta die ardebunt ipsae aquae ab ortu suo usque ad occasum. Sexta die omnes herbae, et arbores sanguineum rorem dabunt. Septima die omnia aedificia destruentur. Octava die debellabunt petrae ad invicem, et unaquaeque in tres partes se dividet, et unaquaeque pars collidet adversus alteram. Nona die erit terraemotus, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi. Decima die omnes colles et valles in planitiem convertentur, et erit aequalitas terrae. Undecima die homines exibunt

- 60 Die sich under die erde hatten getan,  
 Und sollen ersturt sin und erferet,  
 Und von engsten sere besweret,  
 Daz yglicher sal sich vermechen  
 Den andern an zu sprechen.
- 65 Dez zwolfften tages sol man sien  
 Wunderlich ding geschien:  
 Daz die stern von hymelrich  
 Sollen nyderfallen off daz ertrich.  
 Dez ich uch sol gewagen
- f. 283<sup>r</sup> 70 Sol geschehen an dem drytzeihensten tage:  
 Dan sollen sterben die lute geliche,  
 Beyde arm und riche,  
 Wan sie mit den toden mussent offstan  
 Und urteil von gode emphan.
- 75 Dez virtzehenden tages sollen der lute bein  
 Alle wyder komen by ein,  
 Und yglicher off sin grab,  
 Da sie waren komen ab,  
 Und sollen menschen werden,
- 80 So wie sie lebten off erden.  
 Dan komet der funfftzeihenste tag;  
 Von dem wil ich uch dun gewach,  
 Daz zu derselben stunt  
 Alle ding verbrynnent in den grunt.
- 85 Dar nach komet der jungste tag,  
 Da ich uch nit abe bescheiden mag,  
 Wan wie es dan sol stan,  
 Daz enwolte got nie lassen verstan,  
 Wan got selber komen sal
- 90 Zu Josaphat in den tal.

61 erfert.                  62 beswert.                  64 d. a. tag a. z. s. tag has obviously been  
 introduced from 65, cf. the Latin.      65 sehen.      66 geschehen.      71 gemeyn.  
 73 sten.                  77 There is an anacoluthon here; yglicher agrees with der lute 75.

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de cavernis suis, et current quasi amentes, nec poterit alter respondere alteri. Duodecima die cadent stellae et signa de coelo. Decimaquarta die omnes homines morientur, ut simul resurgent cum mortuis. Decimatertia die congregabuntur ossa defunctorum, et exurgent usque ad sepulchrum. Decimaquinta die ardebit terra usque ad inferni novissima, et post erit dies judicii.

- Die guten, die wol habent getan,  
 Die sol er lieplich enphan  
 Und zu in sprechen dyse wort:  
 f. 283<sup>v</sup> 'Gebenedite, gent her fort  
 95 Jn mynes vatter riche,  
 Daz ir sollent besitzen ewicliche.'  
 Zu den bosen sol er sprechen  
 —Daz ensol in nit vermechen—:  
 'Vermaledide, gent in die pin,  
 100 Da uch ewiglich enstat ynne zu sin.'  
 Da siecht man ein jemerliche scheit.  
 So sol es in dan sin leit,  
 Daz sie weder got ye myssetaden.  
 Nu helffe uns got mit siner gnaden!—Amen.

95 rich. 96 ewiglich. 100 enstet.

## II.

## WIE GOT DAS JUNGST GERICHT BESITZEN SOL.

- Wer nu diz buch vernemen wil,  
 Der swige stille off ein zil  
 Als ich uch nu kan gesagen  
 Von dem jungsten tage,  
 5 Wie forchtlich uns der wirt kunt.  
 Daz kunde ich uch nu zu stunt  
 Nach Sant Jeronimus sagen,  
 Wie die welt zurgee in funfftzehen tagen.  
 In den selben tagen vil zeichen beschehent,  
 f. 284<sup>r</sup> 10 Also uns dye bucher veriehent:  
 Daz mere sich uber alle berge offleynet,

Title in V: [di]s ist das iungst gericht. 1 nu wanting V. schön mår V.  
 3 och P, a. i. u. nu sage V. 5 w. f. er uns k. V. 6—18 V̄ erased but for the  
 verse endings. 6 .....ich ze stund V. 7 .....imus sage V. 8 .....ergatt  
 in xv tagen V. 9 = V 11 .....vil zachen geschehent V. (V̄ 9 = .....tag koment.)  
 10 = V 12 .....veriechent V. (V 10 = .....ag den gefrumen.) 11 = V 13 .....all  
 berg ufflainet V.



- Ein iglich auge weinet  
 Dann sine schulde  
 Umb unseres herren hulde.
- 15 Die bronnen sich vergiessent,  
 Die wasser sich zu samen fliessent,  
 Alle wasser verbrynnent dan als ein stro:  
 So ist kein hertze fro.  
 Laub, gras und alle cruter gut,
- 20 Die swytzent dan von vochten blut.  
 Die berge sinckent dan zu stunt  
 Zu den telin in den grunt.  
 So daubet aller vogel gesang  
 Und swiget aller seyten clang,
- 25 Und alles daz ye wart gedicht,  
 Daz wirt dan zu nicht.  
 Von dysen funfftzehn tagen  
 Sollen wir ummer clagen und sagen.  
 Sie sint haiss, sie sint kalt,
- 30 Sie machent manchen jungen alt.  
 Der donre gruwet sere  
 Und hagelt michels mere.
- f. 284<sup>v</sup> Es ist alles vochten vol,  
 Wan die welt zurgan sol.
- 35 Die winde sich dan merent,  
 Von eyne lande zum andern kerent  
 Und kerent dan her wyder,  
 Und stossent danyder  
 Baume und grosse turne.
- 40 Sehent wie got zurne!  
 Es ist kein palast so grosz,  
 Er hat dan einen stoss,  
 Daz er off der erden lit:  
 So hat dan menlich gnug wit.
- 12 = V 14 .....net V. 15 = V 16 .....ssent V. (V 15 = ..... ) 16 = V 17  
 .....nt. V. 17 = V 18 .....ain stro V. 18 wanting V. 20 denn V  
 (always) v. rechter not V. 25 gediecht P. 27 den V. 29 s. s. by der wilen  
 haiss by der wylen kalt P. 31 tonren V, singent V. 32 und haglet in das  
 mere V. 36 v. ainem berg zû dem a. k. V, v. e. l. sie z. a. k. P. 39 grosse  
 omitted V, thorne P. 40 s. w. g. denn z. V. 43 erde V. 44 Various  
 emendations for this perplexing passage have been suggested to me: 'so lat dan  
 menlich sinen strit' (Jellinek), 'So hat dan menlich ingang wit' or 'gnug wit'  
 (= wite = Raum) (Pribsch). Cf., also, the curious passage in Wackernagel,

- 45 Ich wil nu nit liegen,  
 Da let menlich sin criegen  
 Umb eygen und lehen und umb lant.  
 Golt, sylber und duer gewant  
 Klaget man nommer mere,
- 50 Dan ez zurflusset richtum und ere.  
 Owe! so gat ez erst an die not.  
 Dan vochtet menlich den tot,  
 Dan wirt der mane swartzer dan ein kole,  
 Die sonne verluset iren schin zu male,
- 55 Die sterne vallent dan hernyder,  
 Die enkomt nummer an den hymmel wider.  
 f. 285<sup>r</sup> Dan wirt der sunder sigeloss;  
 Sin jamer der wirt gross.  
 Der ane ruwen kommet dar,
- 60 Der muss ewicklichen in ruwen farn.  
 So dis allesament geschicht,  
 So soment sich die engel nicht:  
 Ir vyer blasent vyer horn,  
 Die got darzu hat erkorn.
- 65 [So sprichet der engel mit grymme:  
 (a) Er rufet mit luter stymme:  
 Alle die von Adame  
 Je zu der welt quamen,  
 Beyde sele und lip,  
 Man unde wip,
- 70 Horent alle gemeyn  
 Beide gros und cleyne:  
 Hie ist der jungste tag,  
 Den der sunder wol vochten mag!  
 Diss ist die jungste zit;

*Predigten, l.c.*, pp. 187, 213: 'an dem sechsten tage so vallet alles das gebiuw nider das von stein werk gemacht ist, niut von holtz werk.' Could 'wit' in the text possibly = wite (wood) with lengthening of i in the open syllable as line 84 töden : geboden? 45 nu wanting V. 46 so V. 47 und omitted P. 48 güt g. V. 50 ist zerflossen V. 51 get P, Owe denn g. V. 52 tode V. 53 schwart als V, kol P. 54 verluret V, ze mal V. 55 sternem V. 56 sy k. a. d. h. n. w. V. 57 sin los V. 58 der omitted V. 59 die a. r. koment d. V. 60 die müssent V. 63 hie fier b. ain h. V. 65—105 omitted in V. 65a is a conjecture of my own. Interpolated by P perhaps under the influence of some dramatic version of the story. Cf., too, the faulty composition of the whole passage, the many meaningless repetitions, e.g.: 72, 73 : 86, 89 (almost word for word): 75, 84: 81, 85. 66 adyme P.

- 75 Nu wachent alle die hie sit!  
 Vil balde sollent ir off stan,  
 Vor unserm herren gan.  
 Er wil richten swere  
 Uber lip und uber sele.
- f. 285<sup>v</sup> 80 Dez enmag nit werden rat,  
 Wan ers selbe geboden hat.  
 Der ander engel komet auch do  
 Und begynnet sprechen also:  
 'Nu wachent alle toden!
- 85 Disz hat got selbe geboden.  
 Nu koment vor gerichte,  
 Da sich alle ding verslichten.  
 Wan disz ist der jungste tag,  
 Den alle die welt wol vochten mag.'
- 90 Der drytte engel komet auch zu hant  
 Und zeuget uber alle lant:  
 'Den dag den man sicht erschinen,  
 Daz ist ein dag der pinen,  
 Wan daz urteil ist gerecht.
- 95 Es fochtet rytter und knecht.  
 Da mus der konig dem hirten zu recht stan,  
 Hat er ym it unglichs getan.  
 Da koment sie vor gerichte also gliche,  
 Da kan nyeman gewichen.
- f. 286<sup>r</sup> 100 Daz sy uch allen gesaget:  
 Die sunde uber den sunder claget.  
 Der vyrde engel komet auch dar,  
 Er nymmet dez zornigen richters war.  
 Er klaget jemerlichen,
- (65) 105 Daz got sinem zorn nit wil entwichen.]  
 Sie sprechent: 'Nu stant off alle toden  
 Gantz und unverschroden!'  
 Sie waren krump oder schlecht,  
 Dort sind sie alle gerecht.
- (70) 110 Sie waren daup oder blint,  
 Oder wie sie geheissen sint,  
 Dort sind sie alle gantz,

- Recht als der sonnen glantz,  
 In der selben besten gestalt,  
 (75) 115 Recht als sie weren dryssig jar alt.  
 Sie koment hin in den tal zu Josaphat,  
 Da daz jungste gericht ergat.  
 Dar komet got und die liebe mutter sin,  
 Und alle hymmelsche megetin.  
 (80) 120 Dar komet der erste Adam  
 Und der jungest man alzu gan.  
 Dar koment alle die guden kint,  
 Die ye hie geborn sint,  
 Die got mit syme tode wolte losen.  
 (85) 125 Dar koment auch die bosen:  
 Pylatus mit allen falschen richteren,  
 f. 286<sup>v</sup> Judas mit allen verrederen,  
 Cayn mit allen dotslegern  
 Meyneider, wucherer, ebrecher,  
 (90) 130 Und alle die daz nit gebusset hant,  
 Die koment hin zu der linckten hand.  
 Dar komet auch der selbe valant,  
 Den got mit siner hende bant.  
 So disz geschicht also schier,  
 (95) 135 So sint vogel fische und alle dier  
 Verfaren alle gemeine,  
 An der mensche alters eine.  
 Der stat vor gerichte  
 Vor gottes angesichte.  
 (100) 140 Dar komet daz crutze frone  
 Und die dornyne crone.  
 Longinus der zeiget da das sper,  
 Die engel tragent dort her  
 Die nagel und daz spotgewant;

113 glantz P. 114 aller besten V. 115 als ob V. 116 das tal gan J. V.  
 117 iung gerichtz ergat V. 121 alle zû gan V. gan=gahen=O.H.G. gahun?  
 Jellinek conjectures, alsam; Priebisch, alzu sán or allesant and refers to 269.  
 122 die wanting V. 123 hie wanting V. 126 allen wanting P, richter V.  
 128 todschlegen V, dotsleger P. 129 mainaid V, meyneide P. 130 u. weli das  
 n. g. h. V. 131 wanting V. 132 dar komet auch wanting P, der alt lucifer V.  
 92 V mit allen tûfen kumet der selb valant (=P 132). 135 alle omitted P.  
 136 verfar P, gemein P, gemainlich V. 138 stet P, d. s. v. dem g. V.  
 140 fron PV. 141 dornyn P, cron PV. 142 der omitted V, da omitted V.  
 144 die spottgewand V.



- (105) 145 Got der zeyget sie mit der hant.  
Sine heiligen funff wunden  
Wyset er frisch und ungebunden.  
Jegeliches hat einen engel da.  
Der zeiget ye sa
- f. 287<sup>r</sup> 150 Was man hie zu gude dut.  
Der tufel zeiget ubermut,  
(110) Der engel zeiget gude gebet -  
Und gude werck, die man hie det:  
Almosen und ruwen,
- (115) 155 Opfern und wallen mit truwen  
Und den armen lieplich enphan,  
Zu der kyrchen gan,  
Rechten glauben und ware mynne,  
Reinen mut und gude synne,
- (120) 160 Dorch got kuschlich leben,  
Den zehenden teil zu rechte geben,  
Beide zucht und wahrheit.  
Der tufel auch an syme brieffe dreit:  
Zauber, ketzer, spyler, wucherer, girekeit,
- (125) 165 Steln, raub, mort, brant,  
Hoffart und ubergire gewant,  
Und die da iren lip verwen,  
Nach unrechtem gude werben,  
Hinderreden und verraden,
- (130) 170 Und die meinyde taden.  
[Cryegen, dryegen und lyegen.]  
Sanct Mychael nymmet die wage in die hant,  
Daz gebudet ymme der heilant.  
Er wiget gezogenlichen
- f. 287<sup>v</sup> 175 Armen und richen,

147 und omitted V, unverwunden V. 148 ain V. 149 iesu V, die zeigent PV. 151 wanting V, d. t. z. uber den engel u. P. 154 bichten V.  
155 opfren wainen und ruwen V. 156 die V, empfachen V. 157 gachen V.  
159 war sine V. 161 ze rechter leben V. 163 sinen brieffen V.  
164 zoelrer k. s. gitikait V. 165, 166 = V 123 rob brant hoffart und ubriges gewand. 167 omitted V, verwern P. The emendation in the text I owe to Prof. Priebisch. Cf. *Renner*, 24389 'Gezabel mit allen frawen die gern | Ir anlutz verbent und ir cleider, | Der man gar vil vindet noch leider.' Perhaps the reading of V 166 ubriges gewand is also to be taken in this sense. 168 swern V.  
169 hinderrede P, verratten V. 170 u. d. mainaiden V. 171 lygen P, k. l. u. t. V. Originally a marginal gloss? 172 Ste michel V. 175 den a. u. den r. V.

- Er wyeget ubel und gut.  
 Got da nyeman kein gewalt endut:  
 Der ymme wirt, den hat er;  
 (135) Den andern nymmet Lucifer.  
 180 So got selber richten wil,  
 So hant wir sunder sorgen vil.  
 An dem jungsten tage  
 So hebet sich ein jemerliche clage,  
 (140) So got scheidet gar  
 185 Die ubeln von der rechten schar.  
 So dut er sinen armen wol  
 Und sprichet, als er von rechte sol:  
 'Ich grusse uch myn vil lieben kint,  
 (145) Die her mit ruwen komen sint.  
 190 Lyeben menschen, nu sehent her!  
 Ich bin sicherlichen der,  
 Der dyse grosse martel leit  
 Umb uch und umb alle menscheit.  
 (150) (a) Durch uch ward ich zerbluwen,  
 (b) Darzu ward ich verspuwen,  
 Man cronte mich mit dornen,  
 195 Ich ward gestochen vornen  
 Dorch min armen siten,  
 (155) Man slug mich in den ziten  
 f. 288<sup>r</sup> Durch hende und durch fusse:  
 Min dot waz nit susse!  
 200 Den leit ich durch dich;  
 Sage an! waz hast du getan durch mich?  
 Ich waz arme und ellende;  
 (160) Wan bude du mir dine hende?  
 Ich leit hunger und dorst.  
 205 Wer twug mir mynen rost?  
 Ich waz nacket; wer cleyte mich?

176 wiget V. 177 kainen V, en- lacking V. 178 min V, het V. 181 dan  
 w. s. han s. v. P. 182 might also be ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. 186 s. zu d. e. s. a. w. P, s.  
 zertüt e. sin a. wit V. 188 er sprichet P, vil wanting P, myn wanting V, liebe P.  
 190 nu wanting V. 191 sicherlich V. 192 marter V. V 150, 151 omitted P.  
 (a) zerbon V. 194 durch uch c. man mich d. P. 195 bin V. 197 ain V.  
 199 wanting V. 201 tñn V. 202 ellend V. 203 wen V, din hend V.  
 204 frost V. 205 wo was min trost V.

- Ich waz ellende; wer herbergte mich?  
 (165) Der arme mensche, waz ich.  
 Ir entliessent uch die armen  
 210 Durch mich lutz el erbarmen.  
 So wart dan nyeman so rich, so arm,  
 Er wollte basz han gefarn  
 (170) Dan er warb off der erden.  
 So somet sich nit die werde  
 215 [Maria, (die waz plena gratia).]  
 Vor got sie schone knuwet,  
 Vil wol sie ymme getruwet.  
 (175) Alle megde vallent mit ir nyder  
 (Da ist kein zwyfel weder).  
 f. 288<sup>v</sup> 220 Sie weinent dan vil sere  
 Die reinen mede here,  
 [Marien begynnent ir augen fliessen:  
 (180) Dez lobet man die susse]  
 Vor gode, alle die da sint.  
 225 Maria sprichet: 'gnade, vil liebes kint!  
 Gnade, schopfer und vatter min!  
 Sich zu der lieben mutter din,  
 (185) Sich her, din mutter, die din genas  
 Und doch ein reine maget waz!  
 230 Gnade, ein werck der warheit!  
 Gnade, uber alle selikeit!  
 Dyse menschen sint alle din,  
 (190) Du salt sie lassen geniessen min.  
 Die mir gedyenet hant,  
 235 Durch mich gefastet hant,  
 Die lip, lude, oder lant  
 Durch mynen willen liessen;  
 (195) Des lasze sie herre geniessen

207 waz P.      208 mentsch V.      209 ir liessent uch die armen durch  
 mich V.      210 l. e. V.      211 was V, dan lacking V.      212 e. w. harte b.  
 farn P.      213 er erwarp P, der wanting P, erde V.      187—213 From the  
 unmotivated transition from the 'Guten' to the 'Bösen' in this speech it is probable  
 that we have here a lacuna in the ms. Cf., too, the sources, Matth. xxv, 34 ff.  
 215 die da ist V. The line is probably an interpolation.      216 The original  
 probably ran: Vor got Maria knuwet.      222 begudent den ir ogen V.  
 223 süßen V.      222—3 certainly interpolated.      226 gnade omitted V.  
 228 s. here wo die m. d. d. g. V, wo also in P.      230 weg V.      231 genad ob V.  
 233 solt V.      235 durch min ere V.      236 die da V.      238 der P,  
 here V.

- Und lone in keyserliche,  
 240 Gib in durch mich din riche.  
 Wan daz vernymmet der susse Crist  
 Die bede usz siner lieben mutter ist,  
 f. 289<sup>r</sup> (200) Er heisset sie uff stan mit der hant,  
 Und trostet sie der heylant.  
 245 Er sprichet: 'swig, liebe mutter min,  
 Du solt din weinen lassen sin.  
 Wer dich hat geeret,  
 (205) Der wirt von myr geheret  
 Schone in dem paradise.'  
 250 Also anwurt ir der wyse:  
 'Maget reyne, mutter min,  
 Vil selen mussent verlorn sin,  
 (210) Und enwer din mutterliche truwe.  
 Du bist mir yemer nuwe.  
 255 Und waz du hast gedacht,  
 Daz wirt alles vollenbracht.'  
 So neyget ymme die riche  
 (215) Vil gezogenliche  
 Mit allen megeden reinen.  
 260 So horet man da sere weinen  
 Manige sele uberlane,  
 Daz sie nit auch gedyenet hant  
 (220) Aller tugende gymme,  
 Die also mit susser styme  
 265 Ir liebes kint erbidden kan!  
 f. 289<sup>v</sup> Waz Maria da begert, daz ist alles getan.  
 Sanctus Johannes Baptista,  
 (225) Der gat zu Christo da,  
 Und die zwolff botden allesant,  
 270 Sie sind nyder oder hoch genant,  
 Merteler, bichter,

239 keyserlich P, kaiserlichen V. 240 rich P. 241 und w. P. 242 was  
 sin liebe mûter ist V. 243 sten P, sie omitted V. 248 geeret P, gehöret V.  
 250 omitted V. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. 251 m. mûter raine V. 252 inussent omitted P,  
 there follows in V: genussent sy nit din. 253 en omitted V. 255 und wanting P.  
 256 vollbracht V. 261 uberlant PV. For emendation cf. Sifrit der dorfere  
*ZfdA.*, vii, 118: 'da sprach die vrouwe uberlanc.' Lexer gives one other illustrative  
 quotation. 263 tugent V, gryme P, grime V. 265 erbitten V, kam V.  
 267 sant V. 268 get P. 271 and 271a written as one verse in P. 271 inarter V.



- (a) Wissagen, eynsidel, clusener,  
 (230) Und alle heilige man  
 Sicht man da vor Cristo stan  
 Gar erbemecliche.  
 275 Sie bident alle gliche  
 Umb die sundige diet.  
 (235) Got in der beden nit verzieht.  
 Er sprichet: 'wer uch gedienet hat  
 Mit golde, mit sylber, oder mit wat,  
 280 Oder dorch uch ellende wart,  
 Oder sich durch uch mute off die fart,  
 (240) Wer sich dar zu mute,  
 Mit lybe oder mit gute,  
 Mit fasten oder mit ruwen,  
 285 Die geniessent sin mit truwen.  
 Die icht durch uch taden,  
 (245) Die sollen wir beraden  
 In dem paradise schone,  
 Mit tusementigem lone,  
 290 Der da nommer kan zurgan.'  
 Er heisset die boden offstan  
 (250) Und alle hymmelsche kint.  
 Die tufel da bereidet sint  
 Mit furigen banden.  
 295 Sine menschen nymmet er zu handen,  
 Die da an ruwen sint komen.  
 (255) Eine stymme hat man vernommen,  
 Die sprichet frolich und ist freidenrich:  
 'Ir gesegenten gent in daz rich  
 300 Des ewigen vatters min.  
 Wol off! emphahent den lon sin.'  
 (260) Ein ander stymme komet nu da by;  
 Horent wie engstlichen sie sy!

271a wyssager P. 273 da omitted V. 274 erbermeclich P, erbarmklich V.  
 275 bittent V, glich P, gelich V. 276 dieth P, sundigen V. 277 verzieht P.  
 278 geeret P. 279 oder omitted V. 281 uch omitted P. 287 der selen  
 werden beratten V. 288 schon PV. 289 lon PV. 290 gen P. 291 sten P.  
 292 himelschi V. 293 berait V. 294 furrinen V. 298 writen as two verses  
 in V, ist och fr. V. 299 wan got sprichet P, gott sprichett gesegnotten des  
 vatters min V. 300 ir sond besitzen das riche min V. 301 wanting V,  
 emphahent dann P, min P. 302 nu wanting V.

- Sie sprichet: 'nu gant hin ir tufels kint,  
 305 Daz ir ummer verfluchet sint.  
 Ir hant not und arbeit,  
 (265) Dorst, hunger, frost und alles leit,  
 Ir hant not die ummer ist.'  
 So gerichtet dann der susse Crist.  
 f. 290<sup>v</sup> 310 Zu hymmel keret der riche got,  
 Der uns alle hat erledigot.  
 (270) Da cronet er man unde wip,  
 Sie hant da den ewigen lip.  
 Die dar mit recht sint komen,  
 315 Den wirt alle not benommen.  
 Da ist truwe und selikeit,  
 (275) Da fluēt alle arbeit,  
 Ruwe ist da bereit,  
 Da enist kein hunger noch dorst;  
 320 Da enist weder mase noch rost,  
 Da enist kein regen noch wint,  
 (280) Wann sie sint alle selig die da sint.  
 Da enist weder brant noch raup,  
 Da enist auch kein dorres laup,  
 325 Da enist kein winter noch sne,  
 Da sprichet nyeman: awe, awe!  
 (285) Da enist weder hasz noch nyt,  
 Da ist die reine sommerzyt,  
 Da ist wunne und anders nicht,  
 330 Und alle heylsam zuversicht.  
 Da ist kunst, da ist crafft,  
 f. 291<sup>r</sup> (290) Da ist froliche meinsterschaft,  
 Da ist unermesseliche zucht,  
 Von vochten kumet nyeman in kein flucht  
 335 Wann da wirt nyeman leydes deil.  
 Da ist beide selde und heil,  
 (295) Dar erkennet nyeman keine not,

304 sie wanting V, sprechet V, nu gent ungewecket P. Written in P as two verses.  
 307 hunger wanting P, d. f. h. u. a. l. V. 309 richt V. 310 bot P.  
 312 und PV. 313 da wanting V. 316 trün V. 317 da ist kain V.  
 319 frost V. 323 weder omitted P. 325 d. e. weder w. n. s. V. 326 mir  
 ist we V. 331 künst P. 332 frolich P. 333 vermesseliche zit P, the scribe  
 read v instead of v̄, māssekliche V. 334 v. f. kunde da n. i. k. selicht P. The  
 reading of V at least makes sense; I can make nothing of P. 336 sele P.

- Da fochtet auch nyeman den dot.  
 Wie solte man wunschen daz!
- 340 Da ist wunsche und wunsches basz,  
 Und solte yeman wunschen tusement lant,  
 (300) Er hette sie zu hant,  
 Wolte yeman lylien und rosen.  
 Wer mit gode frolichen wil kosen,
- 345 Und wer ummer wil selig sin,  
 Dem raden ich off die truwe min:  
 (305) Man dyene got ane wang,  
 Daz ist aller wysheit anefang,  
 Wan der tufel mit sinen hunden,
- 350 Der kan nit wan grynen und wunden.  
 Sine beste freide ist leit.  
 (310) Er nymmet die sundige menscheit,  
 Und dut sie in ein fynsters gaden.
- f. 291<sup>v</sup> Da nemment die selen groszen schaden:  
 355 Eine heisz, die ander kalt,  
 Selten jung und ummer alt.  
 (315) Vil maniger hande wyse  
 Dut der hellen hunt so gryse:  
 Hie hunger, da dorst,
- 360 Eine bradet er als ein worst,  
 Da ist bech, da ist swebel,  
 (320) Da ist ryff, da ist nebel,  
 Da ist weinen, da ist not,  
 Da ist ummer ewig tot,
- 365 Da ist kratzen, da ist byssen,  
 Da ist schelten, da ist verwissen,  
 (325) Da ist hencken, da ist blenden,  
 Da ist gehonen, da ist geschenden,  
 Da ist leit, da ist sere,
- 370 Es wart nye konig so here,  
 Er wolte da ein wurm sin.

338 auch omitted V, kainen V.      339 wo V, wisen V.      340 wunsch V.  
 343 A reminiscence of the legend of St Dorothy?      344 und wer mit gott  
 wil farlich k. V.      345 ummer omitted V.      349 sundern P, sundren V. For  
 'hellehunt' as a designation of the devil cf. Lexer I, 1234 and our poem 358.  
 350 denn V, wundern P, wundren V.      352 d. arme s. P, sündigen V.  
 359 hungret V, tirst V.      371 wolt V, ussen sin V. For the reading of V cf. 'Spiel

- (330) Da ist bech der beste win,  
 Da ist meindat ingesinde,  
 Da mag der vatter syne kinde  
 375 Zu helffe nit komen, noch ym das kint,  
 f. 292<sup>r</sup> Wann sie hant alle not die da sint  
 (335) Nu helffe uns der megde sun,  
 Daz wir müssen also dun,  
 Daz wir sin angesiechte  
 380 Vor dem jungsten gerichte  
 Müssen sehen sicherliche.  
 (340) Des helffe uns got vom himelriche.  
 A.....M.....E.....N.

von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen' (Fassung A) and Reuschel, *l.c.*, p. 15, note 1. Cf., also, the parallel passages collected by Singer, *Festschrift für J. von Kelle*, Prag, 1908, p. 314. 373 in gesind V. 374 kind V. 375 hilffe V. 379 aingesicht V. 380 gericht V. 381 m. sicherliche s. PV. 382 d. h. u. g. und daz hymmelsche kint P, d. h. g. der himelschlich tegen V. On the rhyme sechen : tegen cf. Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte des XII. Jhs.*, Halle, 1894. II, 15. The conjecture in the text I owe to Prof. Jellinek, cf. the formal conclusion, Müllenhof und Scherer, *Denkmäler*<sup>3</sup>, Berlin, 1892, XLVII, 4, verse 93. 383 und alle die engel die da by ym sint (wanting V), AMEN amen V.

#### NOTES ON THE TEXT OF 'WIE GOT DAS JUNGST GERICHT BESITZEN SOL.'

46. From these lines it is evident that the much discussed passage from *Muspilli*, 60 (uuar ist denne diu marha, dar man dar eo mit sinen magon piehe?), does not refer to contemporary historical events.

48. *Proverbs*, xi, 4: Non proderunt divitiae in die ultionis; cf. also x, 2: Nil proderunt thesauri impietatis. *Sophonias*, i, 18: Sed et argentum eorum, et aurum eorum non poterit liberare eos in die irae Domini. *Vom jüngsten Gericht* by Frau Ava (edited by Piper, *ZfdPh.*, XIX, 304 seq.), p. 307, 107 seq.: so zerget uil sciene / da diu werlt mit ist gezieret / golt unde silber / unde ander manech wunder / ausken unde bouge / daz gesmide der frouwen / goltvas unde silber vaz / chelche unde chierch scaz / so muz daz allez zergan / daz von listen ist getan. *Barlaam und Josaphat* (edited by Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1843), p. 95, 7: deweder golt noch silber frumt / der an den tac mit sunden kumt. Schönbach, *Pred.*, I, 7, 17: der richtum enmagh dir nicht gevrumen in dem tage der wrache. Ava, p. 313, 267: da ne hilfet golt noch scaz / e bedahten wir iz baz. *Millst. Sündenkl.* (edited by Rüdiger, *ZfdA.*, xx, 255 seq.), 150: dane hilfet die loute / silbir, noch golt daz rote, / noch miete diu maere, / noch phenninge swaere, / noch lantrecht, noch phaht. Rüdiger quotes further from Ava and from *Leben Jesu* (Diemer's edition), 265, 8 D: do buten si in ze miten / silber und golt daz rote. Cf. further: *Martina*: 191, 22: daz golt rot, and 166, 11 daz er (Gott) an sineme gerihte phleget neheinere miete. Heinrich v. Melk (edited by R. Heinzel, Berlin, 1867), *Erinn.*, 750: waz hilfet aller min richtum / unt manic unsaeliger gewin? and 850: din guot dich nicht gefriden mac. *Gottes Zukunft* (edited by Singer, *Die Werke Heinrichs von Neustadt, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, VII),



678, 5: Silber, golt und schone kleit / Ist alda zu nihte. *Memento mori* (MSD<sup>3</sup>, xxx<sup>b</sup> 13, 8 variant readings): des ne mag imo der skaz ze guote werden. *Mhd. Spiel* (Klec), 57: richtuom, adel, sper und auch schilt, / friunt, ere, sterke da nit gilt, / schaffe daz dir got werde holt, / das nützet dich für silber und gold. Otfrid, v, 19, 45: Ni losent thar in noti golt noh diuro wati / ni hilft gotowebbi thar, noh thaz silabar in war. v, 19, 57: Thar nist miotono wiht ouh wehsales niawiht, / thaz iaman thes giwise, mit wihtu sih irlose; / Ni warthiu io so richi ubar woroltrichi, / thoh thu es thar biginnes; ther scaz ist sines sindes.

53. *Isaiae*, xiii, 10. *Ezech.*, xxxii, 7. *Joel*, ii, 10, 31. iii, 15. *Matth.*, xxiv, 29. *Marc.*, xiii, 24. *Luc.*, xxi, 25. *Mhd. Spiel*, 11: diu sunne vor im vlieset den schin / der man wirt blutvar vor grozer pin. *Muspilli*, 54: mano vallit. *Heliand*, 4310: that wirdid her er an themu manon skin / iac an theru sunnon so same: giswerkad siu bediu, / mid finistre werðad bifangan; fallad sterron, / huit hebentungal.

63. *Matth.*, xxiv, 31: Et mittet angelos suos cum tuba, et voce magna; et congregabunt electos ejus a quatuor ventis, a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum. *Marc.*, xiii, 27. *I Corin.*, xv, 52. *Elucidarium*, 1164: ita angeli ad hoc constituti. This idea is continually represented in the plastic arts, cf. Voss, *l.c.*, p. 17 seq.; cf., too, the trumpets of *Apoc.* viii, 6 seq. though it is true that here seven are mentioned. The combination of this passage with the one quoted above from *Matth.*, xxiv may possibly have resulted in the conception accepted in our text. *Mhd. Spiel*, 231: die vier engel mit grozem zorn / ruofen denn herzuo mit dem herhorn. Mone (*Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, I Band, Karlsruhe, 1846), p. 319: den blasent vier engel rich / vier horn gar arschrokenlich; 279 Daun zehand blausent si uf die vier horn mit grimme. Griesh. *Pred.*, I, p. 139: wan got der sendet an dem iungesten tage sine engel uz, und die blasent mit ieren herhornen uber alle die welte..... Bruder Wernher (Wackernagel, *Kirch. L.*, II, 70 Nr. 101): die engel blasent uf ir horn ze jungest. H. Sachs, 419, 33: Nachdem er heizt zu angesicht / Die ertzengel aufblasen geschwindt / Unter dem himel durch die vier windt. *Martina*, 202c, 64: Daz ist daz gottis herhorne / Daz die toten ufwecket..... *Erlösung* (edited by K. Bartsch, 1858), 6263: die engel blasent do ir horn. *Muspilli*, 73: so daz himilisca horn kihlutit wirdit. *Sibillen Boich*: So wie dat unser here Jesus sin lest ordel dat erschrecklich is allen creaturen halden sal in dem dale Josaphat (709—768). (O. Schade, *Geistl. Ged. des XIV. und XV. Jh. vom Niederrhein*, Hannover, 1854.) Cf. especially 713: die zwelf apostel brengt he mit im dair / Und der engel vil manich schair / Die engel blasen up die basunen mit grimme. *Colmarer Hs.* Bartsch. (Stuttg. Lit. Verein. vol. LXVIII) S. 588, 75: Die stimm die sol wir alle hoeren an: / ez sint vier horn in grimmiclichen don. Otfrid, v, 19, 25: Thaz ist ouh dag harnes joh engilliches galmes.

75, 84—106. *Daniel*, xii, 2. *Hesekiel*, xxxvii, 12. *Joh.*, v, 28.

84. Grieshaber, I, p. 140: Surgite mortui et venite ad iudicium. Si sprechent stant uf ir toten und koment ze gerichte für den zornigen richter. *Muspilli*, 79: denne varant engila uper dio marha / wechant dcota, wissant ze dinge. Freidank *Bescheidenheit* (edited by Bezenberger, Halle, 1872), 179, 16: dar nach sol diu werlt erstan, / ze stunt daz urteil muoz ergan. *Mhd. Spiel*, 133: [nu stant uf ir toten liute, / ze gerichte müezent ir hiute!] Hesler, *Apok.*, 20162: Swenne Got unser trechten / Tut blasen Michaelen / Allen seligen selen / Und alle toten wecken, / So sich die grab entecken / Und entsliezen gegen der stimme, / Wen die wirt geblasen mit grimme, / So gebutet Got vier winden, / Die sich in vier enden vinden / Der werlde, daz sie blasen / Allen vorvulten asen; / Swaz ie zu menschen wart geschafft, / Daz sammet sich von Gotes craft / Al zu samene an ein gestob, / Daz niekein wart also grob. Otfrid, v, 20, 25: Thie selbe irstantent alle fon thes lichamen falle, / fon themo fulen legere, iro werk zi irgebanne, / Uz fon thern asgu, fon thern falawisgu, / so wanne soso iz werde, fon themo irdisgen herde.

107. *Elucidarium*, 1165 D: qui hic habuerunt bina capita, vel plura membra, vel quibus defuerunt aliqua, aut pingues, aut macri fuerunt, resurgent tales? M. qui hic habuerunt duo capita, duo inde corpora resurgent, et unaquaeque anima habebit suum corpus, cui nihil indecens vel deformis adhaerat, sed omnia membra sana et integra, et omni pulchritudine plena habuit. *Martina*, p. 502, 199<sup>b</sup>52: Ane gebresten der nature, cf. 300<sup>c</sup> seq.

113. *Elucidarium*, 1171: Porro illorum speciositas erit ut solis claritas, ut dicitur: Fulgebunt justi sicut sol (Matth. xiii, 43) qui tunc septuplo plus quam nunc fulgescet. Ava, p. 309, 170: die guoten sint dem sunnen gelich. *Martina*, p. 498, 79: Die muozen schone unde ganz / Werden als der sunnen glanz (referring to purgatory). Grieshaber, I, 153: sich da ist ain ieglicher rainer mensch der och nach dem iungsten tage reht als schön und als clar wirt als diu edel sunne. Un da von spricht S. Anselmus. In illa vita pulchritudo iustorum solis pulchritudini quum (cui?) septemplexitatem quam modo sit splendor erit adequabitur. Cf. Schönbach, II, 14, 23. *Bescheidenheit*, 179, 14: dar nach suln die erwelten sin / noch liechter dan der sunnen schin.

115. *Elucidarium*, 1164 D: Resurgent.....qua erant, si essent triginta annorum; vel futuri essent, nisi ante morentur. 1165 C: ita Christus in ea forma qua ascendit cum ordinibus angelorum ad iudicium veniet. *Ephes.*, iv, 13: in mensuram aetatis. *Erlösung*, 6280: si koment alle sament dar / alle idoch also gefar, / wie hie die lute waren / biz ir drizic jaren. *Martina*, p. 502, 65: und daz alter daz uf erde / hatte ihesus crist der werde, cf. Schönbach, III, 76, 36. For further quotations see Wadstein, *l.c.*, p. 65 and Note 1. Cf. also *Gottes Zukunft*, 6190: Die toden muosen uf sten / und fur den rechten richter gen / Gantz und ungeteilt, / Unverhaltzet und ungemeylet / ...6198: recht als Crist wart gestalt / Da er waz drissig jar alt. Cf., too, *Vom Rechte* (Waag, *Kleinere Deutsche Ged. des XI. und XII. Jh.*, Halle, 1890, VIII), 374 seq. which, however, does not quite correspond.

116. The valley of Jehoshaphat is universally mentioned as the scene of the last judgment. Cf. *Elucidarium*, 1165: Erit iudicium in valle Josaphat? Vallis Josaphat dicitur vallis iudicii. In valle ergo fit iudicium, id est in isto mundo.

118. *I Corinth.*, vi, 2: An nescitis quoniam sancti de hoc mundo iudicabunt? *Elucidarium*, 1166 D: Qui sunt qui iudicant? M. Apostoli, martyres, confessores, monachi, virgines.

126. *Renner* (Bamberg, 1833-4. Ehrismann's new edition in the Publ. of the Stutt. Lit. Ver. has only appeared to line 16966), 24375 (quoted already by Wadstein, *l.c.*, p. 72): So kumpt chayn mit allen mordern, / und mit allen valschen zehendeneern, / und darnach Judas mit allen verratern / darnach kunk pylat mit valschen richtern..... *Erlösung*, 6506: Wa sit ir nu her Judas / her Cahin und her Caiphas, / her Phebus und her Jupiter.....ir rouber und nahtbrennere / ir morder und ir diebe. Cf. Bartsch's note to line 6506. *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel* (quoted by Reuschel, p. 142): Judas und alle sin genasz / dy iren nebenristen haben veratten.....Pylatus mit allen falschen richtern. / Cayn komt mit allen mordern. *Gottes Zukunft*, 6370: Wo sint ir nü her Judas? 6381: Ez sint Judas vil alda. Priebisch, *Bruchstücke des Ged. vom Jüngsten Gericht*, Add. 34392 British Museum (*Deutsche Hss. in England*, Erlangen 1896, 1901), II, p. 271, 2<sup>a</sup>, 10: schergen und richteren, / wuchereren und sazzungen / ...diebe und alle valschen kouf hant / ...alle die meineide habent gesworn / unde alle manslechte... / ...spilern und trinkeren... / ...alle die lugene gesait hant etc.

133. Answering to *II Petri*, ii, 4. *Judä*, vi and *Apocal.*, xx, 2. As regards the plastic arts see Voss, *l.c.*, p. 21.

134. *Summa Theologiae* (M.S.D<sup>3</sup>, xxxiv), 3: der (Gott) gibundin hat den diuval. Otfrid, iv, 12, 64: in bant inan (den Teufel) gilegit, er furdir uns ni derit.

140. A commonly accepted notion, already found in the *Muspilli*. As regards its origin, see Wadstein, *l.c.*, p. 37 and Note 3, also Schönbach's Note to p. 193 (II): 'Matth. xxiv, 30: et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in coelo; immer auf das Kreuz ausgelegt, auch in der Predigt bei Wernher, *Deflorationes*...Migne 157, 740 B: signum intellige crucem aut vexillum victoriae.' Cf. *Elucidarium*, 1165 C: angeli crucem ejus ferentes praeibunt. For the plastic arts cf. Wadstein, *l.c.*, p. 45 and Note 5; this notion is also to be found in the drama, see Reuschel, p. 145. *Renner*, 24400: kommen sin engel und bringen her / besem, nagel, krone und daz sper, / mit den er gemartert wart. Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, I, 200, 9; II, 131, 1; II, 135, 5. Ava, p. 309, 171: die engel uorent scone / daz cruce und die corone. *Martina* (p. 520), 206<sup>a</sup>, 60: (crist lat...spehin) siner marter waffen, / Daz siu die sunder straffen, / Die geiseln und die crone / Darzuo daz cruce frone / ...daz sper...die scharpe nagel. *Muspilli*, 100: wirdit denne furi kitragan daz frono chruci, dar der heligo Christ

ana arhangen ward. Grieshaber, I, 152: *dc ist dc hailige cruce, dc ist dc sper de im gestochen wart durch sin siten dc sint die nagel...durnen crone...spachille...geisela. Hesler, Apok., 19886: Die engele die dar zu sin geschafft / Die vuren einen liechten schin, / Als iz ein cruce dunke sin, / Vor im. Schönbach, II, 11, 8: die heiligen engel die bringent auch dar daz here chraeutze, cf. II, 90, 33. Hans Sachs, 419, 27: Christus... mit seinen engeln gar / Die im furen das creutz voron / die negel, spär, gaisel und cron. Cf. the further quotations in Wadstein, l.c., 45, Note 5, pp. 51, 37 and Note 3. Also Schönbach, II, Note to p. 193. Also Reuschel, p. 145: 'Die Zerbster Prozession bot ein Bild von Matth. xxv, 31...ein Engel mit Christi Marterwerkzeugen.'*

*Gottes Zukunft*, 6385: Daz cruce und die krone, / Daz sper und der wunden meil, / Geiseln, besem und daz seil / Und wo mit Crist gesmehet wart, / Daz wirt gezeigt an der vart. 7330: Cruce, nagel und sper. *Erlösung*, 6259: sin cruce nagel und daz sper / und ouch sin dornen krone / erschetet da gar schone. *Mhd. Spiel*, 333: da wirt gesehen daz kriuze breit, / da got den herten tot an leit / daz sper, daz im sin herz durchstach, / daz Maria sin muoter wol sach, / diu krone und die nagel groz: / daz siht man allez sament bloz. *Fundgruben*, II, 102 (Linzer Entecrist): mit der durninin cron / ouget er daz cruce frone, / daz sper unt diu spongia / werdent ouch irzeigt da (already quoted by Klee, p. 34).

145. Ava, p. 312, 243: er zeigt in sine wunden / an den uuzen unde an den henden / uil harte si bluotent. *Martina* (p. 530), 205, 55: Crist lat da ane smeichen / Aller siner wunden zeichen / Die sunder offentlichen sehın / Und den grozin kumber sehın / Den er nach menschlichen sitten / Dur die welt hat erlitten. *Gottes Zukunft*, 6451: Seht die grozen zeichen an / Die durch min hende sind erslagen / Und durch min fusse. 7731: Die funf wunden zeigt er. *Die Hochzeit* (Wag, IX), 723: da lat got manege vrouwen / sine wunden schouwen, / in sinem heizmuote / berunnen al mit bluote / zallen vieren enden / in fuozzen joch in henden, / einen stich durch sine situn. *Muspilli*, 102: denne augit er dio masun dio er in der un menniski... / dio er duruh desse mancunnes minna. *Vom Glauben* (edited by Massmann, *Deutsche Ged. des XII. Jhs.*, I), 1580: so wiset er sine wunden, / die er an deme cruce leit. *Mhd. Spiel*, 296: wan Jesus Cristus herab kumt / und wil lan sehen sin wunden groz. *Fundgr.*, II, 102 ff. (Linzer Entechrist): offın stant sine wundin / er zeigt sie unverbundin (quoted, too, by Klee, p. 34).

151 ff. Schönbach, II, 147, 12: da choment die übeln geist die uns verraten habent und rügent uns, daz si uns mit in ze den ewigen ungenaden fürent. Cf. note p. 290.

153 ff. Ava, p. 310, 203 ff.: doch wil ich uch sagen da bi, / wie der leben sol getan sin: / si sulen got minnen / ..... / si sulen warheit phelegen, / ir almuosen wol geben, / mit mazen ir gewant tragen / ..... / si sulen ze chirchen gerne gan etc. *Muspilli*, 97: uzzan er iz mit alamusanu furimegi / enti mit fastun dio virina kipuazti.

163. *Elucid.* 1167: Quid est quod dicitur, 'Libri aperti sunt; et liber vitae, et iudicati sunt mortui de his quae erant scripta in libris? (*Apoc.*, xx, 12).' Libri sunt prophetae, sunt apostoli, sunt alii perfecti. Voss, l.c., p. 11, refers also to *Exodus*, xxii, 33; *Psalms*, xlix, 29; *Daniel*, xii, 1; vii, 10; *Luc.*, x, 20. On the Book of Life in the plastic arts see Voss, l.c., p. 11, and Wackernagel, *ZfdA.*, vi, 149. *Fundgruben*, II (v), p. 136, 6: So dut man uf die buch / do ane stet unsir dat / si si ubil odir gut. *Millst. Sündenck.*, 333: mine manege missetat / Lucifer si gescriben hat / und wil die briefe bringen / zu dinem tagedinge. *Muspilli*, 69: der (der tiuval) hapet in ruovu rahono uueliha, / daz der man er enti sid upiles kifrumita, / daz er iz allaz kisaget, denne er ze suonu quimit. *Mhd. Spiel*, 273: Der tiuvel hat sich vermezzen, / er welle da niht vergezzen: / swaz der mensch hat getan, / daz wil er nit verborgen lan: / gedenke, wort, werk sint gescriben, / diu geschrift ist nit vertriben; / swaz in der vinsteri ist volbraht, / des wirt dan offentliche gedaht. Cf. Walther von der Vogelweide's famous *Spruch*: Fro Werlt, ir sult dem wirtu sagen / daz ich im gar vergolten habe; / Min groziu gulte ist abe geslagen; / daz er mich von dem brieve schabe.

169. *Mhd. Spiel*, 607: hinderrede und valsche eide.

172. *Job*, xxxi, 6: Appendat me in statera justa... *Daniel*, vi, 27: Thecel, appensus es in statera, et inventus es minus habens. The 'weighing of souls'



was one of the most popular subjects of the plastic arts and one which has found the finest expression. The 'motif' is by no means restricted to Christian art, see Voss, *l.c.*, p. 27. St Michael has always been generally considered as the Lord of souls, cf. Reuschel (Dissert.), p. 21; cf., too, the Rheinauer Paulus (Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, II), 124, and the note where further examples are cited, cf. *Martina*, 198<sup>d</sup>, 99. Cf., too, Schönbach, I, 77, 41 and note; Reuschel, p. 144. It seemed very natural to connect both these notions, and the result is St Michael in a new dignity as 'keeper of the scales.'

184. The separation of the good from the evil after *Matth.*, xxv, 32, 33. Ava, p. 311, 234: sceidet.....die guten ze der zesewen.....die ubeln ze der winsternen. *Barlaam*, 91: die stant ze siner zesewen hant.....die ubeln.....die stant ze siner winsternen da. Grieshaber, I, 140: so stellet er die erwelten ze der gerehten hant und die ferdampnoten ze der luggen hant. Schönbach, II, 14, 10: so werdent die rehten ze der zeswen hant gestellet, die übeln ze der tenken hant, cf. also II, 36, 25. *Grundgruben*, II, 138, 12: So get ez an ein scheidin / so get ez an ein weinin. *Millst. Sündenkn.*, 170: so werdent da gescheiden / die lieben von den leiden, / die saelezen ze der zeswen, / die sint die genesnen / bi ewigen gnaden (Rüdiger in his note quotes further examples); 177: geschichtet die leiden sa / ...vil verre ze der winstere. Somewhat different; *Himmel. Jerusal.* (Waag VII): 405 si ne choment nicht ze der winsternen. *Vom Glauben*, 1598: da werden gescheiden / die liebin von den leidin: / di guten zoder zeswen / daz sint di genesenen, / di da zo der winster sint gestellet, / di varent in di hele. *Bescheidenheit*, 180, 2: also schiere sint gescheiden / die lieben von den leiden, / so ist an ende iemer me / den guoten wol, den boesen we. *Mhd. Spiel*, 117: ze der linken hant sint die sündler umberal (cf. the variant readings); 353: die guoten zuo der rehten siten, / da sont sie himelriches biten, / die boesen zuo der linken stan / und den in die helle gan; 367: lieben engel ir sont scheiden / die guoten von den leiden, / füerent die guoten ze der rechten hant, / ...die leiden zuo der linken stellent. Hesler, *Apok.*, 20191: So werde wir gescheiden, / Die lieben von den leiden. *Heliand*, 4388: Than skeið he thea farduanan man, / thea faruuarhton ueros an thea uuinistron hand: / so duot he ok thea saligon an thea suiðeron half; 4444: skeiðit that uuerod an tue, / thea godun endi thea ubilon. Otfrid, v, 20, 31: Thie sceidit er in war min iagiwedardarhalb sin.

194. *Gottes Zukunft*, 6443: Ich leit für uch smeheu spot, / Ich wart für uch gefangen, / Geslagen und gehangen... 6448: Verurteilt und gebunden.

200. *Renner*, 24406: ditz han ich durch iuch erliden / welch sunde habt ir durch mich vermiden? Cf. Wadstein, p. 30; Reuschel, pp. 100, 109, where further examples are quoted.

201. After *Matth.*, xxv, 42. The poet omits the question to the blessed.

202. Ava, p. 312, 250: ir ne gabet mir trincken noch ezzen, / seledede noch gewate.

*Gottes Zukunft*, 6405: Hüngerig bin ich geseszen, / Ir gabt mir nit zeszen; / Ich waz dorstig und krank, / Ir teilteit mir nit uwerin drang; / Ich waz nacket und bloz, / Min armut waz unmazen groz.... 6414: Ir gebodent mir nie uwer hende; / Ich waz gar ellende, / Daz ir mich nit herbergtent do. *Bescheidenheit*, 178, 14: mich hungerte, mich durste, ich was gast, / iuwer helfe mir dar zuo gebrast, / Ich was siech und nacket gar, / miner armuot namt ir kleine war / in dem kerker ich gevangen lac, / irn trost mich weder naht noch tac. *Mhd. Spiel*, 555: von hunger leit ich groze not, / ir wolteit mir nie geben brot; / mich durste vaste ze menger stunt, / ir trankent mir nie minen munt; / ich gienc ellende und wislos, / mich ze herbergen iuch vaste verdroz; / ich gienc bloz ane gewant, / mich bedahte nie iuwer hant. Priebisch, II, p. 270, 1<sup>a</sup>, 10: so sprichet her ich was ein gast / herberge mir bi v gebrast / von hungere durste was ich cranc / ir gabet mir ezzen noch den tranc / gekerkert siech und cleider bar / ir namet min vil kleine war. *Heliand*, 4423: huand gi mi ni hulpun, than mi hunger endi thurst / uuegede te uundrun eftha ik geuoadies los / geng iamermod, uwas mi grotun tharf, / than ni habde ik thar enige helpe, than ik geheftid uwas, / an liðokospun bilokan, eftha mi legar bifeng, / suara suhti: than ni uueldun gi min siokes thar / uuison mid uuihti: ni uwas iuz uuerð eouuiht, / that gi min gehugdin. Otfrid, v, 20, 105: Ni buatzut ir mir, thaz ist war, thurst inti hungar, / ir mið ouh ni wattut, in siuchi drost ni datut; / Ob ih ouh irsturbi, ni was, ther mið bidulbi; / in hus mið ouh ni leittut joh mammuntes ni beittut.



208. *Mhd. Spiel*, 576: der arme mensch, daz (variant reading der) was ich. Priebisch, II, 270, 1<sup>a</sup>, 14: die armen lute daz was ich.

215. Mone, 676 (stage direction): denn wirt unser liebe frow bewegt mit erbermd und stat uf, und nimpt die helgen 12 potten, und stat f<sup>u</sup>r unseren heren und spricht z<sup>u</sup> irem vil lieben kind, und bitt f<sup>u</sup>r den sunder, als hie nach stant. Cf. the variants in the critical notes of Klee's edition, line 713. The same scene is found in the *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamsspiel* (Reuschel, p. 143). *Gottes Zukunft*, 7020—7303 (quoted by Klee, p. 53). *Spiel von den klugen und thörichten Jungfrauen* (version B), 429: Liebes kint, la dich myner bede nit verdriessen, / lass hude unser trehen vor din augen fliesen / unde gedencke an daz ungemach, / daz von diner martel mir geschach... In version B St Mary reminds Christ that she is his mother, the mother of God: Eya libes kint myn, n<sup>u</sup> ben ich doch dy m<sup>u</sup>ter dyn, und gedenke... Cf. Reuschel, p. 9, and Klee, p. 53 seq. In the *Wartburgkrieg* St Mary is unsuccessful in her intercession (Simrock, No. 60), see Reuschel (Dissert.), p. 32. The Virgin is mentioned in this connection in a notice of the procession of 1574 (München); but not in the Freiburger (i. Br.) *Fronleichnamsspiel* from the end of the 16th cent. See Reuschel, p. 145 seq. Cf. Konrad von Würzburg (Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, II), 136: Wie mac ungenade uns iemer von dime edelen sun geschehen, / so du in last din brüstel sehen / unt er dich sine wunden? (Quoted, too, by Reuschel, *l.c.*, p. 118. Two further Latin examples in the Note 4.) Cf. *Von den fünf Farben Christi*: Zöyge im die blecken Brust din / die er hat in dem munde sin (H. v. Sachsenheim, *gold. Tempel* 249, 541). This latter trait, *i.e.* that of the Virgin showing Our Lord her breasts as a means of intercession (evidently an amplification of *Luke*, xi, 27) was a common subject for painters; it is to be found in an altarpiece in Cologne cathedral, also in a painting by Rubens in the Royal Gallery of Ancient Pictures at Brussels (Catalogue, No. 376). There is a similar picture in the Musée Communal at Bruges.

The origin of this idea, of the intervention of the Virgin Mary on behalf of the wicked at the Last Judgment, is not quite clear. In all probability the plastic arts here exerted their influence, but it is not known where the latter, for their part, derived the subject, for it would seem that literature is the precursor of the plastic and pictorial arts. It has been suggested that certain hymns, especially a widely popular one on St Mary and St John made their influence felt in this direction. Cf. Voss, *l.c.*, p. 43 sqq., whose views Reuschel accepts (cf. the latter's dissertation, p. 24, and his book, pp. 117 seq., 203). I would also draw attention to the German *Mariensequenzen* und *Sündenklagen* where St Mary's intercession with her Son is invariably invoked. Cf. Waag, *Deutsche Gedichte*, x, 120 seq., 187 seq.; XII, 174 seq.; xv, 97 seq.; xvii, 57 seq. I may also refer to the following interesting parallels from *Mariengrüssen* (*ZfdA.*, VIII, 297 seq.). Line 763: Hilf uns vrouwe, an dem bittern / tage, da die übeln zittern / (sagt diu schrift), alda got rihtet, / alliu dinc nach rehte slihtet. Cf. also line 465: Vreuwe dich, vrouwe! du gebiutest / dinem sun, den du wol triutest / bit got, gebiute dinem kinde / daz unser wize werden linde. Or, again, cf. Bartsch, *Colmarer Hs.*, p. 589, 93: Maria, durch dins Kindes bluot / sins zornes amblic mach uns guot, / behüet uns vor der helle gluot, / nim unser selen war.

Klee (*l.c.*, p. 49 seq.) has endeavoured to trace the origin of this notion of the Virgin's intercession for the wicked at the Last Day. He finds the earliest mention of the idea in Alcuin's works. But as the chief starting-point for all subsequent notices he regards a sermon of Berthold von Regensburg's (edited by Schönbach, *Über eine Grazer Hs. lateinisch-deutscher Predigten*, Graz, 1890, p. 74), where St Mary appears as mediatrix, but has her plea refused. Klee is of the opinion that the introduction of St John as co-interceder followed as a matter of course. St John, he says, was already closely associated with St Mary in the fourth Gospel, and with the Fathers of the Church, the combination was a favourite one. But the conclusive step in this direction as far as medieval German literature is concerned, Klee holds to have been taken by the author of the *Spiel von jüngsten Tage*. And this *Spiel*, according to Klee, arose under the influence of a painting (reproduced by E. aus'm Weerth in his book *Wandmalereien des christlichen Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden*, Leipzig, 1879) where St Mary and St John are

represented as co-interceders. This hypothesis may be correct in many respects, but there seems to be a certain confusion here between St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist, a fact which Klee has already noticed himself (cf. Note 2 to p. 157). It is true that the medieval sources themselves did not always discriminate very carefully between them (cf. the extract from *Gottes Zukunft* quoted below). St John the Baptist is, however, the usual interceder on behalf of the wicked. He was universally considered as the patron saint of all repentant sinners; cf. Scherer, *Quellen und Forschungen*, XII, 69, and the following passage from *Johannes Baptista* (Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, IV, 266): iohannes müzh unser voget sin/in iudicio domini. St Mary and St John seem to play a similar role in a miniature of the *Erlösung* MS. described by Bartsch in his note to 6276: 'auf der Erde knien anbetend einerseits Maria, andererseits Johannes der Täufer.'

255. *Gottes Zukunft*, 7182: Maria frauwe, müter min! / Waz du bideest, daz sol<sup>o</sup> sin.

267. *Gottes Zukunft*, 7176: Johannes baptista, / Und Johannes ewangelista / Triben auch die bet an / Die Maria hat getan. *Mhd. Spiel*, 751: (St John intercedes for the sinners; cf. also the variant readings to 713, where Johannes appears in L and B).

269. *Matth.*, xix, 28: sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel; cf. also *Luc.*, xxii, 30; *I Cor.* vi, 2, 3; *Jude*, 14, 15. *Martina*, p. 522, 207<sup>o</sup>, 60: uf zwelf stuolen sitzin. *Gottes Zukunft*, 6844: Mit gewalt und mit witzen / Sult ir schon besitzen / Zwelf stul herlich. *Die Hochzeit*, 955: ich lazze iuch ze jungist / für aller miner christenheit stan / unde lazze iuch wesen zware / ir urtailaere / ubir diu zwelf chünne / der Jacobis chinde. Wackernagel, *Pred.*, p. 182, 28: Und si sönd sitzzen uf dien zwelf stuelen und sönd richten mit dien zwelfbotten über die zwelf geslecht von ysrahel.

271. Schönbach, III, 235, 40: gots erwelten...die heiligen zwelfpoten...maertaere...pichtegaere...choment mit dem himilischen kunige an daz sin gerihte unde ertailent da mit samt im über die armen sundaeren. Klee, *l.c.*, p. 37, refers also to Wackernagel, *Pred.* LVIII, p. 155, 33, and LVIII, p. 154, 18. Cf. Schönbach, III, 267, 1 seq. *Summa Theologiae*: 27, 9: di durchnchtig in sulin irdeilin. *Gottes Zukunft*, 6958: daz sint die mertelaere, / Die heiligen bihtigaere / Und die reinen jünfrauwen. *Mhd. Spiel*, 971: Maria liebiu muoter min, / du solt nemen die megede din, / die engel und die zwelf boten, / die martaere und die bichtaere guot, / ...nim ze dir die heiligen alle. Hesler, *Apok.*, 18320: 'set, unser herre komet / Und alle sine heiligen mit eme.' *Micha*, i, 3.

278. *Elucidarium*, 1166: Qui sunt qui iudicabuntur? Qui opera misericordiae in legitimo conjugio exercuerunt, vel qui peccata sua poenitentia et elemosynis redemerunt, eis dicitur: Venite, benedicti etc. (*Matth.* xxv, 34).

293. *Ava*, p. 312, 255: Da ist der tievel uon helle / mit manageme sinem gesellen / so uahet er die armen / uil lutzel si im erbarment / mit chetenen unde mit seilen / er bindet si algemeine (quoted, too, by Wadstein, p. 49, see Note 1, where further parallels will be found). Heinrich von Melk, *Erinn.*, 816: der (der Teufel) hat si also lebentige gesäilet / mit siner girischaite beien. Slightly different *Erinn.*, 710: diu cheten der gotes rache / hat mich starche gebunden, cf. further parallels quoted by Heinzel in his note to 710. Cf. *Priesterleben*, 718: man beginnet si stetenen / in fiurine chetenen. *Millst. Sündenkl.*, 195: wan mit viurinen bandon / beginnet er si binden / in fuozzen joch in handen. Further parallels in the notes. *Die Hochzeit* (Waag, IX), 762: den got da verteilte / unde in der viant geseilet. *Himmel und Hölle* (M.S.D., xxx), 131: diu vreissamen dotbant. *Geistliche Dicht.* (Bartsch, *Erlösung*), xxxii, *Seele und Leichnam*, 543: (p. 326) etlicher sie mit rimen pant / zusamen gar gesmucket. *Mhd. Spiel*, 252: der tiuvel muoz sie seilen / und führen in der helle grunt. 691: Nu wol uf! ich wil iuch seilen. 702: der tiuvel hat mich geseilet. Klee (p. 40) quotes other parallel passages. This is another instance of the influence of the plastic arts on literature. Cf. Wadstein, p. 49, Note 1.

299. *Matth.*, xxv, 34: Tunc dicet rex his, qui a dextris ejus erunt: Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. *Ava*, p. 311, 229: zu dem sprihet der gotesun: / var ze miner zeswen! / 'uenite benedicti,

mines uater riche ist iu gerichtet.' *Barlaam*, 91, 35: koment her, erwelten min ! / daz riche iu sol bereitet sin. *Martina*, p. 524, 208<sup>a</sup>, 22: Er sprichet: ir gesegeuotten / Koment her min erwelten / Ze frouden ungczelten / In mines vatter riche. Grieshaber, I, 140: koment her ir gesegeuotten und besizcent de riche minez vater. dc iu von angede der welte ist beraitet. Schönbach, I, 199, 1 a; II, 103, 39; II, 173, 11. *Renner*, 24431. *Fundgruben*, II, 136, 40. *Millst. Sündenck.*, 258: wol ir miniu liebiu chint, / ...nu get in daz himelriche, / da ir sullet twellen. *Summa Theol.* (MSD. xxxiv), 30, 1: Saligin di zi der zeswin sint / immere gotis kint. *Gottes Zukunft*, 7478: Kümpt mit mir ! ir sint geseget, / Mit voller gnaden uberregent / Von dem hohen vater min. / Ir sult ierner bi mir sin / In gantzer freuden glich / Enphaht hie daz rich / Daz uch ewig ist bereit. *Vom Rechte* (Waag, VIII), 539: er heizzet si elliu siniu chint, / die daz reht wurchunde sint, / er heizzet si varen geliche / ze sines vater riche, / gewihet joch geseget. *Erlösung*, 6543: ir frunt ir kint ir lieben man, / die minen willen hant getan, / get ir solent froude emphan / in mines vater riche, / daz uch ist ewicliche / uf geleet und bereit / in also ganzer stetikeit / sint dem anbeginne. *Bescheidenheit*, 179, 24: die minen willen hant getan, / die suln mins vater riche han. Hesler, *Apok.*, 20312: Komet gesegeuten mines vater ! / Besizet daz riche / Immer ewicliche, / Daz uch vor dem beginne / Bereit ist in mime sinne. Priebsch, II, p. 272, 2<sup>b</sup>, 22: got himelriches gimme. der sol mit siner stimme. sprechen herzeliebe kint. wan sie gebenediet sint. die min vater geseget hat. kvmet her und enphat. mines vater riche. daz ist v ewicliche. bereitet mit der engele schar. ich wil vch kronen kvmet har. Tilo von Kulm, *Von siben Ingesigelen* (edited by Kochendörffer, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, vol. IX, 1907), 6231: 'Kumet in mins vater rich, / Ir gebenediet glich, / ...6240 Nu kumt vrolich czu gnaden / Mines vater und enphat / Vroude di nicht me czurgat !.' *Heliand*, 4392: 'kumad gi,' quidið he, 'the thar gikorene sindun endi antfahad thit craftiga riki, / that gode, that thar gigereuuið stendið, that thar gumono barnum / giuuarht fan thesaro uueroldes endie: iu habad geuuihid selbo / fader allaro firho barno: gi motun thesaro frumono neotan, / geuualdon theses uuidon rikeas.' Otfrid, v, 20, 67: Quemet, quit er thara zi in, 'thie giwihete mines fater sin, / giscginote sine, joh liabun druta mine; / Intfahet, thaz er worahta, richi, thaz er garota / er anagengi worolti er iuih thara holoti' !

303. Grieshaber, 140: darnach so sprichet er ze den die ze der linggen hant sint: Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum qui est paratus diabolus. Er sprichet gant von mir irer verfluchten in de ewige fiur de iu un dem tiefel ist berait. Reuschel, p. 101, quotes from MS. B of the *Spiel vom Jungsten Tage* (The Donaueschingen-Rheinauer Type), 863: Dauon gondt hin, ir uerfluohten kindt ! / Wan ir sindt gewesen plyndt. Cf. further: *Gottes Zukunft*, 6937: Ite maledicti, / Gent ir verfluchten, / Mit gnaden unberuchten ! 7342 Gent ir verfluchten, / An gnaden unberuchten. *Erlösung*, 6533: get ir verfluchten hin / in daz fur, in daz leit, / daz uch ist ewiclich bereit. *Bescheidenheit*, 179, 26: so müezen die verfluohten varn / zer helle mit des tiuvels scharn. *Heliand*, 4419: 'nu gi fan mi schuln,' qui it he, 'faran so forflocane an that fiur euuig, / that thar gigereuuið uuarð godes andsacun, / fiundo folke be firnuuerkun.' Priebsch, p. 270, 1<sup>a</sup>, 16: da vone get in der helle tot. get hin virvluhten libe. von mir ich uch vir tribe. in daz vur daz bereit ist...vil arme sunder gene von mir, trost und genade virsage ich dir. kerc hin von den ougen min. min antlitze wirt dir nimmir schin. scheide dich von mineme riche. *Von siben Ingesigelen*, 6245: 'Get, verfluhten, ungehuer / In daz ewicliche vuer !' Otfrid, v, 20, 99: 'firwazen ir fon gode sit; / faref fon therera suazi in thaz ewiniga wizi !' etc.

304. On this formula cf. Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, VII, 4, 1. In addition to the examples he quotes cf. one from Schönbach, II, 21: daz sint des tiufels kint (said of the Babylonians).

313. Ava, p. 315, 335: michel wunne...statige iugende...tugende...starcke craft ...daz ewige lieht...neheincs sich tuomes niht...wunescapht...chuneclich ere. *Millst. Sündenck.*, 238: da ist liep unde lieht, / da ist dehein ungenade nieht. / da ist minne ane nit, / da ist vroude ane strit, / da ist lip ane tot, / da ist genade ane not / dane ist vrost noch hungir, / dane brennet si diu sunne, / dane altet nieman, / wan si schulen immir jugent han. / Da ist dehein angst: / der engele sanges / vrowent sich daz himile /



alle die menege. Cf. further parallels in the notes. *Muspilli*, 14: dar ist lip ano tod, liht ano finstri / selida ano sorgun : dar nist neoman siuch. / denne der man in pardisu pu kiuiunnit, / hus in himile, dar quimit imo hilfa kiunok. Grau, *l.c.*, p. 82, cites a long passage from Leyser, *Deutsche Predigten*, p. 36. Cf. the description of the joys of paradise in Otfrid, v, 23, 'De qualitate caelestis regni et inaequalitate terreni.'

319. *Fundgruben*, II, 134, 9 (Apoc. vii, 16): 'non esurient amplius' / daz wirt bedutet sus : / si in hungeret noch gedurstet me, / kein hize duot in we (quoted also by Grau, *l.c.*, p. 130). *Die Wahrheit*, 123: da ne mach daz wip noch den man / gehungeren noch gedursten / gejameren noch gevriesen. Hesler, *Apok.*, 12680: Daz endorstet noch enhungert / Noch enhitzet noch envrostet. Otfrid, v. 23, 78: thurst inti hungar: thiū nī derrent uns thar. Cf. the Anglo-Saxon *Phoenix*, I, 14, ne mæg þær ren ne snaw, / ne forstes fnæst ne fyres blæst etc. *Gottes Zukunft*, 7508: Ez wirt nit wint noch regen.

338. *Vom Rechte* (Waag, VIII), 544: da ne furchtent si den tot, / da vindent si ewecklich lieht, / da newirret in niht.

354 seq. Hesler, *Apok.*, 15023: Oder du must dort schouwen / Brinnende pech, harz und swebel, / Rouch, lōn und stinkenden nebel / Und hitze liden und kalt / In aller tuvele gewalt / Mit unidelicher dole. *Von der Zukunft nach dem Tode* (Kraus, VIII), 10: (wize also manichvalt)...ein fur...einen brunnen also kalt...tal giwurmis vol...swebeles und bechis...eine vinster diche. Heinrich v. Melk, *Erinn.*, 703: ich han fiwer unt finster. *Himmel und Hölle*, 129: egilich vinster. *Die Hochzeit* (Waag, IX), 766: die varent ze der gotes winstir / in eine michil vinster. *Muspilli*, 9: daz leitit sia sar...in fiur enti in finstri. *Mhd. Spiel*, 643: Ir müezent iemer vinster han. Heinzel (Heinrich von Melk, *Erinn.*, Note to 901) quotes the following extract from the *Elucidarium*, 1, 3, c. 4: Secunda poena est intolerabile frigus, de quo dicitur 'si igneus mons immitteretur in glaciem verteretur.' And he adds: 'das soll auf Apoc. viii, 8 gehen: Et secundus angelus tuba cecinit: et tanquam mons igneus missus est in mare.' Cf. also the parallels which he cites. Cf., too, *Sanct Brandan* (edited by Schröder, Erlangen, 1871), line 990 and Note. Schönbach, I, 272, 4: von grozer hitze wider zu grozer kelde, cf. note. Heinrich v. Melk, *Erinn.*, 900: unt der fiwerschober chrache, / unt anderthalb da engegene, / wie sich der helle vrost megene. Further parallels see Note to 901. *Mhd. Spiel*, 905: da sol iu werden heiz und kalt. Hesler, *Apok.*, 21418: Swenne wir an sen die surde / Des grimmen vinsternisses / Und die marter des abisses / Von stinckendem nebele, / Von wallendem swebele, / Dar zu gluende pech gemischet, / Daz nimmer zu ewen vorlischet... Priebisch, II, p. 271 1<sup>b</sup>, 11: wir muzen hin zv helle varn. mit den vir dampften tiuvelichen scharn. die slangen sullen wir ezzen. und sullen croten vrezzen. trachen galle ist unse tranc. des swebels rouch der helle stanc. die wurme sullen unse bette sin. da ist un ruwe eiter win. da ist we und smerzen vil. schrien weinen an zil. hunger drust vrost und nit. schelden vluchen und strit etc. Ava, p. 313, 269: da ist uiur unde swebel...durst unde hunger...frost...sichtuom...ezzich unde gallen etc. Heindr. v. Melk, *Erinn.*, 718: nu wird ich betwungen / mit durst unt mit hunger. *Millst. Sündenkl.*, 208: wan vrost unde hungir.

361. *Von der Zukunft nach dem Tode* (Kraus, VIII), 27: Swebeles und bechis...cf. parallels quoted in notes, and also Heindr. v. Melk, *Erinn.* 728: da sint die swarcen pechwelle / mit den haizzen fiures flammen. 899: die bechwelligen bache; cf. also 929. *Millst. Sündenkl.*, 199: da brinnet viures flamme. / mit pech und mit viure / lonet in der tiuvel. Further parallels in the Notes. *Gottes Zukunft*, 7440: Bla swartz füre uf in stet, / Rot flamme uz in get, / Nebel, gestank und schimel, / Daz ez ruht an den himel. (Not referring directly to hell) *Himmel und Hölle*, 121: beches gerouche, der sterkiste swevelstank (already quoted by Kraus, *l.c.*). *Muspilli*, 21 hella fiur...22 pehhes pina...23 heizzan lauc...26 prinnan in pehhe. *Vorauer Sündenklage* (Waag, XII), 742: wane bech unde swebel, / diu zwei wallen unde brinnen. *Erlösung*, 6539: si koment in die swefelbach. *Sanct Brandan*, p. 73, 1045: pech, rouch als ein nebel, / darinne gar burndez swebel. Cf., too, 987. *Mhd. Spiel*, 635: da sont ir iemer brinnan; 639: sie (die tiuvel) went iuch sieden alle, / in helschen kezzeln wallen. Otfrid, v, 21, 19: Sie farent, so wir zaltun, in wizi managfultun, / in hellipina noti... / In beches einoti.



363. Heinrich v. Melk, *Erinn.*, 731 : wainen unt wuffen / vil chläglich ruffen. *Millst. Sündenk.*, 184 : da ist wuoft unde we, / ...weinen unde suoftot. *Himmel und Hölle*, 118 karot unde jamer..., 1333 claga wuoft ane trost, 150 aller weskreio meist.

372. *Mhd. Spiel*, 663 : trackengalle sol sin ir win / slangengift ir spise sin. Klee quotes further parallels on p. 39.

375. *Muspilli*, 57 : dar ni mac danne mak andremo helfan vora demo muspille. *Bescheidenheit*, 179, 22 : fürsprechen hant da kleinen strit, / krist selbe da urteil git. Otfrid, v, 19, 47 : Ni mag thar manahoubit helfan hereren wiht, / Kind noh quena in ware, sie sorgent iro thare.

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## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### TWO PROPOSED EMENDATIONS IN DANTE'S EPISTOLA VI, § 6.

#### I.

THE received reading at the beginning of this section is 'O miserrima Fesulanorum propago, et iterum jam *Punica* barbaries.'

Professor Meyer of Göttingen is one of the leading authorities on the comparatively recent science of 'Cursus,' i.e., the study of the recognised euphonic sequences of the concluding syllables of clauses in Prose Composition, both in Classical Greek and Latin, and also in Medieval Latin. The Classical and Medieval conditions are different, but in each, after their kind, definite rules have with great labour and research been established, especially in reference to terminal clauses. Prof. Meyer has shown how regularly the style of Dante (among others) is controlled by these long unsuspected conditions. He noticed, however, that the termination '*Punica barbaries*' does not conform to any recognised type, and he therefore conjectured '*punita barbaries*,' which would do so. Practically 'c' and 't' are in many MSS. almost or even quite undistinguishable. In the case of this Epistle there is unfortunately only one MS. extant, which is in the Vatican Library. I have obtained a photograph of this page of the MS., and I am convinced (and in this two eminent authorities on palaeography agree with me) that there can scarcely be a doubt that the word is '*punita*,' and not '*punica*' in the MS.

Now it is very curious that suspicion as to the reading should have been first aroused by this kind of side issue. But the emendation proposed, besides being confirmed apparently by the MS. itself, seems to be fully justified by other considerations.

(1) No such combination as '*Punica barbaries*' is known. '*Punica fides*,' and '*Punica crudelitas*' are found, but never '*Punica barbaries*.'

(2) But if this is not a recognised phrase, it cannot be said that there is any special propriety in associating Carthage in any way with Florence or Fiesole.

(3) The Latinity is intolerable, if 'a repetition of Punic barbarism' is intended. 'Iterum' would require a participle not an adjective. Why not 'altera' (as in l. 50), or 'rediviva' (as l. 104), or 'redintegrata,' etc.?

On the other hand, the application of 'barbaries' to Florence, and to its parent Fiesole, would be thoroughly Dantesque. See *Purg.*, xxiii, 94—96, *Inf.*, xv, 63, 73. Perhaps compare *Par.*, xvi, 49 *seqq.* In *Ep.*, v, 4 the 'coadducta barbaries' of the Lombards relates to their stubborn resistance (as in this case) to the Emperor.

Then as to 'jam punita,' Dante in familiar prophetic manner speaks of the punishment which is already imminent and entirely inevitable, as though it were already accomplished. Compare in this Epistle, ll. 22—25, 73—76, 147—150, and § 4 *passim*.

Finally 'iterum' would be explained in reference to the previous destruction of Florence by Attila (Totila). See *Inf.*, xiii, 149.

## II.

The second passage which it is proposed to emend is at the end of this same section, viz., 'ut sine retractatione revertatur.' It occurred to me to test the value of the above argument from 'Cursus' by examining all the terminal clauses throughout the Epistle. I found that one or other of the four commonest forms required by the rules of the Medieval Cursus was found in every single instance with the solitary exception of the passage above quoted. I was content, under such circumstances, to treat this as 'the exception proving the rule'; though it must be confessed that it would be very surprising if this should occur only in the concluding clause of the whole composition. But I was accidentally informed by a friend to my great surprise that the offending word 'revertatur' was not in the MS. at all, and was nothing but an editorial conjecture. The word in the MS. is corrupt and unintelligible, viz., 'riuantur.' The 'n' at any rate is clearly a blunder, since a singular and not a plural is required. It may easily have arisen from an erroneously superposed mark of abbreviation, either (as sometimes) from pure accident, or possibly from confusion with the cross of the 't,' if it had one in the original MS. So that we may safely take 'riuator' as a first correction.

But curiously enough (as in the previous case), apart from any considerations of 'Cursus,' a little reflection shows 'revertatur' to be entirely out of place here. The context requires a word of exactly opposite meaning. Dante is warning the 'scelestissimi Florentini' that

penitence now, even if it came, would no longer be of any avail. 'It is too late to cry for mercy when it is the time of justice.' Hence to say here that 'the sinner is smitten that he may be converted without falling back' is just to reverse Dante's meaning.

The next thing that suggests itself is that the words appear, both from the manner of their introduction, and from the unusual expression 'sine retractatione,' to be a quotation. If so, it would be natural to suppose the Vulgate to be its source. Now we find in 1 *Sam.* xiv, 39 the expression 'absque retractatione morietur' spoken by Saul in reference to Jonathan. (In E.V. 'he shall surely die,' i.e., without further consideration. In LXX. *θανάτω ἀποθανῇ*.) I cannot therefore help thinking that 'moriatur' was the word written by Dante. It would suit the sense exactly; it would conform to the rules of 'Cursus'; it would fulfil the condition of being a quotation, thereby also accounting for the somewhat singular expression 'sine retractatione.' The word 'retractatio' is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* in the Vulgate. And though three references are given in Cicero and Livy by Faccioliati for 'sine retractatione,' in all cases the expression refers to an action done by some one 'without hesitation,' or 'with alacrity,' or, as we say, 'without thinking twice about it.' In St Augustine's well-known work 'Retractationes' the word seems to mean 'reconsiderations' rather than 'retractions,' though one naturally leads to the other. That would also suit the sense of the Vulgate and of Dante *h. l.*, but the expression is hardly a natural one, except as part of a quotation.

The chief objection to the suggested conjecture is that there is no process by which a change of 'moriatur' into 'riuatur' could be explained. But in the archetypal MS. the word, or part of it, might have become disfigured through a blot, or a wormhole, or other such defect, or the initial letters may have faded, and thus even a common word might become unintelligible.

Since the above was written, my friend Professor Sayce has suggested to me the ingenious conjecture that 'riuatur' may be a corruption of 'eruatur,' the 'e' being lost in the termination of the previous word 'retractatione.' This has the advantage of explaining in a recognized manner the process of corruption. The argument from probable 'quotation' would lose much of its force, though there might still be a possible 'echo' of the passage in the writer's mind.

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## SOME CRUCES IN 'PIERS PLOWMAN.'

Among the very few passages in *Piers Plowman* which the industry and ingenuity of Prof. Skeat have failed to explain satisfactorily are three that are evidently of set purpose enigmatical. The following attempts at interpretation, even if unsuccessful, may possibly be of service in suggesting the direction in which the solution of the puzzles should be looked for.

In B xiii, 150-1, Patience says :

Kynde loue coueiteth nouȝte · no catel but speche,  
With half a laumpe lyne in latyne · *ex vi transicionis*.

Professor Skeat confesses himself unable to find any meaning in the last three words, but suggests that 'half a laumpe lyne in latyne' may mean a portion of some Latin text or motto which it was customary to inscribe on lamps in churches. He adds, not exactly as a definite conjecture, but rather as an illustration of the kind of solution which he thinks would satisfy the conditions, that *pax hominibus* would be a 'half line' that would suit the context. It does not appear that the words from the angels' song have any special appropriateness for an inscription on a lamp, and Prof. Skeat adduces no evidence to show that church lamps ever bore mottoes at all. Perhaps a clue to the meaning of the line may be found in the fact that *transitio* was the Latin word for grammatical inflexion. It seems possible that *ex vi transitionis* was a current phrase, parallel with *ex vi termini*, and employed to indicate that a particular interpretation of a proposition is necessitated by the grammatical form (the case, number, tense, or the like) of one of the words contained in it. I have not been able to discover any instance of the occurrence of this phrase, but it might conceivably have been used by some medieval logician when discussing (as Wyclif does in *De Logica*) the effect of a variation of tense in the copula, or that of the presence of a genitive or an ablative absolute in a proposition. Now if my conjecture of the import of the Latin phrase be correct, I think the most natural interpretation of the line is that if the Latin word for a 'lamp-line' (i.e., the cord by which a lamp is suspended) be cut in two, one of the halves will be a word in an inflected form, expressing the meaning which the writer desires to convey. The 'buried word' ought, according to the context, to be a noun, and in the ablative case in order to be governed by the preposition 'with.' I do not know what the medieval Latin for 'lamp line' may have been, but I would suggest, though with great diffidence, that *cordella* may in English monastic Latin have been used

in this specific sense. On this assumption, the word hinted at would be *corde*, which seems suitable enough. Moreover, this supposition would serve to explain the mysterious line that follows:

I bere þere-inne aboute · faste ybounde Do-wel.

For if we substitute *in corde* for 'þere-inne,' we obtain a satisfactory sense, and one that accords with the words in the corresponding portion of the C-text: 'and þow take Pacience and bere hit in þi bosom.'

I must confess that I am not entirely satisfied with this suggestion; but, considering the poet's addiction to feeble and far-fetched conceits, it is only too likely that, even if we had before us his own solution of the riddle, we should not find it very satisfactory. However, I shall be grateful to anyone who will supersede my bad guess by a better one.

In B vi, 328-9 the prognostics that are to herald the disappearance of pestilence and the coming of famine are described in the following enigmatical terms:

Whan 3e se þe sonne amys · and two monkes hedes,  
And a mayde haue þe maistrie · and multiplie bi eighte.

The first line seems to relate to an eclipse of the sun, accompanied by appearances in the sky that were thought to resemble two monks' heads; though it is also possible that the beheading of two monks may be the event referred to. In the second line, it is highly probable that *maistrie* and *multiplie* are used in their alchemical sense. The prodigy announced is therefore that a maid will give proof of the possession of ability to multiply gold. Although the form adopted is that of prophecy, it is not very likely that the marvels spoken of are mere random guesses relating to the future. In all probability the poet is referring to some notorious occurrences which have just taken place, and to which he assigns a prophetic significance. There were several total eclipses of the sun within the limits of time for the composition of these lines (which may or may not be part of the original B-text). There was one on 17 August 1384, which is mentioned by the chroniclers; there were others in 1377 and 1379, which are perhaps more likely dates. One would expect that, in so superstitious an age, such striking events as the reputed possession of the secret of alchemy by a maid, and the appearance of two monks' heads in the sky (or, on the alternative supposition, the beheading of two monks) could hardly fail to be mentioned by some writer. If any notice of them could be discovered in contemporary records, we should have the means of fixing accurately the date of the passage.

In the last revision of the poem this prophecy, which, whether it had been fulfilled or falsified, had ceased to be of living interest, is replaced by another, presumably relating to the time when the revision was made. The words are, as printed by Skeat (C ix, 351-2):

Pre shupes and a shaft · with an vm. folwyng,  
Shal brynge bane and bataile · on bothe half þe mone.

I think it probable that the Ilchester MS. is right in reading 'viij.' instead of 'vm.' If the 'shaft' stands for the numeral letter *l*, and the 'three ships' for *xxx*, the date indicated will be 1388. I should feel better satisfied with this suggestion if I were able to find a corresponding explanation for the apparently similar passage, B iii, 324-4:

And er this fortune falle · fynde men shal the worste,  
By syx sonnes and a schippe · and half a shef of arwes.

'Half a shef' presumably means twelve, but the sense of the line is quite obscure to me.

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#### RICHE'S STORY 'OF PHYLLOTUS AND EMILIA.'

It will be remembered that while Hunter found the most likely source of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* in the Italian comedy *Gli Ingannati*<sup>1</sup>, Collier (with whom most later critics have been in agreement) declared that the 'indisputable source' of the play was the story 'Of Apolonius and Silla' in *Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession* (1581)<sup>2</sup>. This story, it would appear, was drawn by Barnabe Riche from Belleforest who had it from Bandello, Riche perhaps adding a detail or two, such as the heroine's shipwreck, from a cognate story in Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*; while both Bandello and Cinthio seem to be indebted for their main incidents to *Gli Ingannati*.

It seems not to have been observed that another story in Riche's collection belongs to the same family: viz., the eighth—'Of Philotus and Emilia.' This story appears again in a Scottish play *Philotus* (Edinburgh, 1603 and 1612) which was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1835, and is in stanzas of 8 lines. The relation of Riche's tale to the Scottish

<sup>1</sup> Mr Morton Luce in his edition of *Twelfth Night* ('Arden Shakspeare') holds the same view, while Mr H. H. Furness and Professor Schelling hold it in the modified form that they believe Shakespeare knew the play *Gli Ingannati* in its closely related Latin form *Lælia*. Peacock's translation of *Gli Ingannati* may be consulted in the 'New Variorum' *Twelfth Night*, pp. 341-359.

<sup>2</sup> Edited for the Shakspeare Society in 1846.

comedy is not very easy to determine. The editor of the comedy assumed that it was based on Riche, and adduced the list of corrections introduced into the edition of 1612 as evidence that the author was living. The corrections however are in the direction of anglicisation, and seem very unlikely to have been the work of the original dramatist. And the play is of so rude and childish a type that (without more knowledge of the state of the drama at Edinburgh in 1603) one is inclined to accept the suggestion<sup>1</sup> of Riche's editor of 1846 (Collier?) that Riche's story and the comedy alike go back to some lost common source. However, if that is so, both versions must be extraordinarily close to their original: as beyond the introduction of an extra character in the comedy—the 'Macrell' or bawd—the two stories are practically identical.

Their immediate source, if there was one, is lost, but the ultimate source is, I think, evident. I say so with some diffidence, as it was not detected by Professor Koeppe in his work on the sources of Riche's stories in *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle in der englischen Literatur* (1892), pp. 47—50.

New motives have been added, but the skeleton of the story in Riche and in the comedy is the familiar situation of *Gli Ingannati*. Here again we have two old men, Alberto and Phylotus. Alberto has two children, a son Phylerno, whom he had not seen since his childhood, and a daughter Emilia. Phylotus desires Emilia in marriage. To escape him she takes refuge in the dress of a page in the household of a man whom she prefers, Flavius. (In this version of the tale Flavius has procured her her disguise and receives her as his wife.) Her escape from home in boy's dress is reported by a servant to her father, and he and her old suitor Phylotus run out 'like a couple of madde menne' in search of her. They meet Phylerno who has just arrived at Rome from Naples to find his father and mother, and is so like his sister Emilia that they at once take him for her. (We have an exactly corresponding scene in *Gli Ingannati* and *Lælia*—and what follows is the same in both cases.) Emilia's clothes are sent for, and Phylerno is induced to enter Phylotus' house. Here in his character as a girl he is shut up with Phylotus' daughter Brisilla with the result that they take one another for husband and wife. There are fresh motives here. (1) Phylerno pretends to Brisilla a sudden transformation of sex, (2) he goes through a form of marriage with Phylotus, after which he beats him—still in the character of being his wife. But these points seem unessential. Flavius

<sup>1</sup> *Riche his Farewell* (Shaks. Soc., 1846), p. ix.



has been present at the marriage of Phylotus and Phylerno (Flavius here is not a suitor for Brisilla as in *Gli Ingannati*) and having taken Phylerno for Emilia, turns the true Emilia out of his house (not as having been false to him, but as being a spirit). When all parties are brought together Phylerno confesses his union with Brisilla, Flavius receives back his Emilia, and 'bothe the marriages consumat in one day.' So that Phylotus is left, like Gherardo in *Gli Ingannati*, as the only party who is not 'well pleased and contented.'

I should add that my attention was called to the story of Phylotus and Emilia by a paper in *Modern Language Notes*, xxiv, No. 4, kindly sent me by the author, Professor C. R. Baskervill, of the University of Texas, who sees in Riche's tale the source of Shirley's *Love Tricks*.

I thought that if Shakespeare were indeed indebted to Riche's *Apolonius and Silla* for the story he used in *Twelfth Night*, it might turn out that he had taken some hints at any rate from Riche's other version of the *Gli Ingannati* story in *Phylotus and Emilia*. In that expectation I have been disappointed. Like as the latter tale is to *Gli Ingannati*, it is most like it in points in which *Twelfth Night* does not follow it.

I think, however, that Shakespeare did make some use of Riche's collection apart from his use of *Apolonius and Silla*, in which I strongly believe. Mr W. A. Neilson, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May 1, 1902<sup>1</sup>, suggested—I think rightly—that Malvolio's imprisonment in the dark house was partly based on a similar incident in Riche's fifth story—'Of two Brethren and their Wives.' And perhaps we may go further. In Riche's book, p. 154, we read that 'the Doctor tooke sparmaceti, and suche like thynges that bee good for a bruse' which may have suggested Hotspur's speech in *I Hen. IV*, i, 3. 57,

telling me the sovereign'st thing on earth  
Was parmaceuti for an inward bruise.

Again on pp. 138, 139 we read 'what hope is...to be looked for in these kites of Cressides kinde?' When Shakespeare calls Doll Tearsheet 'the lazar kite of Cressid's kind' (*Hen. V*, ii, 1. 80) he is generally said to have had in mind Gascoigne's 'Kits of Cressides kinde' in his *Dan Barthlomew of Bathe*. Perhaps we should rather say that he found the phrase in Riche, Riche having borrowed it from Gascoigne, who was his friend, and who died in 1577.

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<sup>1</sup> Luce, ed. *Twelfth Night*, p. 189.

GRAY AND MURETUS.

Mark Pattison, writing on Muretus (*Essays*, vol. i, pp. 124—131, reprinted from *The Times* of Aug. 23, 1882), observed that 'the Tennysonian "starlike sorrows of immortal eyes" (*A Dream of Fair Women*, stanza 23) bears a near affinity to a line in these *Juvenilia* (XXVIII, *Lusus cum amica*):

Pande oculos, pande stellatae frontis honorem.'

There is a far closer resemblance, however, between another part of Muretus's Latin poetry and a passage in Gray's *Bard*:

Cum, velut excelsa residens in puppe, Voluptas  
Arbitrio mentem pellit agitque suo,  
Horrida bacchantes ineunt certamina venti,  
Navemque in Syrtes et vada caeca trahunt.

*Juvenilia*, LXXXIX, *De Voluptate et Ratione*, 1—4.

and

Fair laughs the Morn, and soft the Zephyr blows,  
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm  
In gallant trim the gilded Vessel goes;  
Youth on the prow, and Pleasure at the helm;  
Regardless of the sweeping Whirlwind's sway,  
That, hush'd in grim repose, expects his evening-prey.

*The Bard*, ll. 71 ff.

With the fourth of Gray's lines Mitford compared Ovid (?), *Heroides*, Ep. xv, 215 sq.

Ipse gubernabit residens in puppe Cupido:  
Ipse dabit tenera vela legetque manu.

But in several respects the last three lines in Gray have more in common with Muretus, himself indebted to the author of Sappho's epistle. 'Pleasure' is the exact equivalent of 'Voluptas,' and 'the sweeping Whirlwind's sway' recalls 'Horrida...venti.' Further, while the ship of the earlier Latin lines, as may be seen from their context, is a real vessel, that of Muretus and Gray is metaphorical.

Coleridge (*Biog. Literaria*, ch. i) thought that Gray's original was *The Merchant of Venice*, II, vi, 14 sqq. It may be rash to suggest that in the resemblance to Muretus too we have a case of indebtedness, not of mere coincidence. But it seems worth noting that an edition of Marcus Antonius Muretus's *Juvenilia* was published in 1757 (nominally at Leyden, but apparently in Paris), that *The Bard* was printed, together with *The Progress of Poesy*, at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill Press in July of the same year (see Walpole's letters quoted on p. 182 of D. C. Tovey's edition of Gray's Poems), and that the six lines

in question were substituted for those originally occupying their place (Tovey, p. 216, and p. 205; Gray to Mason, in a letter written in June: 'the six last lines of the fifth stanza are new; tell me if they will do,' Gosse's edition, vol. II, p. 317).

With regard to the question of Gray's indebtedness elsewhere to any Latin poet of the renaissance, Mr Gosse suggests (I, 137) that the *Amatory Lines*:

With beauty, with pleasure surrounded, to languish,

are 'a paraphrase of an epigram in the sixth book of the *Erotikon* of Hercules Strozius the Elder, *Ad Carolum*.' By this is meant the tenth poem in lib. VI of the *Erotica* of Titus Vespasianus Stroza (Hercules was the son). Mr Gosse's index seems at the first blush to indicate a further obligation on Gray's part to a neo-Latin versifier, as we read 'Scaliger, Julius Caesar, *The Propertius* of Gray influenced by the writings of, II, 112.' The words prove to be these (letter to Richard West, May 8, 1742): 'Now, as to myself and my translation, pray do not call names. I never saw Broukhusius in my life. It is Scaliger who attempted to range Propertius in order; who was, and still is, in sad condition.' The reference here is fairly obvious and has nothing to do with Julius Caesar Scaliger. Gray had sent West in the previous month his translation of Propertius, II, 1, and speaks of Joseph Scaliger's contribution to the textual criticism of the poet in his edition of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius.

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#### THE OMISSION OF 'HAVE' BEFORE A PAST PARTICIPLE.

In the first number of the *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* (January 1909) Professor Bang of Louvain remarks in his review of Mr Tucker Brooke's *Shakespeare Apocrypha*: 'Schlimm ist's schliesslich, wenn T. B. in der Anmerkung zu *The Puritaine Widdow*, III, 2. 40: "O goodly godly sister, would you had me lost more?" ein Fragezeichen benutzen muss<sup>1</sup>, denn der Ausfall von *have* im Inf. Perf. gehört doch zu den bekannteren Tatsachen—wennschon die Grammatiker ihn nicht aufzuführen scheinen. Vergl. nur: "I *would* not *thought* it possible" in Heinrichs Brief zu Anne Bullen in *Harl. Misc.* I, p. 198, no xvi; Nashe (ed. McKerrow), I, p. 271, 26: "thou *shouldst* so vnarteficially and odiously *libeld* against him as thou hast done"; Heywood *Proverbs*

<sup>1</sup> Mr Tucker Brooke's note is: 'had] ? have had.'

(ed. Sharman), p. 37: "and his heire had I bin, had not this chaunced, | Of lands and goods which *should* me much *avaunced*"; *Queen Hester* (ed. Greg, *Materialien*, v), l. 426: "And they that *should assisted*."

I had intended to draw attention to this little-noted peculiarity of Elizabethan syntax before I saw Professor Bang's note. In my edition of *Club Law* I illustrated l. 115, 'that wee *might* but *had* the villaine to the pompe,' by Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, III, 3. 41: 'Come Sir you *had* been *better kept* your bed.' Since then I have collected the following instances which may be added to those given by Professor Bang: *Coriolanus*, IV, 6. 33, 34: 'We *should* by this...if he had gone forth consul, *found* it so'; *London Prodigal*, IV, 3. 44: 'Flowerdale *had like to peppord* us'; Dekker, *Shoemaker's Holiday*, III, 3: 'I would have sworn the puling girl | *Would* willingly *accepted* Hammon's love'; Phillips, *Patient Grissell* (Malone Society), l. 47: 'he...*had lyke to broke* my nose'; S. Briggs (?) *On a sophister of Caius College* (Rawl. MS. Poet. 147): 'he *might outrode* his witt.'

I was inclined to suggest as the explanation of this phenomenon the sinking of 'have' to 'a'—which then disappeared, just as 'on,' having sunk to 'a,' disappeared before a verbal noun in phrases like 'he went a hunting.' I have since, however, been referred to Prof. Jespersen's *Growth and Structure of English Lang.*, p. 83, where the author remarks: 'The Scotch idiom "He wad na wrang'd the vera Deil" (Burns), "ye wad thought Sir Arthur had a pleasure in it" (Scott), where an Englishman cannot omit *have*, has an exact parallel in Danish "vilde gjort," etc.' This Danish use perhaps militates against my explanation. I gather, however, that Prof. Jespersen looks on the Scotch examples as rather a parallel development to the Scandinavian than as due to special Scandinavian influence; and he seems unaware of the existence of English examples of the idiom.

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#### OLD ENGLISH 'GEFYRHPE' AND 'FRIÐ' AND THE LATIN SUFFIX '-ĒTUM.'

O.E. *gefyrhpe* and *frið* in *deorfrið* may be explained as 'a collection of fir trees,' 'forest.' The element is preserved in several Modern English Place Names, e.g., *Chapel-en-le-Frith* in Derbyshire, and Lancashire *Firbank* which appears in Lancs. Inquests (Farrer), p. 258, 1283, as *Frithebancke*, and in 1301, Lancs. Fines (Farrer), Vol. I, p. 215, as *Frithebank*. The Lancs. name *ffrythbroke* 1287, Farrer's Lancs. Pipe Roll, Charter III, Series II, p. 298, of which I have not



found a modern form, probably contains the same word. The point of interest is that *gefyrhþe*, cf. O.E. *furh* 'fir tree,' O.H.G. *foraha*, is clearly from an earlier \**furhþō*-, Idg. \**prk<sup>w</sup>-īta*, -*īto*. This suffix may certainly be related to the Latin -*ētum* Idg. \*-*ēitom* in *querc-ētum*, *pīn-ētum*, *pom-ētum*, *arbor-ētum*, etc., which implies a 'collection' of trees. In fact *quercētum* from \**perk<sup>w</sup>ēitom* is almost precisely cognate with O.E. *gefyrhþe*, the only difference being that of the Ablaut of the first syllable. It would be interesting if there were other O.E. tree names with this suffix, though I know of none. Possibly some may exist in Place Names still to be unearthed.

This identity of the Latin and O.E. suffixes has not, so far as I know, been pointed out before.

The above explanation seems to me more convincing than that which identifies *frið* in *deorfrið* (Laud Chron. Ann. 1086, Plummer's Ed. p. 221) with the word meaning 'peace.' It is clear that the passage 'he sætte mycel deor frið' refers to William's afforestation schemes, possibly to the planting of the New Forest. It seems ridiculous to take the word as meaning a 'place where deer are at peace'! Yet that is what Bosworth-Toller and Plummer practically do. Skeat in the *Concise Etym. Dictionary* appears to identify Mod. *frith* with O.E. *frið* 'peace,' but assumes a different origin for M.E. *frith* 'wooded country.' The latter he rightly identifies with *gefyrhðe* in Birch, Ch. III, 120. This is our word, and the form agrees entirely with the views expressed above. Whether the German *einfriedigen* is cognate with O.E. *gefyrhðe* etc. is another matter. Doubtless the belief that this was derived from *friede* in the sense of 'peace' helped to build the mare's nest about the O.E. word.

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#### AN ICELANDIC PROVERB ('THIN END OF THE WEDGE').

In *Hrafn's Saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, printed in *Biskupa Sögur*, I, pp. 639—676, and in the Oxford *Sturlunga Saga*, II, pp. 277—311, the two MSS. seem to give two misreadings of a proverb, which ought to be restored: (A) en fyrir því at 'Lítið er nef var en breiðar fjaðrar' (so in the Oxford edition, p. 282). (B) en fyrir því at lítið er nef vort en breiðar fjaðrar. B (*vort*) is a foolish attempt to correct A; A (*var*), which is nonsense, is nearer the original. Read: *Lítið er nef öfvar en breiðar fjaðrar*; 'little is the arrow's neb and broad the feathers.'

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## REVIEWS.

*Geschichte des Neueren Dramas.* Von WILHELM CREIZENACH. IV. Band. Das englische Drama im Zeitalter Shakespeare's. I. Teil. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1909. 701 pp.

English students have naturally looked forward with special interest to the present instalment of Professor Creizenach's standard History of the Modern Drama. They will not be disappointed; for, while there are some things which they will not find in this portly volume, there is not a page in it which they will wish away. It contains little or nothing of the kind of aesthetic criticism of Shakespeare and his predecessors which, so far as German writers were concerned, began with A. W. Schlegel and his school, and went out with Ulrici and his immediate followers. Its place is taken by what, for want of a better name, we may call *Realpoetik*. The inductive method has prevailed over the deductive; the historian includes the critic, instead of the critic supplanting the historian; and a book towards the production of which have already gone great learning and infinite pains, makes plain its principal purpose—that of showing how one of the most important branches of modern literature grew, and what fruit it bore.

The present section of Professor Creizenach's work, which extends over seven hundred closely printed pages, is arranged in nine books, but falls naturally into three divisions. The first and shortest of these deals with the history of the English theatre during the years from 1570 to 1587—a period which cannot be called barren, but which was still, so far as the popular stage was concerned, essentially tentative. The author has, in earlier portions of his work, treated the beginnings of the English popular drama, both religious and secular, and to these he incidentally returns; for the morality has a long-lived growth, and was not dead in the last decade of the sixteenth century. He has also already dealt with the classicising drama, mainly but not altogether a product of universities and schools, which in Western dramatic literature at large had striven to assert its predominance, but was to prove incapable of maintaining it in two national dramatic literatures of otherwise unequalled productivity and splendour, the English and the Spanish. As for the English drama of the seventeen years or thereabouts which preceded the advent of Marlowe—a date nearly coinciding with that of the great political crisis of the reign—

its history is not devoid of the names of some interesting plays; and this number might be larger, but for the unlucky gap in the Stationers' Register extending over the first five of the years in question. But among the dramatists, while Whetstone (though more ready to compromise than the author of the *Apology for Poetry*) held himself more or less aloof from the popular drama, and Lyly, the foremost dramatist of the period, and the *raffineur de l'anglais* in drama as well as in novel, stands apart, Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* is, as Professor Creizenach puts it, with the exception of Munday's recently discovered *Fedele and Fortunio*, the single play demonstrably produced before 1587 by one of the playwrights who after that date wrote for the popular stage. The plays belonging to this period are accordingly here classified (with the exception of Lyly's) according to subjects rather than according to authors. Among the *Ritterstücke* (a genre more frequent in the early English drama than in the early English novel) Professor Creizenach mentions *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*; this, he allows, may be of later date, and I am glad to see that he agrees in rejecting Dyce's ascription of it to Peele—a rare error of judgment. May not *Myngo* (p. 20 note) have some connexion with the Spanish *Mingo*—Collier notes a play called *Myngo* performed at Bristol in 1578? In this and other species there was nothing new; but such was not the case with the beginnings of the pastoral drama which in this period was introduced into the performances at court and especially those of the Chapel Children. Professor Creizenach, however, is careful to point out that it would be premature to seek in these early efforts for traces of the influence of the ideal style of Tasso, whose *Aminta*, though performed as early as 1572, was not printed till 1581, or translated into English till 1591. Although Professor Feuillerat's most important monograph on Lyly could not have reached Professor Creizenach, his appreciation of that brilliant writer is thoroughly adequate; nor is the patriotic note in him forgotten: as a matter of fact, the allusion in *Midas* is one of the very few references in the Elizabethan drama to the fate of the Great Armada. As to existence of direct allusions in *Endimion*, though I am not prepared to bind myself to M. Feuillerat's interpretation of them, I think Professor Creizenach ultra-sceptical.

The second division of the present volume, of which it fills considerably more than half, deals with the characteristics of the dramatic literature of the Shakespearean age under a series of heads which may be enumerated in succession. The period under review covers, it will be seen, what may, in a word, be called the great age of the English drama, excluding the more or less tentative beginnings on the one hand, and, on the other, the years of decline, to use no stronger term, which unmistakably preceded the date of the closing of the theatres. The career of Shakespeare as a dramatist very nearly, if not altogether, spans the period under consideration, and the interest of Professor Creizenach's elaborate survey is immensely increased by its constant references to Shakespeare's own works as throwing the most complete as well as the most varied light upon the conditions



and progress of the later Elizabethan and earlier Jacobean drama as a whole. 'We shall see,' our historian says at starting, 'how the "gentle Shakespeare," as his contemporaries called him, accommodated himself as a good comrade to the views and traditions of the fellows of his craft, that his victorious power of language, his overflowing fulness of passion, the sunshine of his humour, his penetrating knowledge of human nature, and the depth of his poetic wisdom, manifested themselves within the customary forms, while many others, especially the contentious Ben Jonson, exhibited far more recalcitrance against being treated as one of a body of colleagues. It is only when we examine his works by themselves that we shall arrive at a complete consciousness of how infinitely Shakespeare overtops all the rest.' In one art—that of borrowing purple patches from the classics and thus proving himself at least, in Nash's phrase, no 'poor latinless author'—Shakespeare, largely, it cannot be doubted, from unconscious disdain, fell far behind many of his fellows. Like others of them, he could not quite escape the Hyrcanian tiger; but Professor Creizenach is doubtless right in concluding that, 'after centuries of search,' the harvest of such borrowings in Shakespeare is singularly small, and chiefly, though not altogether, confined to his early plays.

The first subsection of Professor Creizenach's review is concerned with the profession and position of the popular 'playwrights,' the conditions under which they prepared themselves for the production of their plays and actually produced them, and those under which these plays were printed and obtained a literary reputation for their authors. The relations of the playwrights to the upper classes of society, for which they reserved their regard, while they treated the classes from which most of them sprang with little sympathy or respect (and this quite apart from their inevitable quarrel with Puritanism) were of gradual growth: as our historian observes, no traces of a desire to assimilate the tone and ways of the nobility and gentry, and to figure as 'gentlemen writing for gentlemen,' are noticeable in Greene, Marlowe or Nash, while Ben Jonson's ambitions were those of the scholar and man of letters only. On the other hand, Beaumont and Fletcher 'though they manifestly shared in the life of Bohemia, have already quite the character of cavalier poets';—one of them, however, was of ancient descent, and the other of distinguished clerical parentage. Shakespeare's sentiments on this head Professor Creizenach thinks deducible from his application for the grant of a coat of arms—an endeavour in which his fellow-actors Phillips and Pope were likewise successful; but I do not think the terms *Adelstand* and *Adelstitel* should be used as equivalents of the rank and title of gentleman. Of more importance is the question of the relations of Shakespeare and his fellow-playwrights to the works on which their fame rests. It is well known and quite intelligible that Thomas Heywood, whether or not he was the author, in whole or in part, of not less than 220 plays, should have expressed complete indifference as to their publication; but that at the date of Shakespeare's death nineteen



plays by him out of a canon of thirty-six should have remained unpublished, remains after all an astonishing fact in the literature of the world. Heminge and Condell deserved well of it when they resolved that Ben Jonson's 'works' should not stand alone as a collective volume of plays any longer; but, when all has been said, and every attention has been paid to every item of the last edition of the *Century of Praise*, the contemporary chorus must be allowed to be very inadequate, and was swelled by no continental voice. In a note towards the close of this volume, Professor Creizenach observes that the earliest testimonies to Shakespeare's reputation as a poet are peculiar; consisting as they do of Greene's vituperation (1592)—this of course involves an assumption which need not be discussed here—; of the plagiarism perpetrated by the author of *The Taming of a Shrew*, which Professor Creizenach has no hesitation in regarding as a play 'run' against Shakespeare's, and based upon it (1594); and lastly, of the publication of *Locrine* with the intentionally misleading initials 'W. S.,' which, by the way, Malone thought meant Wentworth Smith. The historian's note, though ingenious, evidently itself stands in need of annotation.

Book III, which deals with the religious, political and social views of the playwrights, will to many readers be the most attractive part of this enquiry; but I may pass over it rapidly, as a judicious survey of what is for the most part well-trodden ground. It is well pointed out that the smallness of the part assignable to religious dogma in determining the conceptions of the world and of life formed by Shakespeare and his fellows, is to be attributed not so much to pressure exercised from without—directly by the State, and indirectly by Puritanism—as to the fact that what may be called the Elizabethan point of view in these matters, which the dramatists in the main shared, was not one capable of dominating their works, in the sense in which those of the Attic and the Spanish dramatists were pervaded by religious suggestion. By way of compensation, they enjoyed a freedom of comment on the movement of the world at large which no royal ordinances and no censorship could materially impair. On the other hand, they had not advanced beyond their age in natural philosophy or in the world of ideas of which its conclusions are the starting-points; Mephistophilis in *Doctor Faustus*, who has to undergo so persistent an examination in astronomy, is to all intents and purposes an orthodox upholder of the Ptolemaic system, and Giordano Bruno's influence upon Shakespeare is a baseless fancy. The extravagances of alchemy, and even here and there of astrology, are ridiculed or scorned; but magic and witchcraft, though under Elizabeth many of their supposed operations are not spared sceptical comment, are even in this earlier period never rejected in principle, and from the accession of James I the fierce blaze of persecuting superstition reflected itself during a whole generation upon the stage. Far happier was the association between the drama and the national patriotism of the great Elizabethan age, which needs no comment here; and I cannot return to the theme of the aristocratic

tendencies of the playwrights, great and small, except to direct attention to the remark that, unlike Thomas Heywood and others, Shakespeare nowhere has a kindly word for the citizens of London, where the best part of his life was spent.

Though Book IV, which deals with the subjects of the plays, is perhaps from the point of view of literary history, the most valuable section of the volume before us, the mass of detail contained in it does not lend itself to excerpts. Professor Creizenach shows how the playwrights, while conscious of the infinitely wide range of themes open to them and resolved to use full liberty of choice in their selection, were guided in that selection mainly by dramatic—or theatrical—considerations. Of course, we do not know enough of their individual lives to know how far personal affinities, if the phrase may be used, influenced them in the choice or treatment of their subjects; the wisely temperate page which is here devoted to a consideration of Shakespeare's themes from this point of view contrasts with a biographical romance such as the brilliant volume of Brandes. Historical and local colour, and still less the 'historic sense' proper—with certain exceptions, such as Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, which prove the rule—play a very subordinate part in the great age of the English drama; what we call anachronisms hardly existed for the Elizabethan playwrights and theatre-goers, or were obviously made necessary by the innocent simplicity of the stage appliances at hand. Plays treating subjects from the national history, of course, stand in a sense apart; of the titles of these an appendix to this book supplies a very useful list, by the side of which it would be interesting to schedule carefully the known chronicle and other sources, a task which in the case of *Henry VI* and the old plays on which Part II and Part III are founded most editors perform in a very perfunctory fashion. Subjects from Scottish history are, of course, not included in this list; but the *Tragedy of Gowry*, acted in 1604, and duly stopped by authority, is mentioned elsewhere. What would one not give for a discovery of the stage manuscript and an edition of it by Mr Andrew Lang! None of the extant plays on patriotic themes contain any reference to Drake; the 'playe of the weaste enges' (West Indies) repeatedly mentioned by Henslowe in 1601, Professor Creizenach thinks, may have dealt with one of Raleigh's expeditions, which are apparently also treated in other plays of the time. No space is left me for reference to other groups of plays in our historian's survey; he points out how very scant was the list of subjects taken from English works of fiction, with the single exception of the *Arcadia*; and, in a general way, he observes that he can recall no instance in which Shakespeare, in the proper sense of the word, *invented* the plot, main or bye, of any one of his comedies, except the immortal imbroglio of the loves of Benedick and Beatrice.

The interest of Book V is dramaturgical, its subject being the classification and structure of Elizabethan and early Jacobean plays. The supremely distinctive feature of the English drama in this age, the origin of which should not be sought in any conscious innovation,

lies of course in the combination of the tragic and comic elements. To this combination or mixture it was sought to give a name by supposing a distinct species, which actually figured as such on the title-page of the 1616 edition of Ben Jonson's works; but the term *tragicomedy* was not, in fact, consistently applied, and by being in turn made to cover a good deal more and a good deal less than it actually implies, has given rise to not a little critical confusion. Professor Creizenach has some admirable remarks on the structure of plays, as affected both by the combination to which reference has been made and by the conditions of the stage. He is especially interesting on the subject of *polymythia*, or the combination of several actions or plots, a practice essentially unknown to Marlowe, and disused by Shakespeare in his maturest period, though carried out with consummate effect in *King Lear*. As is well known, it became a chief care of the 'best plotters' of the later Stuart drama. Attention may also be directed to the observations on the Elizabethan tendency to lead up to 'situations' for their own sake rather than for that of their place in the general action—not the *scène à faire* which combines both objects and of which we used to hear so much from the late Francisque Sarcey, but rather the gem for which much around it is merely a setting, and which, as Professor Creizenach suggests, is most in place in Lamb's *Specimens*. Equally good is the passage concerning what he calls, by an untranslatable compound, *Stimmungsruhepausen*, often marked, as is appropriate to the lyrical character of such scenes or parts of scenes, by 'soft music' or a song. The illustration which will occur to every reader, though it is here passed by, is, of course, Desdemona's scene with Emilia and the willow song.

Book VI, it cannot be denied, rises to the height of the entire theme of this main division of Professor Creizenach's volume, for it treats of what was the greatest strength of the English drama in this age, and the greatest strength of its greatest writer, the drawing of character. The wealth of characters to be found in the plays of the period—I have not verified the statement that Shakespeare's contain in all twelve hundred—does not exhaust their infinite variety; for there is depth in the remark that the romantic drama, unfettered by the Aristotelian rule paraphrased by Horace—

servetur ad imum

Qualis ab incessu processerit, et sibi constet—

is able to show the changes which events effect in man. Typical characters, so important in other national theatres, in English drama play a secondary though of course a very notable part, and one enhanced by the effect, which it is difficult to overestimate, of sheer stage tradition. There follows an excellent account of the significance of the clown in the Elizabethan drama. The influence of the *commedia dell' arte* is not overlooked; but a native origin is vindicated for the figure of the clown, for which Tarlton and Kemp, but the former in particular, secured a theatrical position of extraordinary dominance.



He almost entirely superseded the Vice, of whom, however, traces may still be found in Shakespeare. Familiar as is this subject, together with that of the distinction between clowns and fools, it is treated here with much freshness; and Shakespeare's inexhaustible power of inventing and contrasting representatives of both species is illustrated with genial humour. A subspecies invented by him, and imitated perhaps more frequently than any other Shakespearean type, was the constable, the Londoner's everlasting delight at all times and in all phases of inefficiency.

I have left myself no space in which to do more than touch on the seventh and eighth Books of a volume which, though steadily pursuing the course marked out by the author for himself, abounds in the most varied interest. In Book VII (Prosody and Style) I may direct attention to the argument that in the dropping of rime in his dramatic poetry Shakespeare followed a general change in fashion—a contention which, if maintainable, renders a good deal of comment that has been bestowed on this phase of the development of Shakespearean form superfluous; again, to the remark that dialect is, with a few well-known exceptions, not much used in English drama, especially as compared with Italian; and to the criticism, incontrovertible but not the less worth making, that Shakespeare's prose is invariably clear and good. The use of simile and of other rhetorical figures by the dramatists is discussed and illustrated at length; but of more significance is the conclusion reached at the end of this section that 'tragic gravity' is alien to the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, from Marlowe to Webster. Book VIII (The Stage and The Art of Acting) is concerned with subjects which, of late especially, have received much detailed treatment from English writers; but even in this portion of Professor Creizenach's work there is not a little that is deserving of attention: I may take as an example the discussion, fuller and more instructive than any I can remember to have seen elsewhere, of the use to which the playwrights put the curtain at the back of the stage and the space behind it, as well as the upper-stage, if it can be so called, on his moderation in the use of which Mayne congratulated Ben Jonson:

Thou laid'st no sieges to the music-room.

This volume concludes with the first instalment of the continuous history of the English drama from 1587 onward, reaching the year 1593, just before the date when, by a lucky chance, the booksellers and printers flooded the market with a number of manuscripts, of which it is not wonderful that a fair percentage should remain anonymous, while of not a few the authorship is left in doubt. The productivity thus and otherwise attested is of importance, especially as there is hardly a work of this period, not even *Tamburlaine*, which can properly be said to stand alone. While in Marlowe's earlier works, *Tamburlaine*, *Doctor Faustus* and the *Jew of Malta*, Professor Creizenach rightly finds a certain parallelism of theme, he well shows the difference between these and *Edward II*, and, again, *Dido*, which belongs to the



genre of the Chapel Children Plays. Nothing could be more true than that in Marlowe—as in Keats—we recognise a capacity of development which makes the sadness of his premature death doubly sad. The comparison between Marlowe and Kyd seems to me admirable, but I have no space for explaining my doubt as to whether *The First Part of Jeronimo* was really later in date than *The Spanish Tragedy*. Other difficult questions arise in connexion with the authorship of the plays treated in this section; and I must content myself with stating that, in Professor Creizenach's opinion, *Soliman and Perseda* was not written by Kyd, and that *The Battle of Alcazar* may probably be ascribed to Peele. The treatment of the early chronicle histories (among them *Jack Straw*, possibly produced in 1591, in honour of a Fishmonger being elected Lord Mayor) is careful and judicious; and the comparison between *The Troublesome Raigne* and Shakespeare's *King John* singularly fair. At the end of a long notice I cannot enter into a discussion of Professor Creizenach's views concerning the *Henry VI* trilogy, which to many English students will seem extremely conservative. With the early comedies he stands on firmer ground, and, as he observes, nothing could more directly suggest the poet's conscious trust in his own powers, already accompanied by the irony of experience, than the character of Biron in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the earliest of the 'humorous men' who are among the happiest creations of Shakespeare's serenest period.

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*Hymenæus*, a comedy acted at St John's College, Cambridge. Edited by G. C. MOORE SMITH. Cambridge: University Press. 1908. xvi + 84 pp.

*Fucus Histriomastix*, a comedy acted at Queens' College, Cambridge. Edited by G. C. MOORE SMITH. Cambridge: University Press. 1909. xx + 105 pp.

Professor Moore Smith carries forward his researches on the Cambridge drama and continues to provide students with convenient texts admirably illustrated from contemporary records. While his latest additions have not the interest attaching to *Club Law*, they yet serve as welcome examples of the sort of Latin comedy with which our academic ancestors relieved the tedium of their studies. *Hymenæus*, a play rejoicing in a purely fortuitous title, which is preserved in manuscripts at Lambeth and Oxford, was acted at St John's apparently in March 1578/9. There are, however, obvious inconsistencies in the academic rank ascribed to the different performers, and we are not certain that the editor is right in saying that 'the omission of a degree is a more likely mistake than the attribution of a degree to one not entitled to it.' It might be so if the list were contemporary with the performance; but surely a scribe writing a few years later might very likely add a

subsequent degree to the name of an actor whom he knew to have taken it. *Fucus*, of which there are manuscripts at Caius and St John's, was evidently acted at Queens' about March 1622/3, and in this case the editor, met with the same inconsistencies as before, does not hesitate to assume that the degree of one of the performers is antedated. There are difficulties as to the occasion upon which the play was acted, but the editor's conjectures have been happily confirmed by subsequent investigation (see *Cambridge Review*, 5 May 1910). The two plays are very different in character. *Hymenæus* is a comedy of romantic intrigue (borrowed from Boccaccio) in the conventional classical setting. *Fucus*, on the other hand, while belonging to the same formal category, is of a divergent type. It is, to begin with, an allegory exhibiting the literary and religious feuds that in those days disturbed the peace of Alma Mater. But from the literary point of view this may be neglected, and we are left with two stories of amorous adventure which exhibit very effectively that characteristic of the best Jacobean drama, the double plot.

Elaborate notes record the various readings found in the manuscripts, and help to elucidate the far from classical language of the plays. They also illustrate the indebtedness of the playwrights to the usual authors of academic study, such as Plautus, Terence, Juvenal, Horace, Vergil, Martial, Seneca; but those who best know the plagiaristic and allusive nature of Elizabethan scholarship will least expect to find the list of borrowings complete.

We see that the Queens' College *Lælia* is announced as the next play in the series, and we hope that others will follow.

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*The Authorised Version of the English Bible, 1611.* Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. (*Cambridge English Classics.*) 5 vols. Cambridge: University Press. 1909. 8vo. xxiv + 496, 618, 776, 426, 576 pp.

When we call the Authorised Version of the Bible an English Classic, the expression must be accepted with some reserve. It is not possible for us to annex the whole literature of another nation merely by virtue of the facts that we have translated it well, and that it has had a far-reaching influence upon our literature and our national life. To be an English Classic in the full sense of the term, a work must be something more than a translation, however excellent; and in this case the originals contribute not only the whole of the substance, but also many of the qualities of style. Nevertheless the Authorised Version of the Bible, in virtue of its position as a great monument of English, 'a book which if everything else in our language should perish, would alone suffice to shew the whole extent of its beauty and power,' may well be included in a series of English Classics, and the Syndics

of the Cambridge University Press have been fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr Aldis Wright as editor. We have here for the first time a scrupulously accurate reprint of one of the original editions in a conveniently readable form. The Oxford reprint of 1833 is admirably correct, and is printed so as to correspond line for line with the original, but it makes a very cumbersome volume, and it is now priced at three guineas, while the edition in the series of 'Tudor Translations' does not profess to reproduce the original exactly. Here we have the text in five volumes of convenient size, with readable type and on good paper, each page representing one column of the original, so that two opposite pages of the present edition represent a single page of the original folio; and the price is twenty shillings. The first two volumes contain the historical books, the third the poetical and prophetic (Job to Malachi), a rather bulky volume this, but one in which a satisfactory division would be difficult, the fourth the Apocrypha, and the fifth the New Testament. In the first volume we have a reproduction of Boel's copper-plate title-page, which is found in some copies of the original, and in the fifth volume the title of the New Testament is given in combination with the elaborate woodcut design which often serves also for the general title-page, and which is so given in the Oxford reprint. A note with regard to the use of these designs might with advantage have been added.

The text is a reprint of that one of the two editions of 1611 which has the reading 'he went,' in Ruth iii. 15, instead of 'she went.' The present editor, who gives a very useful collation of these two editions, seems to consider that the text which he follows is undoubtedly that which was printed first. The bibliographical question is one which has often been discussed, and the conclusion which is adopted by Mr Aldis Wright has been supported by technical arguments of various kinds; but the collation of the two texts suggests some difficulties, and the opinion of Scrivener upon the subject is not lightly to be set aside. The technical arguments in fact are by no means conclusive, and the comparison of the two texts seems to be on the whole favourable to the opinion that what we have here reproduced is the second issue. It must be remembered in the first place, that though these two editions correspond leaf for leaf, yet they are printed from two distinct settings of type, so that one is not a 'revise' of the other, but a separate impression. This may easily be proved by examination of the word-spacing in any given series of lines. Each edition therefore has its own independent misprints, though the later of the two must of course have been set up from a copy of the former. But in a certain number of passages there are variations of a different kind, and in such cases the 'he' edition almost always gives the more correct text or translation; so that if we suppose that a partial revision took place, it is more likely that its results are represented by this text than by the other. Such passages are Gen. xxxiii. 2, Ex. xxi. 26, Num. xvi. 34, xxxiv. 2, II Chron. xxx. 6, Job xxx. 7, Jer. v. 15, xl. 12, II Esdr. iv. 3, I Macc. x. 47, Matt. xiii. 45, xxii. 24, I Pet. i. 22.

The treatment of the proper names, the forms of which are often more correct in the 'he' edition, suggests a similar conclusion. Moreover, in certain passages where there is variation between the two editions and the reading of the 'he' edition is one which requires more space, there are distinct signs of a crowding of the type. One marked instance of this is in Gen. xvi. 34, where apparently the insertion of 'an' has caused 'the Egyptians' to be printed without space between the words, to avoid overrunning the line; and the same thing is apparent in a less degree in Micah i. 5 and elsewhere. On the other hand it must be admitted that a few of the variations might seem to support the opposite hypothesis, as for example the margin of Wisd. iii. 14 and Mark vii. 4; and it is difficult to see how the misprint of the 'he' Bible in Exodus xiv. 10 could have escaped notice if the text was set up from a previously printed edition corresponding leaf for leaf.

There are difficulties then in both suppositions, but on the whole it seems probable that after a first edition had been printed, but perhaps not issued, the type was set up for a second, in which the results of a partial revision were embodied, and for which the new and finely designed copper-plate title was used for the first time. The fact that this copper-plate title-page does not occur in any known copy of the 'she' edition tends surely to prove that this edition was printed before the other, for this engraved title is found also in some copies of the later editions of 1613 and 1617, whereas the 'she' edition of 1611 has only the old woodcut design, which had already been used in the Bishops' Bible of 1602. What the occasion of the new setting-up of the type may have been we can only conjecture; possibly some accident, of fire for example, may have rendered it necessary. The circumstance which is urged so strongly by Fry, that the copies of the 'he' edition are for the most part made up entirely of sheets belonging to that edition, whereas most of the copies of the other edition have some admixture of sheets, may be accounted for by the supposition that the issue of the revised edition took place under special superintendence, with a view to securing that the churches at least should be provided with the more correct text, free from such scandalous errors as that of Prov. xvi. 5 ('punished' for 'vnpunished'), or Matt. xxvi. 36, where 'Iudas' had been printed for 'Jesus.' Afterwards the printer may have been free to make use of the sheets of the other edition, which had been printed but not issued, and he made up copies of this edition with tolerably free intermixture of the spare sheets of the other. The ingenious argument of Mr W. E. Smith for the priority of the 'he' edition, based upon the manner in which larger or smaller initial letter blocks are used at the beginning of chapters<sup>1</sup>, may perhaps be met by the supposition that in the 'he' edition greater uniformity in the size of initials and in the spacing between chapters was deliberately aimed at, by the substitution in many cases of the smaller for the larger

<sup>1</sup> *The Great 'She' Bible*, by W. E. Smith. Privately printed, 1890.



blocks. The cases in which the larger size occurs in the 'he' edition and smaller in the other are too few to argue from (only twenty in all), and are probably the result of inadvertence. On the whole it may fairly be said that the assumption made in the Cambridge edition is one which requires further justification.

The publication of the Oxford edition of 1833 was occasioned by the complaints made by certain Nonconformists about the unauthorised variations of text which had crept into the modern Bibles. It was intended to shew by an exact reproduction of the original what was the extent of the later variations. The present reprint will enable a larger number of persons than before to make comparison between the original issues and the modern Bibles in the matter of form and language. The difference in orthography and in the use of capitals is obvious, and so are some other points. The modern Bibles omit the preliminary address of the Translators to the Reader, no very great loss, except as shewing how far the individual style of the Translators fell short of that which they attained collectively by the help of their predecessors; they have a much more extended and systematic use of special type (italics now) to indicate differences of idiom between the translation and the original; the marginal notes have been somewhat added to, and the number of references to parallel passages has been enormously increased. But in addition there are many instances of alteration in the form of words, apart from mere spelling. Much the greater number of these are in proper names, and we may here note especially that the original editions have the form 'Hierusalem' almost always in the New Testament, except in the Epistle to the Galatians. With regard to other words, the forms given in the A. V. of 1611 have in many instances been modernised, but usually the more modern forms which have been adopted are used occasionally in the original version. Thus the first editions have 'kinred' as a rule, but 'kindred' occasionally, 'charet' as a rule, but 'chariot' three times in the Psalms and occasionally elsewhere; 'fift,' 'sixt,' 'eight,' almost always for 'fifth,' 'sixth,' 'eighth'; 'fet' usually, but not always, for 'fetched'; 'ought' for 'owed' (e.g. Matt. xviii. 24), 'oweth' for 'owneth' (e.g. Acts xxi. 11), 'rent' usually, but not always, for 'rend' (e.g., 'turne againe and rent you'), and 'renowme,' 'renowned' usually for 'renown,' 'renowned.' In Leviticus xxv. 5, as is well known, the possessive 'it,' in the phrase 'of it owne accord,' was changed later to the modern 'its'; but on the other hand 'you' occurring occasionally as subject, e.g., Job xviii. 2, Is. lxi. 7, has been altered to the less modern 'ye.' In a good many cases mistakes have been silently corrected, as in Gen. xxxix. 16, Num. vi. 14, Josh. iii. 15, Ezek. xxvi. 14, Mark v. 6, Joh. xi. 3, I Cor. xii. 28. In other instances changes have been introduced which are either unnecessary or distinctly for the worse, as I Kings xiii. 11 ('his sonne'), Job x. 10 ('cruddled'), xviii. 9 ('grinne': cp. Ps. cxl. 3, cxli. 9), xx. 25 ('glistening'), Wisd. xii. 1 ('uncorruptible'), xv. 13 ('brickle'), Ecclus. vi. 15 ('unvaluable'), Matt. xxvii. 52 ('bodies of Saints'), I Cor. iv. 9 ('approved to death'), I Tim. ii. 9 ('shamefastnesse'). The corrections which are of value

were made chiefly in the Cambridge editions of 1629 and 1638, and for most of the modernisations we have to thank the editors of the Cambridge edition of 1762 and of the Oxford edition of 1769.

Mr Aldis Wright gives all the credit for accuracy of reproduction in this reprint to the compositors and readers of the Cambridge University Press, and claims as his share of the work only the collation of the two editions and a general superintendence of the printing. We have no doubt that his tribute to the printers and readers is well deserved; but it will be understood without difficulty that the excellence of the result must be partly due to the fact that his accurate and extensive knowledge of the subject, and his sound editorial judgment, were always available when any questions or difficulties arose.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Montaigne and Shakespeare and other Essays on Cognate Questions.*

By JOHN M. ROBERTSON. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1909. 8vo. vi + 358 pp.

Beginning with an essay on Walt Whitman in 1884, Mr Robertson has during the last five and twenty years poured forth a ceaseless stream of writing, in which politics and sociology predominate, but religion plays a large part, and philosophy and literature are adequately represented. His lectures on *Modern Humanists* at South Place in 1891 are well worth reading: his *Buckle and his Critics*, 1895, is a work of immense scope, involving acquaintance with much of the most serious thought of our time: since 1899 he has issued four large books on Christianity or Free thought; he has edited Bacon's philosophical works and Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, and included long essays on these with others on Macchiavelli, Hobbes, Spinoza, De Mandeville, Gibbon and Mary Wolstonecraft in *Pioneer Humanists*, 1907: while pure literature is represented by several volumes of criticism, besides a study of Browning and Tennyson as teachers, 1903, a very meritorious essay on *Titus Andronicus* 1905, and the present book, first issued in 1897 and now enlarged. No one examining even cursorily this great bulk of work, which includes, further, *New Essays towards a Critical Method*, 1897, *An Introduction to English Politics*, 1900, *Courses of Study*, 1904, and *Letters on Reasoning*, 1905, could lightly dismiss Mr Robertson's claims to attention. Much of it may be journalistic in character; nor do we forget that ramifying principle by which a few ideas extend themselves into many subjects. But with full allowance for all this, the industry, ability and flexibility here must be very great. And, so far as we have been able to examine, all is clearly thought and well expressed. Individual style, literary grace and power, are not prominent. But everywhere, like Montaigne, he seizes on substance; and produces the impression of a hard-headed thinker, who knows what he would be at and can find the shortest way to it.

His *Montaigne and Shakespeare* shows thought, hard reasoning, and on special points a tincture of the minute scholarship which modern criticism demands; and yet in a certain sense it may be classed as the work of the politician in literature. Not that politics are obtruded. Rather we seem to note a studied avoidance of them, to which we gladly pay our tribute. The opportunity, perhaps the temptation, is obvious: but he gives no sign of yielding to it, beyond the insertion of a passage in this edition repudiating the Choruses of *Henry V* 'with confidence that they are not Shakespeare's work, having no community of diction and rhythm with his undisputed verse of that date' (p. 218), the doubt expressed whether this play represents the poet's real view of Henry, and the assertion that he 'never again strikes the note of blatant patriotism'—the Queen's stirring speech in *Cymbeline* iii, 1. 16—32, an echo of old Gaunt's, is, we suppose, merely in keeping with her proper depravity. As regards the poet's smile at Utopias, Mr Robertson is quite justified in maintaining that it does not amount to ridicule. Indeed we have always felt that *The Tempest*, even more than its sister-plays or *As You Like It*, is in part a satire on the working of civilization; and that Wordsworth might naturally take Miranda as his model for Nature's 'lady of her own,' as we believe he did. Our judgment is based rather on the general manner and temper of the book, and on what we feel as its inadequate literary sense. The tone is largely polemical; a result, no doubt, of anxiety to defend the position against criticism, but one that weakens rather than improves the general effect, and would do so even were the main contention really a strong one. It is difficult not to feel that the author rather enjoys the combat, and that his subject is hardly of so much moment to him as the discomfiture of opponents. His thesis is that Montaigne was a main ingredient, and a necessary ingredient, in the production of the great tragedies. That surely is his main contention, in spite of an admission that Shakespeare went beyond him in logical consistency, in agnosticism, in pessimism, and in achievement, in spite of an occasional hedging of expression, like 'among the sources of the greatest expansive movement of the poet's mind, the movement which made him...the great master of the tragedy of the moral intelligence' (p. 176). Montaigne, we read, is 'the deep-striking intelligence that first stirred him to philosophise' (p. 217); his is the culture 'which finally touched him to his most memorable performance' (p. 160): Montaigne 'had determined much of the intellectual colouring of some of the greatest of the tragedies, and had thus given a special atmosphere to Shakespeare's inner life' (p. 289), and 'on reconsideration I am not disposed to recede from any of my expressions which leant more to the notion of "cause" than to that of simple "contribution," seeing that they are qualified by sufficient mention of those forces of experience and primary genius which were equally essential' (p. 284). That is the thesis; and his chief means to establish it is the adducing, with a fine air of judicial impartiality and, we admit, with much scholarly looking before and after, a large number of parallels of



phrase and thought. Intent on making these good, he overlooks the fact that, if all of them were granted, they are inadequate to prove his case. While no one now denies that Shakespeare read Montaigne, and while Mr Robertson may be held to have added to the proofs that he studied him with closeness, still we find ourselves compelled to echo the general opinion that many of the supposed parallels are not really such; and not all Mr Robertson's talk about 'culture-contact' can convince us that Montaigne is at all required as an explanation of Shakespeare's tragedy.

Of the twenty-six parallels cited, only four are claimed as indisputably proving verbal reminiscence: the rest are of idea or idea-chain, assisted sometimes by verbal likeness; and it is clear that their cogency will vary, not only with the considering mind, but with the generality or particularity of the themes they touch. Much questioned as they have been, none of them are here withdrawn; though Mr Robertson's fairness allows him to modify them by citing instances from earlier English work—as in the case of 'discourse of reason,' where they surely annul Mr Robertson's former inference to Montaigne's credit, or in 'thinking makes it so' where we are pleased to see *Euphues* now cited—or from Cicero or St Augustine, as in the Duke's speech on death in *Measure for Measure*; while his confidence in his twenty-second parallel seems weakened by the fact that Professor Churton Collins produced an obviously better one from *All's Well* (pp. 108, 79). Some additional illustrations of the old parallels are added; and a fresh one (xxiv) adduced, which we find as unconvincing as we do his third, fifth, eighth, ninth, thirteenth, nineteenth (save for the suggestion of cold in Purgatory), twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-third; while 'Conscience doth make cowards of us all' (in xvi) may just as well be attributed like 'guilty creatures sitting at a play' etc. to *A Warning for Faire Women*. Of many, perhaps most, of Mr Robertson's parallels we can only say, 'Non defensoribus istis.'

Descending from these remote, inhospitable and difficult heights, where it might be unscientific to suggest that vinegar has been employed, we reach the *iam humano cultu digniora loca* of chapters vi and vii, much the most interesting and best-written of the book, though the view of Shakespeare's growth—we should have said 'culture-evolution'—is a good deal indebted to Mr Barrett Wendell's study of 1894, to which, indeed, Mr Robertson makes general reference in a note. The eighth chapter disallows the notion of Stedefeld and Feis that *Hamlet* was a sermon against Montaigne, maintains Shakespeare's general deism and agnosticism about a future life, whether suggested by Montaigne or Marlowe, and, after another long discussion whether the striking idea

Over that art  
Which you say adds to nature, is an art  
That nature makes

is or is not anticipated by various passages in Bacon, closes with a slight comparison of Montaigne's and Shakespeare's social and political



attitude, their retirement from an active career, and their mystic sense of illusion in human life. This is very much to the point: we could wish Mr Robertson had greatly amplified this side of general comparison. Too much space is taken up with mere polemics. The unsuspecting reader who attacks the added essay attractively entitled 'On the Originality of Shakespeare' finds himself entangled once more in the *minutiae* of argument between Mr Robertson and his critics. And meantime, amid all these parallels and polemics, this straining and hair-splitting, this hard and capable dialectic, we too often feel as if Montaigne and Shakespeare had gone off arm-in-arm, laughing together over folk who 'for a tricky word Defy the matter,' and wish Mr Robertson could have forgotten his swashing blow, or not noticed that thumbs were bitten at him, but followed them discreetly into the tavern and, seating himself unobtrusively at a near table, listened to and commented on what passed over their cup of sack. For these are the two names in all literature that stand for what is vast, capacious, oceanic, 'too full for sound and foam,' for what is genial as 'the good gigantic smile of the old brown earth,' for the sun that riseth on the evil and on the good, for the ultimate union of Ahriman and Ormuzd in some eternal sphere. Not Homer, nor Plato, nor Dante, still less a dozen lower yet immortal names, have this humane and reconciling largeness in equal measure. But in the manner of Mr Robertson's book we miss the reflection of it; as in its matter we miss much that might have been compared, and more that should have been contrasted, in the two minds—the wider range, the inconstant touch, the indiscipline yet pervading verve, the blossoming wilderness of the one; the fuller grasp and surer hold, the deeper realisation and intensity, the greater art, the 'sudden rose,' the steady soar or failing pinion of the other. We get too little of all this from Mr Robertson; the two are not, for all his parallels, set fairly side by side. *Solvuntur tabulae*? No. An obligation immeasurably greater remains yet unsatisfied, to evade or disclaim which is to renounce at once the high place a work of this title might assert as its own.

It is useless to complain of the entry into literature of that exact and scientific spirit which is working marvels for us here, as science does in every field. Yet even when the science is really exact, analysis and the massing of details can no more give us a complete account of literature or art than of the sunset, the sea, or those most ancient heavens above us. That Montaigne helped to stimulate and widen Shakespeare's thought, as he does that of all intelligent persons, may be freely admitted. That the recurrence in *Hamlet* or *Measure for Measure* of half-a-dozen or two dozen thoughts found in Montaigne warrants us in pointing to Montaigne as the inspiring or main influence in those or other plays, is a proposition of such infinitely wider scope that we do not understand how it was possible to pass, as Mr Robertson surely does pass, from one to the other. It is this that is in question between him and his critics: the actual parallels, sound or disputable, are an altogether minor matter. It is in vain that he seeks to buttress

his case by explaining parallels in plays before 1603 as later insertions, by underrating the ethical quality of the Histories, by denying Shakespeare's use of North's Plutarch before *Julius Caesar* (p. 149) and somewhat exaggerating the effect of that 'body of literature' on his mind when he did come across it. Even if we could grant all this, not all this, nor all the parallels collected by Mr Robertson, ourselves or others, can touch the broad fact that Montaigne lacked alike the intense and passionate feeling, and the intense and passionate expression, which alone could make such a claim plausible. To be insensible of that disparity in the furniture, processes and product of the two minds is the gravest disqualification for dealing with either. In Shakespeare passion and feeling were so intimately bound up with fine expression that we doubt if, enjoy Montaigne as he might, he can possibly have yielded him the high respect he certainly deserves. And Montaigne with his philosophic imperturbability, his rational balance maintained through no matter what passing mortifications, his undiminished response to life and power of enjoyment, is quite obviously a stranger to the region in which the tragedies move. He lacks capacity for the whole tragic side of life; and is well aware of it. He knows that souls like Cato, or the martyrs of religion, occupy levels beyond his reach. Admire as he may the heroism of Epaminondas, reverence as he may the grandeur that was Rome, he feels them as mainly an affair of history, excellent as mental *pabulum*, no bad subject for literary regrets, but obviously inapplicable to concrete modern existence, where the grand point is not to let yourself get unbalanced or inconvenienced in any direction. Such a temper, albeit qualified with a certain stoicism for practical ends, is worlds away from the tragic spirit.

Even Mr Robertson must have a sense of this. In his interesting chapter on 'The Potency of Montaigne' the qualities he asserts for him are, not intensity or depth, but range, sincerity, spontaneity, freedom in manner and matter, suggestiveness—precisely the right ones, and those which have been claimed for him by others. Very instructive are the pages (169—174) which show how 'Montaigne has scattered his pollen over all the literature of France'; and, though we cannot quite go along with 'the cadence of his phrases and the beat of words,' he rightly feels that so natural and unstudied a style must have had a healthful influence on Shakespeare's dramatic utterance.

Such a voice, speaking at Shakespeare's ear in an English nearly as racy and nervous as the incomparable old-new French of the original, was in itself a revelation. And it spoke to one for whom, as player and as playwright, it had come to be an imperative need to substitute a living and lifelike speech for the turgid and unreal rhetoric of the would-be academics who had created the English drama as he found it (p. 165).

But this effect may be traced much earlier than *Hamlet*. It is visible in the *Merchant*, the two parts of *Henry IV*, and the comedies of 1598—1601; and the deepening of thought is visible too. Mr Robertson attributes this mainly to the psychological effect of acting and to acute

personal experience, both of which must have played their part. But something of this oncoming intellectual change is fairly attributable to contact with Montaigne: and Mr Robertson would have made a better book if, instead of minimizing the influence before 1603 and connecting it rather with Shakespeare's tragic side, he could have seen that it is an important factor in the richer note and the advance in 'comic reality' of the period 1593—1600, though continued in later work. Apart from distinct characters of the thoughtful type, 'the censurer of mankind,' long since noted by Hallam in Jaques and Hamlet and the Duke of *Measure for Measure*, and developed, we quite admit, in Lear and Timon, this critical and reflective quality, this pale cast of thought, is already visible in Faulconbridge and Falstaff and Prince Hal, in Arragon's lines over the caskets, in Romeo, in Leonato's remonstrance against those who would

Fetter strong madness in a silken thread,  
Charm ache with air and agony with words,

in the King's great speech on pride of class in *All's Well*. Ethical quality of this kind first appears with distinctness in *Richard II*, when Marlowe's influence was on the wane; and it will not do to dismiss it as 'largely a matter of saner and more felicitous declamation' (p. 156). Ethical reflection dressed with richness is not excluded from its rank as philosophical poetry by calling it rhetoric; for rhetoric enters into literary art of every kind, and its finest flower is seen perhaps in pregnant simplicities like 'He has no children,' or 'she had Another morn than our's.' Its definite appearance in *Richard II*, and the leaven of it felt from the very first,—inherent in the whole design of *L. L. L.*, as in the conception of Mercutio and the Duke of *The Two Gentlemen*—are proof that Shakespeare did not owe it wholly to the Essayist. This thoughtful smile, this redressing of the balance, this assertion of a large general perception of fairness, good sense and mundane wisdom against particular violations of them, is, indeed, the eternal spirit of Comedy: but it is also the special spirit of Montaigne. And when Shakespeare's soul was more deeply touched and he passed on to the graver comedies and the tragedies, he could still find in Montaigne the ally of this reflective critical analytic spirit, and borrow from him many special thoughts; but the passionate intensity, the bitter outcry, the vision of man writhing in the meshes of his own character or crushed beneath the Juggernaut car of an advancing destiny, this he could no more get from the great Frenchman than he could have got it from Aristophanes or Lucian, from Plautus or Terence. And Mr Robertson's book breaks down precisely because he has not recognized this, but has tried to represent what is almost wholly a comic and critical influence as if it were equivalent to a tragic.

Leaving the main contention as a matter on which he has burnt his ships, and waiving wearisome argument on his parallels, let us mention what seem to us some reflections of idea before 1603. There

seems no sure ground for questioning Shakespeare's ability to read French. If he could not, he certainly could not write the French scenes of *Henry V*, which are neither unlike him, nor inconsistent with the characters of Pistol or Henry. But the first entry of 'The Essais of Michael Lord of Mountene' in the Stationers' Register dates Oct. 20, 1595, and Shakespeare's personal acquaintance with Florio, Southampton's tutor in Italian, seems all but certain. We find the traces of Montaigne at least as early as 1596. Biron's contrast between the natural gifts and charm of women and the tedious acquisitions of learning may well be suggested by the essay 'Of three Commerces' (iii, 3, p. 418 b, ed. Morley), 'With this learning they (ladies) command without controule, and overrule both Regents and Schooles'; and the same speech reminds us of iii, 5, 431 a, 'Whoever shall go about to remove amorous imaginations from the Muses, shall deprive them of the best entertainment they have, and of the noblest subject of their work.' Shakespeare revised the play for the performance at Court, Dec. 26, 1597. In the *Merchant* are several suggestive passages besides that about the music of the spheres. In the essay 'Of Custome' i, 22, 43 a, just after an allusion to 'the grosse imposture of religions,' occurs 'no fantasie so mad can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publike custome,' the whole passage anticipating Bassanio's reflections on the power of custom and authority to impose the false. In i, 25, 77 b the sentiment, 'That eloquence offereth injurie unto things which altogether drawes us to observe it' is followed by a reflexion on those who 'in common speech... hunt after new phrases and unaccustomed quaint words,' and reminds us of Lorenzo's comment on Launcelot 'for a tricky word Defying the matter.' In ii, 28, 357 b, 'All things have their season, yea the good and all,' is Portia's 'Nothing is good, I see, without respect,' the general moral of the play and of Montaigne's teaching alike. In Antonio's mouth (i, 1, 78), before Jaques, is found 'the world....A stage where every man must play a part, And mine a sad one'; and if Mr Robertson may be right in tracing it to the *Mirroure* rather than to Montaigne, iii, 10, 518 b, yet in iii, 8, 476 a, 'Unto how many fond and shallow minds hath in my dayes a sullen, cold, and silent countenance served as a title of wisdom and capacity?' we have surely the original of Gratiano's reply—

There are a sort of men whose visages  
Do cream and mantle like a standing pond,  
And do a wilful stillness entertain,  
With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion  
Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit, etc.

and the immediately following words of the essay, 'Dignities, charges and places are necessarily given more by fortune than by merit,' probably suggest Arragon's wish,

O that estates, degrees, and offices  
Were purchas'd by the merit of the wearer.



In regard to *Henry V*, the weight of critical opinion regards the quarto of 1600 as an abridgment from the version given later by the Folio, not as a first sketch for it; and we may note not only the soliloquy on kingship, but Fluellen's 'disciplines of the war, the Roman wars' as perhaps due to the title of ii, 34, 'Observations concerning the meanes to warre after the maner of Julius Cæsar,' while Amurath's tyranny finds a mention in iii, 1, 407 a, and the name at least in ii, 29, 361 a. So, too, Hamlet's 'rather beare the euilles we haue, Than flie to others that we know not of' (Q<sup>1</sup>) may remember Solon's remark (iii, 9, 490 a), 'there is none that would not rather chuse to carry back with him such evils as he alreadie hath, then come to a lawfull division with other men of that chaos of evils'; and, after 1603, Edgar's doubt 'how conceit may rob the treasury of life' etc., may be suggested by the instances in ii, 25 of a counterfeited becoming a real blindness. And in *The Tempest* Montaigne himself probably stands as general model for Prospero (as Euphues had stood for Jaques), in his bookish pre-occupation, his efforts in self-discipline, his sense of illusion, his 'every third thought his grave,' his concern with the education of the young, even his servant, irreclaimable from 'roguing laziness' and wild habits like 'gathering of muskles in a common sincke for his dinner' (iii, 3, 556 a); and Prospero's recipe of 'a solemn air' as 'the best comforter For an unsettled brain' recalls i, 46, 137 a, where Pythagoras 'by a solempne, grave, severe, and spondiacall kinde of musicke, did sweetly inchaunt, allay, and in-trance' the 'rash, violent, and law-lesse lust' of 'two young men.' Lastly 'your soft cheveril conscience' of *Henry VIII*, ii, 3, 32, a scene which Spedding gave to Shakespeare, corrects Florio's misuse of the phrase in 'so tender or cheverell a conscience' iii, 1, 407 a. These, nearly all noted (though not inserted) while composing a study on Montaigne five years since, seem closer than most of Mr Robertson's, though he may not agree. We believe their number could be largely increased, and that no increase would give Montaigne any nearer interest in Shakespeare's tragic achievement.

To the much-discussed question of Shakespeare's learning, besides the rather jejune chap. iv which simply examines the Seneca parallels of Dr Cunliffe, and the brief chap. v about Bruno, Mr Robertson devotes a new Introduction contesting with some success the arguments of Churton Collins, another passage (pp. 93—103) inserted to disprove his allegation of a parallel from *Alcibiades Primus*, and a separate essay at the close. We are no believers in the idea of Shakespeare's study of Greek authors in Latin translations, though we think it would be possible in a chance case; and Mr Robertson justly complains of talk about Greek idioms in the work of one supposed to reach Greek writers by that channel. Undoubtedly Collins pushed his thesis too far; but he fell back at the close of his essay on 'probability,' and the intelligent reader surmises that the thesis with its inconsistent phraseology, which gives Mr Robertson his chance, was mainly a literary garb, an excuse for unloading a number of real parallels from Greek authors, observable only by a wide scholar of extraordinary

memory and alertness, and admirably illustrating 'what Sainte-Beuve calls the Literary Tradition.' When Collins tells us that 'fat paunches have lean pates' (*L. L. L.*, i, 1) is undoubtedly from the anonymous Greek proverb *παχέα γαστήρ λεπτόν οὐ τίκτει νόον*, one feels he is speaking truth, through whatever *media* it filtered down to Shakespeare. Mr Robertson seems to us more inconsistent than he, in denying classical knowledge while admitting possible school reminiscence. Knowledge of the classics is classical knowledge, even though acquired at school. The reading of early days affects imagination most strongly at the time, and leaves the most indelible mark on the *tabula rasa* of the brain. Given, too, the initial knowledge of good material in a particular author, the poet might naturally seek more at the same source. We are strongly of opinion that this actually happened to him in regard to Plautus, though the demonstration cannot be attempted here. His ignorance of Greek, his general lack of scholarship, his grievous slips, may be admitted; but not that he was without the motive or the power to learn. And to add to these slips by making him speak of the Lupercal as a hill (p. 337) seems to us hardly fair. 'On the Lupercal' iii, 2, 100 certainly does not warrant it; and the poet must have seen 'the feast of Lupercal' (i, 1, 72), even if we were to admit that scene as the work of an earlier dramatist.

An even stronger presumption exists of his possession of some Italian, the easiest and at that time the most fashionable of modern languages, which Gascoigne says he 'learned in London' apparently before 1566, and to learn something of which Shakespeare had special social inducement, as well as the prospect of dramatic material to be gleaned. We believe we have clearer evidence than any yet produced that he did acquire some power of reading it, though this too must be dealt with elsewhere. The opponents of Shakespeare's knowledge are driven, like the Baconians, to assumptions larger than the admission they seek to avoid. 'Any one,' says Mr Robertson (p. 338), 'who could read Italian, might have furnished Shakespeare or his partners with a translation of the story' of *Othello*. Even if we granted that players or their playwrights might commission translations of pieces or tales they knew nothing about, or give a general commission for the translation of *novelle* for trial—a rather large hypothesis—is it not far more probable, in the then state of dramatic art, that one who could discern dramatic possibilities in a story would himself dramatise it, rather than act as mere jackal to a man of less cultivation? And surely it is easier to credit Shakespeare with some effort in the field of foreign and famous work, than to suppose him to have at his fingers' ends all manner of barren joyless stuff, out-of-the-way treatises, translations of Latin philosophy, woodenest verse, which the press had happened to vent in English during half a century before.

We have something of the same feeling about the suggestion of intermediate plays, and the ascription to other hands of a large share in work that has passed as the product of Shakespeare's first decade. Without accepting Mr Courthope's sweeping restoration to him of

plays that have been doubted or segregated by the critics of a century and a half, we incline to think that the collaborator and the lost play and its later Shakespearean revision are becoming a little too convenient as working hypotheses, and depend largely on an unreasonable scepticism about his powers and attainments. Mr Fleay maintained (*Life*, p. 12) that all Shakespeare's work before 1594 was 'refashioned at a later time': Mr Robertson (p. 78) says 'Unquestionably most of the earlier plays were revised by Shakespeare after 1600,' and talks freely of the survival of alien matter in *Romeo and Juliet*, the *Errors*, *Two Gentlemen* and *L. L. L.* (pp. 5, 143, 238, 260). But Shakespeare's time after 1598 is so well filled with fresh and more powerful work that extensive revision then is as hard to believe in as the production of sixteen or seventeen plays before that date: and, though a marked difference of style must carry weight, we should not feel mere want of taste and art, mere slipshod or mechanical execution, sufficient ground for rejecting a passage, especially in early work, where his hurry was probably greater and his ease less.

There are other points we would have touched on, were not this review already of inordinate length. Let us close it with a word in recognition of Mr Robertson's effort to approach the poet with freshness, and of his at least partial sense of the care required; of his comparison of passages from Marston, Kyd, Greene or Peele; of his clear assertion that Shakespeare, not Marlowe, was the true creator of blank verse by his complete and conscious grasp at length of the principle of 'sense variously drawn out'; of his useful emphasis laid on the actual quotation by Montaigne of many Latin passages which Shakespeare might otherwise seem to have read in the originals. We are not of Mr Robertson's disruptive school, and we think his main thesis sadly needs readjustment; but we are glad to have seen his book, and have striven to give it the attention which its own effort at logic and fairness deserves.

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LONDON.

*Spenser's Faerie Queene*. Edited by J. C. SMITH. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 8vo. xxiv + 518, vi + 519 pp.

A satisfactory critical edition of the *Faerie Queene* has long been a *desideratum*, and this bids fair to supply the need. It forms the second and third volumes of a complete Oxford edition of Spenser's Poetical Works, the first volume of which is yet to come. The book is an admirable specimen of typography, beautiful to look at and pleasant to read, and the editorial work seems to be carefully and competently done. The text is founded upon a fresh collation of the Quartos of 1590 and 1596 and the Folio of 1609, the only editions which seem to have a claim to original authority, and the relation between these editions is very clearly set forth in the Introduction. Mr Smith's object is to present a true text, and not a reprint of any particular edition;



but his work is rightly based upon the edition of 1596 (except as regards the fragment of Book VII, which appeared first in 1609), and the readings of 1596, if not adopted in the text, are recorded fully in the notes, 'so that text and notes together amount, in effect, to a complete reprint of 1596.' As regards the other two editions he records all verbal differences, and all differences of punctuation which are significant, but mere variations of spelling are noted only when they seem to be of interest. Mr Smith is certainly justified in taking the text of 1596 as the basis for Books I—III as well as IV—VI, notwithstanding the fact that the first three Books in the edition of 1596 were printed from the text of 1590, and that the corrections of that text which had been made in its list of errata (or 'Faults Escaped in the Print') are almost entirely ignored. Marked instances of error running through all the early editions in this way are to be found in I, i, 21, ii, 17, iv, 32, x, 59, xi, 6; II, i, 33, ii, 37, ix, 41; III, i, 30, iii, 43, 50. Evidently the author trusted to the printers to insert the corrections which they already had in their hands, and did not in 1596 read through the proofs of the first volume with any close attention; but nevertheless the text of 1596 shows unmistakable signs of his revision. Apart from the larger alterations, the refashioning of the conclusion of Book III, and the addition of a stanza at I, xi, 3, we find numerous smaller changes which are certainly due to the author: as I, i, 2, 'But' for 'And,' with very fine effect; I, vii, 37, 'trample' for 'amble,' a more appropriate word; II, iv, 17, altered apparently to avoid the word 'ketch'; II, v, 19; 'do' for 'garre,' to avoid a dialectical peculiarity which does not elsewhere occur in the *Faerie Queene*; II, vi, 3, where 'as merry as pope Ione' is excluded as too colloquial; III, iii, 53, altered to avoid an awkward parenthesis; III, iv, 39, where a more pathetic effect is obtained by the substitution of 'sith we no more shall meet' for 'till we again may meet'; III, iv, 59, changed for the sake of the rhythm; III, vii, 48, where the reference to Chaucer's Sir Thopas is omitted, no doubt because of its suggestion of burlesque, and not for the reason suggested by Mr Smith, which in fact is no reason. The edition of 1596, then, in spite of its errors, must be regarded as having the author's authority in some degree throughout, and not merely as regards the portion of the poem which was then printed for the first time; but clearly it is to be corrected by the important help of the errata of 1590. The editor discusses also the question how far the edition of 1609 can be regarded as authoritative, and to a limited extent he admits its claim. A presumption in favour of it is created by the fact that this edition contributes two hitherto unpublished Cantos; and as Mr Smith points out, there are some alterations in the text generally which seem to indicate that the editor had original sources of information. Thus a missing line is supplied at I, x, 20, and at III, vi, 45 a broken line is added to an eight-line stanza, 'a touch beyond an editor,' as Mr Smith remarks. In some other places, too, corrections are made which seem to proceed from the author: Mr Smith cites several, and others are to be found at I, xi, 41, III, i, 41 and 60, III, vi, 25, IV, vii, 25: possibly too the rather determined attempt to distinguish the uses of 'sith'



and 'since,' which we find in this edition, may be made on the author's authority. For the most part, however, the variations of 1609 (often consisting merely of slight modernisations of the spelling) are to be attributed to an editor; and it is particularly to be observed that he worked from the 1596 edition only, and did not refer for the solution of any difficulty to the 1590 text of the first three Books. Thus when the metre of a line in this part of the poem has been affected by a misprint of 1596, instead of turning to the text of 1590, as the least enlightened of modern editors would surely do, he emends by conjecture: e.g., I, ii, 29, where the edition of 1590 gives

For the coole shade him thither hastily got:

and that of 1596 by a mistake omits 'him,' the edition of 1609 reads

For the coole shadow thither hastly got:

and so in several other instances, e.g., II, x, 51 and III, ix, 13.

Mr Smith rightly enough considers it to be his duty to correct the errors of the printer, but not those of the author. As a rule he shows very sound critical judgment, but there are a few passages in which he has preserved the reading of the old editions when it is practically certain that the author wrote something different: e.g., I, viii, 44, l. 4, where 'delight' is certainly a printer's error, though we cannot be quite certain of the word intended; IV, vii, 22, where the correction 'For' for 'Nor' seems practically certain, and the mistake must have been due to the printers; v, iv, 37, where Church's restoration of the rhyme may safely be adopted ('newe' for 'neare'). In some cases the editor has perhaps too readily assumed that there is error, where there is none. In II, xii, 23, l. 9,

Mighty Monoceros with immeasured tayles,

he has admitted into the text the conjecture 'Monoceroses,' a form which Spenser would hardly have tolerated; and he has not noted that with this reading another change in the line is necessary; we must read 'immeasurd' (as in II, x, 8) for 'immeasured,' for there is nothing in which Spenser is more careful and consistent than in this distinction. Probably he used 'Monoceros' here as a plural, and 'immeasured' is to be read with the accent thrown upon the third syllable. Mr Smith objects that this pronunciation is without example; but why is it more difficult than 'captiued' II, v, 16, as compared with 'cáptiu'd' II, v, 27? Again, the editor adopts the 1609 alteration of 'singulfes' to 'singultes,' but admits that 'singulfes' (or 'singulfs') occurs in three other passages of Spenser, *Colin Clout*, 168, *Teares of the Muses*, 232, and *Faerie Queene*, v, vi, 13, so that four independent printers' errors would be required to account for it. Surely it is more reasonable to accept it as a Spenserian word, more euphonious and more expressive than 'singultes.'

Among mistakes which are due to the author Mr Smith reckons one curious form of failure in rhyme of which perhaps he is the first to

give a systematic account, that is to say, where in place of a rather obvious word which would satisfy the rhyme, we find a synonym which does not rhyme at all, as for example in II, viii, 29,

Indeed (then said the Prince) the euill donne  
 Dyes not, when breath the bodie first doth leaue,  
 But from the grandsyre to the Nephewes sonne,  
 And all his seed the curse doth often cleaue,  
 Till vengeance vtterly the guilt bereaue:  
 So streightly God doth iudge. But gentle knight,  
 That doth against the dead his hand vpreare,  
 His honour staines with rancour and despight,  
 And great disparagment makes to his former might.

(The word asked for by the rhyme is evidently 'vpheauē' instead of 'vpreare.') The editor points out that this phenomenon occurs no less than nine times in the *Faerie Queene* of 1596, and in only one of these instances was the text altered in 1609. He comes to the conclusion, after a careful examination of the conditions, that in every case it is accidental, two words rising simultaneously to the poet's mind, and the one which he meant to reject slipping nevertheless from his pen. It may be so, though it is a little difficult to believe that such an accident occurred and escaped notice so often; but I may point out that it is not without parallel. One good example occurs in Meredith's *Last Poems*:

A wilding little stubble flower,  
 The sickle scorned which cut for corn,  
 Such was our hope in that dark hour,  
 When nought save uses held the street;

with regard to which it is remarked by a reviewer (in the *Cambridge Review*) that for 'corn' we should obviously read 'wheat.' The alternative in Spenser's case is to suppose that after the stanza had been finished in the regular form, the author deliberately altered one rhyme word for the sake of variety; and this is hardly likely. It may be noted that in five of the nine instances the failure occurs in the first place of the rhyme series, where the need for variation would be least felt, and where no effect of unexpectedness could be produced on the reader's mind.

The editor is perhaps too ready to assume confusion of thought in his author, when there is no necessity for such an explanation. He issues a challenge with regard to three passages in particular, which seem to him incapable of explanation or correction. The first is II, v, 12,

With that he cryde, Mercy, do me not dye,  
 Ne deeme thy force by fortunes doome vniust,  
 That hath (maugre her spight) thus low me laid in dust.

The last two lines have not been properly explained as yet, but they are not, I think, inexplicable. The meaning probably is, 'And do not estimate thy force in accordance with the unjust decision of Fortune, which has thus laid me low (a curse upon her spite!)': that is, 'Let

not this victory, which is determined only by Fortune, lead thee to boast unduly of thy force.' The use of 'deeme' and 'doome' in evident connexion seems to me to be in favour of this explanation. No doubt the sense here attached to 'maugre' is unusual; and it is not paralleled by 'maulgre them' in III, iv, 39, which is quoted under the same heading by the Oxford Dictionary, for there the phrase seems to have its usual meaning, with a reference to the etymological sense of 'farewell': but in III, v, 7 'maulgre' appears to be used as an imprecation, and the original meaning of the word, 'ill-will,' 'displeasure,' as in *Piers Plowman* B vi, 242, 'He had maugre of his maistre for euermore after,' might easily lend itself to such a use as we seem to have here.

The second passage cited as inexplicable is v, vi, 5,

And then, her grieve with error to beguyle,  
She fayn'd to count the time againe anew,  
As if before she had not counted trew.  
For houres but dayes; for weekes, that passed were,  
She told but moneths, to make them seem more few:  
Yet when she reckned them, still drawing neare,  
Each hour did seeme a moneth, and euery moneth a yeare.

Here there is no real difficulty. To make the time that had elapsed seem shorter, she reckoned in days rather than in hours, and in months rather than in weeks, so that the numbers at least might be small, and she might hope to forget the actual length of the periods numbered. But the opposite result followed: her mind refusing to be beguiled fixed itself even more upon the length of the portions of which each amount was composed, exaggerating this in imagination, so that hours seemed as long as months, and months as years. There is subtlety here, no doubt, but no real obscurity. An arithmetician indeed might object that if an hour seemed equal to a month, a month ought to seem equal to sixty years, but the fact that the poet does not work the matter out to this logical result is no proof of mental confusion.

The third passage, v, vi, 26,

Ne lesse did *Talus* suffer sleepe to seaze  
His eye-lids sad, but watcht continually,

involves no doubt a mistake, but one which might easily occur without mental confusion. The sentence was begun with the idea of saying 'Ne lesse did *Talus* watch continually,' or something to that effect, and then the form of the expression was changed, and the author neglected to substitute 'more' for 'lesse.'

But whatever differences of opinion may arise upon details, the editor's work is on the whole greatly to be commended. He proceeds upon sound principles, and usually displays excellent judgment. It may be added that the Critical Appendix at the end of the second volume presents a more convenient *conspectus* of the textual problems of the *Faerie Queene* than will easily be found elsewhere.

G. C. MACAULAY.

*A Concordance to the English Poems of Thomas Gray.* Edited by ALBERT S. COOK. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1908. xii + 160 pp.

This book is the first-fruits of a Concordance Society which was organised at Yale University in 1906. The choice of an author for the first experiment was influenced partly by the desire to select one whose works lay in a brief compass, 'so that the compilation might be effected by few hands in a brief time, and the subvention required by the publishers might not unduly tax the slender resources of the Society.' The choice of Gray is for other reasons too a happy one: his use of words is a particularly interesting subject for study, and often throws light upon the literary influences by which he was affected. The basis of the concordance is Gosse's edition of Gray, 1884, distinction being carefully made of the doubtful poems, and variant readings being quoted also from the early editions and from the manuscript copies.

The fulness and accuracy of the references seems to be all that can be desired, but we are inclined to differ from the editor on some minor matters of treatment. Gray's spelling of course is kept in the quotations, but the head-words are in some cases unnecessarily normalised. Gray gives us sometimes 'horrou,' but more frequently 'horror' (or 'horrors'), and the same is true of 'warrior' and 'warriour,' while he writes 'rumor' and not 'rumour' in the one place where the word occurs. This justifies the editor in giving the forms 'horror,' 'warrior' 'rumor' as the head-words in these cases, but surely he is not therefore compelled to choose the forms 'ardor,' 'armor,' 'color,' 'flavor,' 'honor,' 'labor,' 'rigor,' 'vigor,' and so on, when Gray never spelt any of these words in that manner. Or again, why should he employ 'rime' as the head-word, when Gray always spelt the word either 'rhime' or 'rhyme'? Cross-references are given, so that no mistake need be made, but the regard for consistency seems here to be carried too far. Again it would have been better, as the editor seems partly to admit, to carry the distinction of homonyms rather further. A distinction is made between 'art' *subst.* and 'art' *verb*, and between 'save' *verb* and 'save' *prep.*, but 'flies' *verb* and 'flies' *subst.* are placed under one head-word ('happiness too swiftly flies,' with 'Judgment from the Harvest flies') and still worse 'rear' *subst.* is grouped with 'rear' *verb*, where there is not even an etymological connexion. But this fault, which would be more serious in the case of an author of greater extent, may perhaps be corrected in the future publications of the Concordance Society.

The work which this Society proposes to itself is a most useful one: a concordance is an almost indispensable aid to the study of a poet's style, and the preparation of one is a piece of work which can very successfully be performed in collaboration. The editor, it is true, speaks of the difficulty of securing uniformity of method under this condition; but with sufficiently careful instructions to the workers, and a reasonable amount of editorial supervision, this difficulty ought not to be a very formidable one.

G. C. MACAULAY.



*English Literature in the Nineteenth Century.* By LAURIE MAGNUS.  
London: Andrew Melrose. 1909. 8vo. 418 pp.

Critics of literature belong to one of two classes; in Mr Magnus's words, either they are 'commentators, not creators,' or they affect 'for art what art itself affects for nature, a new medium of interpretation.' To the latter class of creative critics belong such teachers as Coleridge and Hegel, men whose words have come as a revelation, who have given their hearers a vision not only of the thought of this poet or of that, but of life itself, who have laid down laws of general application and universal interest. Such men share to no small extent the poetic gift of those whose work they are analysing, they rank with the prophets and see, when the eyes of common men are holden. Mr Magnus lays no claim to a place among these seers of criticism; his object is to provide a sketch map of nineteenth century literature, a guide which the beginner will find of real assistance, which will point out the principal landmarks and show the great highways, and in this he has succeeded admirably. He has dealt clearly and succinctly with a difficult and complex period, and his book will prove extremely helpful to those who wish for some introduction to nineteenth century prose and poetry. Its criticisms are not profound, and it has an occasional flippancy of style which jars—to speak of Leigh Hunt as the 'cock of the Cockneys,' or to refer to De Quincey's less happy witticisms as 'stuffed Lamb' is to descend to the level of the comic paper—but it does not profess to appeal to scholars, it aims at initiating readers into the methods of the great authors of the last century. Mr Magnus remarks with some naivety that he has criticised no book which he has not read, and this possibly accounts for the somewhat cursory treatment of certain authors. He is not attempting, as he says, to write a history of literature, and he has therefore a perfect right to omit any works which do not illustrate the particular points which he wishes to make; but it seems hardly worth while to mention Peacock at all, if he is to be dismissed in half a page, with no reference to *Nightmare Abbey*, or *Gryll Grange*, or *Maid Marian*; and we fail to see what light is thrown upon Rogers's place in literature by the unadorned statement 'that he was a banker by trade, and a kindly host in middle life to younger men.' There are too many strings of names; the section devoted to 'the Higher Journalism' consists of little else. But it is an ungrateful task to dwell upon the blemishes in a book which has so much to recommend it. Mr Magnus has the teacher's gift of making a complex subject clear without making it dull. His comparison of Ainsworth with Scott sums up tersely and vigorously the essential difference between them as historical novelists: Ainsworth's are 'novels with a historical background, not history re-incarnated in romance.' His treatment of Charles Lamb is sympathetic and appreciative, and a single sentence suggests the strength and weakness of Macaulay: 'He had a genius for generalisation, for bird's-eye views of tracts of territory, and sometimes employed this faculty to prove conclusions not supported by the ordnance survey.' The

author's analysis of the verse of Tennyson and Swinburne draws attention to an interesting subject, though unfortunately he cannot stay to work it out fully. The book is furnished with excellent chronological tables showing what authors were contemporaries, and also what great movements in scientific and religious thought were taking place.

G. E. HADOW.

CIRENCESTER.

*The Historical Study of the Mother Tongue.* By H. C. WYLD. London: Murray. 1906. 8vo. ix + 412 pp.

*The Growth of English.* By H. C. WYLD. London: Murray. 1907. 8vo. viii + 199 pp.

The first of these works, *The Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*, is certainly one of the most important contributions of recent years to the study of English. In fact it represents what is probably the clearest and most practical introduction to the higher reaches of the subject that has yet been written, and it should do much in the way of setting the study on a more intelligent basis. Within the last thirty years or so the scientific study of English has made rapid and sound progress—at least in the hands of the pioneers. The importance of the bearing of phonetics on the formal side of language, and of psychology on the logical side, has received increasing attention, while a vast number of invaluable facts has been collected from old texts, decaying dialects and the spoken language of to-day. Yet in spite of all this positive advance, it has to be confessed that the subject remains far from satisfactory, from the point of view of academic study; and as for the plain man, it strikes him either as an awful mystery to which the Germans somehow have the key, or else as a collection of dogmatic statements which he as an Englishman is bound to accept. If any one cause more than another may be adduced for this state of things, it is that the methods pursued by investigators and the general principles underlying those methods, have not hitherto been clearly set out. In concerning itself primarily with masses of unrelated, and often unexplained, facts, and neglecting that training in systematic method without which those facts are more or less futile, the study of English has thus been robbed not only of much of its interest, but, what is more important, of much of its educational value.

It is therefore because Professor Wyld seeks to remedy this state of affairs by deliberately concentrating upon philological method as applied to English study, that his work seems to be of such outstanding value and promises to be so extremely useful to teacher and student alike. The methods and principles presented, are those which have been evolved by earlier workers, both English and German; and the bringing together of this mass of information, otherwise not easily accessible nor

always clearly set forth, would in itself have been a work of great usefulness. But in addition to wide scholarship, Professor Wyld has brought to bear upon the task his experience as a University teacher. The way in which he anticipates difficulties and emphasises essential features, is characteristic of this, as is also the critical guidance given in reference to first-hand authorities, a feature which will be particularly welcome to the more serious students.

The first part of the work is given up to the discussion of general linguistic principles: the second part deals with the main problems of the Indo-Germanic, Germanic, and English languages. The aims of historical linguistic study are first outlined, fundamental points of method and principle being emphatically stated, e.g., 'Nothing occurs in language without a reason.' 'Linguistic study deals ultimately with the spoken sound not with its symbols.' Then after a lucid treatment of phonetics as a working basis, Professor Wyld proceeds to lay down the principles of sound-change, its nature and causes, and also to explain the differentiation of language as seen in the formation of dialects. A concise treatment of analogy, operative in all periods of linguistic development, is followed by an illuminating chapter on methods of comparison and reconstruction in connection with the Indo-European languages, and it will probably be found that this chapter, together with the succeeding one which deals more fully with the Aryan mother tongue, will be amongst those most highly appreciated. It is just at this point that guidance is most needed by students who are apt to be puzzled by the various theories set out from one quarter and another: and in these chapters the necessary help is given. The works of Johann Schmidt, Leskien and Brugmann are drawn upon, and a clear exposition of the phenomena of *Ablaut* is given.

The subsequent chapters which treat of Germanic, Old English and Middle English are marked with the same clear and original treatment as the earlier ones. They form a *résumé* of modern work in this field, and might well be recommended as an introduction to the reading of more detailed work, such as that of Sievers and Morsbach. Here as elsewhere the principles of modern philological method are brought forward and emphasised. Equally suggestive and useful is the discussion on present-day English with which the work concludes. But in this section some reference might perhaps have been made to the line of development taken by the language after the sixteenth century, even though the primary aim is not that of furnishing a history of the language. During the last three centuries the language has undergone certain subtle changes and some general guidance with regard to this rather neglected portion of the history would have been particularly welcome. An account of the earlier borrowings has not been excluded from the scheme.

In general, however, this work of Professor Wyld must be described as a most successful effort to organise a subject of peculiar difficulty. Apart from its valuable matter and its scientific treatment, the book will commend itself to all by its clear exposition, its lucid style and its



close touch with the actual needs of the student. It is certain to be appreciated by teacher and student alike.

*The Growth of English* is, as its second title implies, a work of a more elementary character, obviously inspired however with the ideas of the preceding one. It is intended for beginners, being written primarily with the needs of Secondary Schools and Training Colleges in view. It differs however very considerably both in plan and treatment from the usual elementary text-book on the English language. While affording in itself a complete survey of the subject, it is written as an introduction to study of a more advanced kind and is consequently arranged so as to supply that necessary groundwork which students who take up the study at the University grade, so invariably lack. The first seven chapters are devoted to a systematic examination of modern English, in the course of which some of the main principles of linguistic development are laid down from actual observation. Then a step is taken 'from the known to the unknown,' and the remaining six chapters deal with the past history of the language, a study which will now possess greater possibilities for the beginner, in consequence of the equipment in method acquired in the earlier chapters. The plan thus devised to form a convenient two-years' course, has obvious merits from the educational point of view besides its inductive methods and its abundant use of illustration. As in the preceding work the main emphasis is laid throughout upon fundamental principles. The object is not the accumulation of facts and rules, though at the same time a surprising amount of facts,—and interesting facts,—is gathered by the way, e.g., the statement of the conditions under which an initial aspirate is dropped (p. 73), or the explanation of the different pronunciations of *gh* in words like *rough* and *plough* (p. 144). It may however be questioned whether the Scotch phrase 'do you wish any more,' is rightly described (see p. 63) as 'quite impossible in English': it is certainly used in some educated circles in Norfolk. The sketch of the history of the language which follows, contains all that is needed at an early stage, and Professor Wyld has made a judicious selection of his material. English sound-laws, the vocabulary and the inflexions are all adequately dealt with, and the last chapter is devoted to a consideration of the place of English among other languages. This is a matter which almost invariably figures earlier in the ordinary text-book. But there can be no doubt about the logic of Professor Wyld's arrangement. The work thus concludes with a suggestive glance at the wider fields of comparative philology from which further information concerning the English language must necessarily be obtained, and the way is thus prepared for a more intelligent study of the wider course. As regards style, Professor Wyld's method of exposition is admirably adapted to the class of readers for whom he is writing. Everything is presented in a straightforward and interesting fashion. He has even dispensed with an exact phonetic notation and makes an ordinary English form of spelling serve the end he has in view. Occasionally there are some



defects of style, as in the following passage: 'The first critic who really pointed out the difference of accent and in the number of syllables of the older forms of English as compared with the modern was Gray the poet' (p. 105); but the expression generally is clear and lucid. The book therefore seems to supply a much-felt need, a need which all teachers of English at the higher stages must have appreciated at one time or another. In conveying well-chosen and useful information, and affording an insight into correct philological method, the work adequately fulfils its purpose, and is calculated to lay a sound basis for future and higher work in the study of English.

J. W. H. ATKINS.

ABERYSTWYTH.

*The Accusative with Infinitive and some kindred constructions in English.*

By JACOB ZEITLIN. New York: Columbia University Press. 1908.

8vo. xi + 177 pp.

In the historical study of English, accident has in the past loomed a good deal larger than syntax, and it is a welcome sign for the future of language study that syntax is now coming to the front, more especially in America. Very little has been done up to the present, and there is ample opportunity for new and original work. Dr Zeitlin has made the best of his opportunity in the volume before us. After a summary of the various theories put forward from time to time as to the origin of the accusative and infinitive construction, he exemplifies the use of this construction in the chief Indo-Germanic languages and then discusses the main subject of his book, viz., the employment of it in English. In contradistinction to the vague generalisation of writers in the past, who have either attributed it wholly to the latinising influence of the early fifteenth century, or accounted for its earlier appearances by the influence of translations from the Latin, he shows very clearly that the construction was native to Old English and was used with ever increasing frequency in Middle English, entirely apart from the influence of Latin.

The question of this construction is fairly simple and straightforward. It was only the evidence that wanted bringing forward and the matter then becomes patent to all. Dr Zeitlin's discussion of more difficult and less familiar constructions is equally satisfactory. They include (1) the use of a substantive with infinitive as the subject of a neuter or impersonal verb, including the so-called 'inorganic *for*' construction, (2) the use of the infinitive to denote various shades of command, (3) the potential and optative infinitive, (4) the loose or parenthetical use of the infinitive. The discussion of a good many of these usages is highly controversial, but Dr Zeitlin is very happy in his illustrations, and one must agree with his conclusions in the main. Finally attention may be called to one passage in the book (p. 112) which should be borne in mind by all students of syntax, viz., the

danger of mere rule of thumb counting of the occurrence of certain constructions in different texts, as a guide to the history of the development of that construction, without any reference to or allowance for possible differences of subject-matter and method, necessitating differences of syntactic method.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

*Die altenglischen Handwerkernamen.* VON WILHELM KLUMP. (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 24.) Heidelberg: Winter. 1908. 8vo. viii + 129 pp.

Among the most useful contributions to Anglo-Saxon studies during the last few years are the succession of short monographs on different groups of words in the Old English Vocabulary which have appeared in this series. We have already had volumes on the names of mammals and of weapons; we now have one on the names of the various handicraftsmen mentioned in Old English literature. As the author notes in his introduction, the material for this volume is exceedingly small, for unfortunately, owing to the distinctly scholastic and religious character of the greater part of Old English literature, there are few references to common trades or occupations. The Colloquies of Aelfric, the Charters, and Biblical translations are the chief sources of our knowledge.

The author deals first with the general development of handicrafts among the Anglo-Saxons, throwing light upon the dark places by reference to the customs of other Teutonic peoples, and then discusses in detail the etymology, formation and usage of the various names found in Old English texts. The whole work is done very thoroughly and is an important contribution to Anglo-Saxon lexicography and to the study of Anglo-Saxon *realien*. At times the scantiness of the material has led to a certain over-elaboration of such as there is, and a good deal of the discussion of the remoter etymological affinities of the names seems somewhat out of place in a volume of this kind. Most of it can be found elsewhere.

While dealing with the names of handicraftsmen the author might well have included also the names of tools. The majority are to be found forming part of the compound names of the handicraftsmen, and the addition of the few others would have taken little extra space. A discussion of the technical terms of weaving in the Leyden Riddle would certainly have been useful. These omissions do not however detract from the excellence of the volume as it stands, and it is well worthy of its position in an excellent series of monographs.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

*Lytse Fryske Spraekeare.* Westerlauwersk om 1900 hinne oangeande  
Fen G. POSTMA en P. DE CLERCQ. Ljouwert, 1904. 8vo. pp. vii  
+ 128.

*Frysk Lês- en Taelboekje*, troch P. SIPMA. 2 Parts. Leiden, 1906.  
8vo. pp. 67 and 68.

*Yn eigen Tún.* Frysk Lêsboekje. Fen J. J. HOF. 2 Parts. Hearenfean,  
1909. 8vo. pp. 68 and 84.

*Söl' ring Leesbok.* Lesebuch in Sylter Mundart, von BOY P. MÖLLER.  
Altona, 1909. 8vo. pp. viii + 164.

For some two thousand years at least, the land between the Flie and the Lauwers (the present province of Friesland) has been inhabited by an ancient branch of the Germanic stock,—one which has delighted to call itself by the name of ‘free Frisians.’ During all that long time they have been able to defend their land against the assaults of the North Sea, and to maintain their own speech against the encroachments of Saxon and Frankish, though not without serious loss in both respects; Friesland itself, and the range of the Frisian tongue, are smaller than they were some centuries ago. Yet the land is well-peopled, and the language is still in daily use over nearly its whole extent.

It is a fact well-known to every student of the Germanic tongues, that Frisian is the nearest relative of English, and it would probably be no over-statement to say that at the time of the conquest of Britain the Frisians were speaking practically the same language as the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Since that date their fortunes have lain widely apart. Whatever the reason may have been, the old Frisians showed little taste for the written word; as one of their own writers has said, they were afraid of nothing so much as pen and ink. The result is that with the exception of the old laws and other legal documents (dating from the thirteenth century to the early part of the sixteenth) there is no old Frisian literature to set over against that of the other Germanic peoples. The fall of Frisian independence in 1498 led to the introduction of Dutch as the official language, and in course of time the native tongue remained unrepresented in church and school, and even ceased to be commonly spoken in the towns. Yet it was in the seventeenth century, after this decline had set in, that Friesland found its first poet of note in Gysbert Japix (1603–66). After his day, however, with but few exceptions, Frisians who wrote at all preferred Dutch or Latin to their own tongue. When Boswell was in Utrecht in 1763, Dr Johnson wrote requesting him to procure some ‘books in the Frisick language.’ To this Boswell replied: ‘I have made all possible inquiry with respect to the Frisick language, and find that it has been less cultivated than any other of the northern dialects; a certain proof of which is their deficiency of books....Of the modern Frisick, or what is spoken by the boors of this day, I have procured a specimen.’ It is *Gisbert Japix's Rymelerie*, which is the only book that they have. It is amazing that

they have no translation of the bible, no treatises of devotion, nor even any of the ballads and story-books which are so agreeable to country people.'

'The only book that they have' was almost literally true, but that one book had much to do with the revival of Frisian in the nineteenth century, which mainly dates from the time when the bust of Gysbert was set up in the church of Bolsward in 1823. It is unnecessary here to trace the course of modern Frisian literature since that date; under the example of the brothers Halbertsma the former dread of pen and ink has disappeared, and during the past sixty years a surprising amount of Frisian has found its way into print. Important stages in the work are marked by the foundation of the Frisian Literary Society (*Selskip for Fryske Tael- en Skriftenkennisse*) in 1844, the introduction of a uniform spelling in 1876, and the publication of a dictionary under the editorship of the veteran writer Waling Dykstra, begun in 1896 and now approaching completion. These recent developments have perhaps not received so much attention outside of Friesland as they deserve. For comparison with English or the other Germanic languages it is no longer necessary to cite Frisian forms in the archaic and often grotesque spelling of Gysbert Japix and his editor Epkema, while the information now available as to the range of the Frisian vocabulary is immensely greater than it was half a century ago.

Like most of the small languages, Frisian has not escaped the pessimistic prophet. Even in the seventeenth century the pedantic friend of Gysbert, Simon Gabbema, was afraid that the language might die out before long, and all through the eighteenth century the outward signs of life were feeble enough. But the steady conservatism of the people has succeeded in preserving their tongue with very little change during the past three hundred years, and with an increase in the population it is now actually used by more persons than it was a century ago. According to recent estimates the number of Frisian speakers in the province itself is somewhere about 250,000, almost exclusively living in the villages and country districts. In all the larger towns of the Netherlands there are also Frisian societies, which hold regular meetings during the winter months; one of the favourite entertainments at these is the performance of Frisian comedies and farces, of which there is an incredible and steadily increasing number.

Improved means of communication, however, are rapidly enlarging the immediate area of Dutch influence in Friesland itself, and it is beginning to be doubtful how far the language would be naturally able to resist the effects of this. It has seemed to some of those who are strongly attached to their mother-tongue, that if their own language is to have a fair chance of survival under the new conditions, it can no longer remain a mere medium of every-day intercourse, but must be commonly known also in its written form. For this end steps have recently been taken towards making Frisian a subject of instruction in schools, and a special fund has been established for that purpose. It is to forward this movement that three of the books named at the head of



this notice have been prepared, and the following remarks suggested by them may give some useful information on the present state of the language.

The *Little Frisian Grammar* of Postma and De Clercq<sup>1</sup> is intended as a guide for teachers who are already familiar with the language in its spoken form. Being also written in Frisian, and naturally containing a good many technical terms, it is not the best book for the outsider to begin upon, yet even a cursory examination of it will reveal to the student a certain number of the most prominent features of the language. The preface begins by defining the subject-matter as the most usual form of *Westerlauwersk Lânfrysk*, and each of these words deserves some remark. *Lânfrysk*, the Frisian of the country districts, is used in contrast to *Stêdfrysk*, the Dutch with some degree of Frisian colouring which is spoken in the towns. *Westerlauwersk* is used instead of 'West Frisian,' because West Friesland is still current as the name for part of the province of North Holland, where Frisian is no longer spoken. Although the language is not quite uniform over the whole of Friesland (there being at least three main divisions), the only dialects which differ in a very marked way from the others are those of Hindelopen (*Hynljippen*) on the west and Schiermonnikoog (*Skiermûntseach*, Grey Monks' Isle) to the north-east.

On turning to the grammar itself, one notices at the outset the richness of the vowel-system, the simple vowels being denoted by no less than eighteen symbols (several of which have more than one value), the diphthongs by twenty, and triphthongs by five. For the better understanding of these one must still turn to the older grammar in Dutch by Ph. van Blom (*Beknopte Friesche Spraakkunst* 1889), or to the article by Prof. Siebs in the *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, but there is good reason to hope that a full account from the pen of a Frisian phonetician may before long make its appearance in English.

A glance at the section on nouns shows that there are three genders, the masculine and feminine however being rarely distinguished, that cases have to a very great extent disappeared, and that the usual plurals are in *-en* and *-s*. The definite article is *de* with masculine and feminine nouns, and *it* with neuters. Adjectives have still weak and strong forms, distinguished by the presence or absence of *-e*, but the use of these is no longer the original one, and sometimes conveys a difference of meaning. The pronouns are very simple, the most interesting being *hja* or *hju* she, *hjar* her, also *hja* they, *hjar*, *hjarren* them, and the peculiar *jim* ye, *jimme* you (as a real plural; the plural of politeness, employed as a singular, is *jy*, *jo*). The indefinite 'one' is expressed by *men* in the nominative, but the genitive is *yens*, and the objective *yen*. 'Other' appears as *oar*, and 'each' as *elts* (or *elk*).

The verbal system is comparatively simple, though certain classes of

<sup>1</sup> Mr de Clercq, who resides at Veenwouden in Friesland, has not only a scholarly interest in Frisian but in recent years has done much to further the various movements connected with the language; to his kindness and hospitality I am indebted for much of the information on which this notice is ultimately based.

strong verbs present curious forms. The infinitive ends in *-e*, but after *to* the form is always *-en*, corresponding to the distinction between *-an* and *-anne* (*enne*) in Old English. There are two classes of weak verbs, of which the first has the infinitive in *-e*, past tense in *-de* or *-te*, and past participle in *-d* or *-t*; e.g., *heare* to hear, *hearde*, *heard*, or *dippe* to dip, *dippte*, *dipt*. The second class has the infinitive in *-je* (answering to OE. *-ian*), past tense and past participle in *-e* (for *-ede*, *-ed*). The forms of this are illustrated by sentences occurring on p. 70: *de sé scil ebje*, the sea will ebb; *de sé ebbet* (= ebbeth), *de sé ebbe* (ebbed), *de sé hat ebbe* (hath ebbed). This class is a very large one, and includes some interesting specimens of the Frisian tendency to convert *k* into *tsh*, e.g., *meitsje* to make, but p.t. and p.p. *makke*; *laitsje* to laugh, but *lake*; *ploaitsje* to pluck, but *plôke*. Among the various groups of strong verbs the most peculiar are those belonging to the 'drive' class, which present the type *driuwe*, *dreau* (drove), *dreaun* (driven), and the 'break' class, which run *brekke*, *briek* (broke), *britsen* (broken). Some of the commoner verbs, such as 'give,' 'do,' 'go,' 'stand,' have infinitives in *-n* (*jaen*, *dwaen*, *gean*, *stean*) and many irregularities in conjugation: the resulting forms are frequently of considerable philological interest.

The needs of the Frisian teacher having been provided for in this work, it remained to supply suitable reading-books for the children. The Frisian Literary Society promoted this end by offering prizes for the best ones submitted to it, and two of the successful competitors were P. Sipma and J. J. Hof<sup>1</sup>. The work of the former, as it contained exercises in spelling and grammar, was considered the more suitable for school-work; it was therefore published first, and has proved to be very useful. As the title indicates, it is intended to give the scholar practice both in reading and in conversation, and appears to be well adapted for these ends. In the first part each reading lesson is followed by a set of questions on the subject-matter, and in most cases by a number of words illustrating a special set of sounds. These word-lists deal first with the rich Frisian vowel system, and the method adopted may be seen in the following example from p. 4: 'One hears a short *a* in *ta*, *sa*, *pak*, *tum*' (etc.). 'One hears a long *ae* in *twa*, *hwa*, *pake*, *drave*' (etc.). These points are further emphasised by one or two lines in prominent type at the bottom of each page. Although all this is intended for teachers and pupils whose native tongue is Frisian, even the foreign student can draw some important inferences from it. For example, the peculiar change of falling into rising diphthongs is clearly shown on p. 23: 'One hears a sound *éa* in *beam*, *peal*, ... but it becomes *éa* in *beammen*, *peallen*. One hears a sound *ie* in *bien*, *kies*, ... but it becomes *ie* in *biennen*, *kiezzen*.' The consonants are similarly dealt with, but present fewer peculiarities; most interesting are the words which exhibit similar changes to English, as *tsjerke* church, *tsjerne* churn, *tsjef*

<sup>1</sup> Mr Sipma is a teacher, belonging to the western part of Friesland, but now resident at Warfhum in the province of Groningen. Mr Hof, a journalist at Heerenveen, is a native of the south of Friesland, and is well known as a writer both of prose and verse under the name of 'Jan fen 'e Gaestmar.'

chaff, *tsiis* cheese, or recall older English forms, as *tsjettel* kettle, *sizze* say, *lizze* lie. The reading lessons give specimens of both prose and verse, in most cases taken from well-known Frisian authors. The second part, which is published separately and intended for older pupils, is arranged on similar lines, but takes up the more difficult matters connected with spelling and word-formation. A number of very well known pieces of Frisian verse are included here, and some of the prose passages give a good idea of various aspects of life in Friesland. To both parts are appended a list of the more unusual words, with explanations in simpler language. The whole arrangement and contents of both parts are evidently the result of careful consideration, and a thorough mastery of all that is given here would go far towards laying the foundations of a competent knowledge of Frisian.

Mr Hof's reading-book, 'In our own garden,' is entirely different in character, but no less interesting, and the whole of its contents centre round Friesland itself. Through both parts of it run a set of articles descriptive of the chief places of interest in the province, beginning with a journey by canal-boat from Stavoren (in Frisian *Starum*) to Strobos, which is on the boundary of the next province, Groningen. Another five 'lessons' take the reader through the southern district, Gaesterland, and those in the second part cover the rest of the province, under the title of 'Round Friesland by tram and train.' These articles, which are illustrated with numerous views of the places and things described, are written in a pleasant conversational style, and convey a very great amount of interesting information. It would indeed make a pleasant summer holiday to go through Friesland with this reading-book as a guide, for Mr Hof has a keen eye for all that is distinctive and noteworthy in each place that he passes in his imaginary tour. Nor does he neglect the past history of the province, and in separate articles fuller details are given with regard to a number of notable events, such as the great floods of 1825, or famous men, such as Gysbert Japix and the brothers Halbertsma. Other lessons contain descriptions of Frisian life in summer and winter; the Frisians are famous for fast skating (called *hirdriden*, 'hard riding'), and there are some amusing anecdotes on this subject. A few pieces by well-known authors are included in the book, but with these exceptions the work is entirely from Mr Hof's own pen. As he is a skilled writer of Frisian, his language is not always the easiest for the foreigner to understand, but for that very reason the perusal of his book is extremely profitable. In two or three of the articles he draws attention to differences of dialect, especially in one of those on Gaesterland, a part which still retains many traces of the idiom formerly common to all the *Súdhoeks*, or south-west of the province, but now largely assimilated to that of the neighbouring districts. There is even a short poem in 'Gást'laensk,' of which one verse is as follows:

Hir binn' gin grutte stêdden,  
Mei turren, wakker heech;  
In sé fin griene blêdden  
Formakket hir yens eech.

Here are no great towns  
With towers very high;  
A sea of green leaves  
Rejoices here one's eye.



To the second part there is an appendix of common proverbs, some of which have close parallels in English, while others are thoroughly Frisian both in the idea and its expression. To the former class belong the following, of which a translation would be superfluous: 'As de dagen bigjinne to lingjen, bigjint de kjeld to stringjen'; 'As de kat útfen hûs is, stekt de mûs de stirt omheech'; 'Koarte rekkens jowe lange frijeonen'; 'De apel falt net fier fen 'e beam.'

The first article in the second part of Mr Hof's book is entitled 'Frisian outside of Friesland,' and is a brief statement of the fact that East Frisian is still the language of some 2500 persons in Saterland (*Sagelterlân*) in Oldenburg, while North Frisian maintains a more thriving existence on the west coast of Slesvig and the adjacent islands (Sylt, Amrum, Föhr, and Helgoland). It is estimated that North Frisian is now spoken by about 25,000 people, but it is broken up into a number of dialects, differing from each other to such an extent that Low German has become the usual medium of intercommunication. Of these dialects that of Sylt has been most cultivated, but only since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Within the past year or two there has been an increase of activity among natives of Sylt with regard to the maintenance of their own tongue, and one result of this is the *Sylt Reading-book*, prepared at the instance of, and published by, the Sylt Society in Altona. To the reading-book proper there is prefixed a brief account of the sounds and grammar of the dialect, written in German, and the perusal of this shows at once that North and West Frisian differ in many important respects from each other. The phonetic differences are so numerous that any account of them would take up too much space here, but one point of interest is the retention of *ð* in words like *bröder* brother, *weder* weather, *kluader* clothes, etc. It is preserved, however, only in the middle of words; where final, it has during the past sixty years been changed into *r*, so that *hiüt* heath, and *hiir* hair, are now pronounced alike. This change has also taken place in many Danish and some Low German dialects. In the sketch of the grammar one notices that the neuter of the article is *dit*, and that plurals are formed by *-er*, *-en*, and *-s*. The adjective has no distinction of strong and weak forms. The pronouns exhibit some interesting forms as *jü* she, *höör* her, *hat* it; *i* ye, *juu* you; *ja* they, *jam* them; but most remarkable of all is the retention of the old dual forms *wat* we two, *unk* us two, *at* ye two, *junk* you two, and on the analogy of these the new form *jat* they two. Even the possessives *unk* and *junk* are employed, as *unk Drëng* our boy (son), *junk Faamen* your girl (daughter). In the verb some infinitives have no ending, others end in *-i*, as *help* help, but *maaki* make. As in West Frisian, there are also inflected forms, *tö helpen*, *tö maakin*. As examples of the use of these we have: *Ik wel di help*, I will help you; but *Ik kum om di tö helpen*, I come to help you. The infinitives without ending belong almost entirely to the various classes of strong verbs, the forms of which present many peculiarities.

The matter of the reading-book itself is remarkably good and full of



interest. First comes a section headed *Ual' Tialen* 'old tales,' containing much of the old folk-lore of the island. Then follows a short one on *Ual' Wiis* 'old customs,' including the 'beacon-burning' which takes place annually on St Peter's Eve (February 21). Earlier and later incidents in the history of Sylt are given in sections 3 and 4, followed by a short extract from the old comedy by Jap. P. Hansen, first published in 1809. In section 6 there are old Sylt proverbs and phrases, weather-saws, and lists of bird- and plant-names, while the last division contains a number of pieces in verse. In every respect Rector Möller's book will bear comparison with the two from West Friesland noticed above, and may do much towards keeping up an interest in the dialect among the natives of the island<sup>1</sup>. Another of these, Captain Nann Mungard, of Keitum, has also done good service in this direction by preparing a small dictionary, which was published last year under the title of *For Sölring Spraaek en Wiis*. Whether the North Frisian dialects have a long or short life before them, enough has been committed to writing during the past century to preserve a record of their leading features, and these two books will remain valuable evidence of the Sylt tongue as spoken at the present time.

The lack of an older literature has naturally been of great detriment to Frisian and to its position among the Germanic languages. Its value for English philology has been greatly diminished by the loss of many words which must at one time have been in use, but have been unable to survive without literary support. Yet even in its present state Frisian is not without its importance for the study of English, and now that the means of investigating it are improving and multiplying, there is room for hope that it may in time receive more attention in this respect than has hitherto been its lot.

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*Die heilige Regel für ein vollkommenes Leben.* Eine Cisterzienserarbeit des XIII. Jahrhunderts, aus der Handschrift Additional 9048 des British Museum herausgegeben von ROBERT PRIEBSCH. (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters herausgegeben von der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Band XVI.) Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1909. 8vo. xxii + 104 pp.

Ohne Zweifel hat sich R. Priebisch mit der Herausgabe dieser Handschrift, die nach seinen Feststellungen eine Cisterzienserarbeit enthält, jedenfalls aber einmal im Besitze eines Benedictinerklosters gewesen

<sup>1</sup> Both in Friesland and in Sylt the teaching of Frisian is done outside of the ordinary school-hours. In Friesland it is entirely voluntary on both sides. In Sylt rather more than this was done at first, but some limitations have recently been imposed by the Minister of Education. An article on the subject in the *Sylter Zeitung* for March 5 of this year speaks thus of Möller's *Leesbok*: 'Der ganze Inhalt...is derart, dass das Interesse der Sylter Kinder aufs lebhafteste geweckt und gefesselt wird. Wir sind überzeugt, dass dies Buch sich als eine starke Schutzwehr erweisen wird für unser sylter Friesentum; es soll nur erst recht fruchtbar gemacht werden für die friesischen Sprachbestrebungen; es soll nur erst unsern Kindern recht lieb geworden sein.'

ist, ein beträchtliches Verdienst um die Kenntnis dieser Art Literatur erworben. Von der Existenz der Handschrift wusste man, seit sie Priebisch selbst in seinem bekannten Werke beschrieben und Proben daraus mitgeteilt hatte. Das darin enthaltene Büchlein war von da ab unter dem Namen 'Londoner Marienregel' gegangen.

Eingehende Beschäftigung mit seinem Inhalt hat nun dem Herausgeber nahegelegt, ihm einen Titel zu geben, der es vermeidet, es von vornherein einer bestimmten Gruppe offizieller theologischer Werke zuzuweisen. Mir wäre allerdings der Vorschlag, der auf Seite xvi gemacht wird, 'Richtschnur zu einem vollkommenen Leben' auch als Titel des Werkes noch lieber gewesen: der bestimmte Artikel und der terminus 'Regel' können noch immer die Vorstellung erwecken, als ob es sich hier um einen in grösserem oder kleinerem Kreise offiziell anerkannten Codex handele, und nicht, was es mir zu sein scheint: um das Erzeugnis des frommen Eifers eines einzelnen Klerikers. Leider lässt sich nichts Näheres über die Herkunft der Handschrift feststellen: vielleicht enthielten gerade die beiden ersten, ausgekratzten, Zeilen eine lokale Angabe.

Um den guten Lehren in den Augen derer, für die sie bestimmt sind, das höchst mögliche Ansehen zu geben, sie aus der abstrakten Sphäre reiner Lehrsätze herauszuheben, wird alles unter die Ägide der Gottesmutter gestellt, deren Kultus gerade im 13. Jahrhundert zusammen mit dem ritterlichen Frauendienst den Höhepunkt der Konkretheit erreicht hatte. Ich glaube aber auch, dass das Werkchen in erster Linie für Nonnen bestimmt war, obwohl der Ausdruck 'geistliche kint' (vgl. 34,) natürlich auch von Mönchen gebraucht werden konnte. Priebisch weist auf Arnsburg in Oberhessen als möglichen Entstehungsort hin: auch Cisterziensernonnenklöster gab es in der Gegend eine Anzahl. Maria leuchtet also in allem voran: ihre Person stellt der Verfasser als den Sitz all der Tugenden hin 'dar uf alle orden gefundiret sind,' die Augen als den Sitz der Keuschheit, die Ohren: des Gehorsams, die Nase: der Bescheidenheit, den Mund: des andächtigen Gebets, die Hände und Füße: der Arbeitsamkeit, Körper und Geist: der Armut, das Herz als den Sitz des Friedens, endlich die Seele als den der Caritas. Also die in erster Linie von Nonnen erwartete Tugend wird vorangestellt, und der Gehorsam folgt sofort: ganz anders die Reihenfolge in der von Priebisch aus Hermann von Fritzlar angezogenen Stelle, anders auch die, die von jeher in den Regeln der Orden beobachtet war: Armut, Keuschheit, Gehorsam. Es ist beachtenswert, dass die erste der drei Fundamentalforderungen, die Armut, erst später kommt: gewiss lässt sich daraus schliessen, dass sie für den betreffenden Orden nicht mehr an erster Stelle mit stand. Oder sollte der Grund *nur* in den anatomischen Verhältnissen liegen? Es folgt die Nase: auf sie sind die bescheiden blickenden Augen gerichtet, sie zeigt bei bescheidener Haltung nach unten: wiederum ein entschieden weibliches Motiv. Mit dem Munde, dem Sitz der allgemeinen Tugenden der Andacht und des Gebets, sind die Teile des Kopfes erledigt. Schon jetzt aber folgen Hände und Füße: die Werkzeuge der praktischsten Arbeitsamkeit, einer Tugend,

die gerade dem Cisterzienserorden am höchsten stand, durch die in erster Linie er in Deutschland seine materielle Blüte erreicht hat. Was Wunder dass die Armut und Demut in den Hintergrund getreten sind. Vielleicht indes sind sie sogar mit Absicht unmittelbar neben die Arbeitsamkeit gestellt: eine Warnung vor den Konsequenzen für die Lebenshaltung, die erfolgreiches Schaffen mit sich bringen kann. Mehr als dies alles aber fällt der breite Raum auf, den die Erörterung der beiden letzten Tugenden: Friedsamkeit und Liebe-Charitas einnimmt. Haben sie doch auch jetzt noch—der Schluss von Kapitel VIII fehlt—den doppelten Umfang der vorangehenden sechs Kapitel. Und hier finde ich ein weiteres Argument für die Richtigkeit sowohl der Zuweisung des Werkes an den Cisterzienserorden, speciell an ein Frauenkloster, als der Feststellung der Gegend, wo es entstanden ist.

Ogleich der Deutsche Herrenorden seiner Regel nach kaum Beziehungen zu den Vätern der Cisterzienser, den Benedictinern, vielmehr nur zu Augustinern, Templern, Johannitern, im Strafcodex zu den Dominicanern hatte, bestand doch in ihren Zielen von vornherein eine sehr nahe Verwandtschaft zwischen den beiden für das mittelalterliche Deutschland so wichtig gewordenen Orden. Schon die Mönche des Monte Cassino legten den unterscheidenden Nachdruck auf die praktische Arbeit, die Sorge für die Verbesserung der Existenzbedingungen sowohl als die Seelsorge und die Betätigung christlicher Liebe in der Krankenpflege. Hier der Grund der tiefen Marienverehrung, hier wahrscheinlich aber auch der innerste Grund des leidenschaftlichen Widerstandes Bernhards von Clairvaux gegen die Lehre von der unbefleckten Empfängnis, die das echt Weibliche der Marienerscheinung zu verflüchtigen drohte. Arbeitsamkeit und Liebestätigkeit im Kleinen, kolonisations- und christianisierende Tätigkeit im Grossen haben den Orden in der Folgezeit vor allen andern ausgezeichnet und ihm seine überragende Bedeutung in den germanischen Ländern gegeben. Knüpften nun jene deutschen Kaufleute, die vor Akkon das 'Deutsche Marienhospital' neubegründeten, an die Kranken- und Armenpflege und seelsorgerische Tätigkeit der Benediktiner an, so nahm der ein paar Jahre später aus der kleinen Gemeinschaft emporgewachsene 'Deutsche Ritterorden,' zumal seit Hermann von Salza an seine Spitze getreten war, den gesteigerten Kräften entsprechend auch jene umfassendern Aufgaben in Angriff: Bekämpfung und Bekehrung der Ungläubigen, Gewinnung ihres Landes für die deutsche Kultur, geistige und materielle. Was ist natürlicher als das Aufkeimen gegenseitiger Sympathie, wo die beiden Orden in nähere Berührung miteinander kamen! Das geschah aber in den hier in Betracht kommenden Gegenden zum ersten Male im westlichen Hessen, bald darauf in der Ballei Koblenz! Nun wird in dem Beispiele, für das Priebisch die Quelle nicht anzugeben vermag, in No. 30, der deutschen Ordensbrüder in einer bemerkenswert günstigen Weise gedacht.

Eine Nonne, die sich wegen ihres untadelhaften Wandels des direkten Umgangs mit der Gottesmutter erfreuen darf, wird von zwei Deutschordensbrüdern um ihre Fürsprache gebeten. Sie fragt, mit missbilligendem,



vielleicht auch neidischem Blick auf die feine Kleidung und die andern, der harten Regel *ihrer* Klosters schroff gegenüberstehenden feineren Lebensgewohnheiten der Beiden ironisch, ob sie überhaupt Ordensleute seien. Die Antwort, die ihr zuteil wird: 'ja, der pabest hat den orden bestetiget, und ist unz gegeben wur alle unse sunde daz wir unserez herren zorn rechen sulen an den ungeloubigen,' musste die Klosterfrau erwarten, aber *sie* hört weniger die Feststellung der Konfirmation des Ordens durch Papst Innocenz III aus den Worten der Beiden heraus, sie denkt vielmehr an jene weitgehenden Vorrechte, die ihm von Honorius III unter dem mächtigen und bei Papst wie Kaiser gleich angesehenen Hermann von Salza gewährt waren, und die in der Geschichte der Orden wahrhaft einzig dastehen. In der Nonne feindlichen Worten und in ihrem Verhalten auch auf den Bescheid der Brüder hin, spiegelt sich die ganze, tiefe Erbitterung, der Neid aller der Kongregationen wieder, denen der schnell und mächtig aufblühende Deutsche Orden die reichsten Stiftungen wegschnappte, das beste Menschenmaterial, in socialer wie geistiger Hinsicht, entzog, deren religiösen Überzeugungen er mit seinem auf weltliche Dinge gerichteten Bestrebungen bitteren Anstoss erregte. Und dass dieser junge weltliche Orden trotz allem mit dem Oberhaupte der Kirche in weit unmittelbarerem Konnex stehen durfte als die alten in Jahrhunderten bewährten geistlichen Orden, dass er mit kluger Diplomatie auch die Gunst des ihnen allen wichtigsten Kirchenfürsten, des Mainzer Erzbischofs, sich gesichert hatte, machte den Neid noch grösser. Mit berechtigtem Selbstgefühl weisen die beiden Ordensbrüder darauf hin, weshalb sie solch exceptionelle Stellung einnehmen: Verteidigung und Ausbreitung des Christentums unter Aufopferung selbst des eignen Lebens, das Höchste was es im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge gab, haben sie den in sicherer Distanz betriebenen Bestrebungen ihrer Konkurrenten entgegenzusetzen! Ich glaube kaum, dass überhaupt je eine Quelle dieser Erzählung aufgefunden werden wird. Sie wird unter dem unmittelbaren Eindruck aller dieser Verhältnisse entstanden sein. So viel scheint mir sicher: sie führt uns in eine Zeit, wo der Deutsche Orden mit seinem Auftreten noch immer etwas Neues, Unerhörtes war, wo er noch immer als ein Schmarotzer erscheinen musste, wo vielleicht die Kunde von seinem gänzlichen Fiasko in Siebenbürgen sich allgemein verbreitet hatte, aber die von den gewaltigen Taten in Preussen gerade erst anfang, bekannt zu werden. Doch ein Angehöriger des Cisterzienserordens hatte alle Veranlassung, die deutschen Ritter so zu feiern, wie es die Jungfrau Maria in der Erzählung tut. Er dachte an die schweren Misserfolge, die der Cisterzienser Christian seit 1215 dort erfahren, der erlösenden Rolle, die Hermann Balk mit seinen todesmutigen Deutschordensrittern dort gespielt hatte, des weitem enggeschlossenen Zusammenwirkens jener beiden äussersten Schildwachen des Christentums im heidnischen Preussenlande: des Cisterzienserklosters Oliva und der Deutschordensballei Preussen! Ich meine, wir können nur auf das westliche Hessen als den Schauplatz der Erzählung geraten.



Aber ich will das Beispiel noch zu Ende erzählen. Die Jungfrau nimmt der Nonne ihre Abneigung gegen die Ordensbrüder übel, und erscheint ihr erst dann wieder, als sie merkt, dass die Nonne den Grund ihres Fernbleibens wirklich nicht kennt. Sehr fein kommt in diesem Umstande zum Ausdruck, wie der Anstoss einer geistlichen Frau an weltlichem Leben doch das Natürliche ist, sich in ihrem Bewusstsein aufgelöst hat. Jetzt wird sie eines bessern belehrt. Ich mag es mir nicht versagen, den ganzen Passus hierherzusetzen, er ist derartig beziehungsweise gefasst, dass sich an die Stellung dieser Erzählung innerhalb des Ganzen gewiss noch weitergehende Erörterungen knüpfen werden.

‘Do sprach unser vrowe: “wi mochtez du mich me irzurnen dan an minen liben vrunden, di mich mit herzen erent und minnet und wûr allen dingen zu einer vrowen haben irwelet, und du di verwazest und irez lebenez bist geiergert?” Si vragete wer si weren. Do sprach vnser vrowe: “Ez sin di brudere dez *dudeschen ordenez*.” Si sprach mit weinenden ougen daz si nicht en weste daz si di brudere also mit herzen minnete, und daz da wider di brudere si also gar wert hetten. Di mûter aller barmherzekeite warf iren mantel uf und hette under igligeme arme einen *dudeschen bruder* stende mit einen wizen mantele und eime swarzen cruce und sprach zu der clusen vrowen: “Sich hi, alsuz lip und wert haben ich di *dudeschen brudere*, wan si mich suderlichen lip habent und mich genzelichen zu muter und zu einer vrowen irwelet hant. herumbe so wil ich nimer wesen uf ertriche noch in himelriche, ich ein welle mine brudere und mine libe dinest man, di *dudeschen brudere*, bi mir haben.” Nach disen worten so wur unser vrowe wider dannen si waz kûmen, und di closen vrowe hette di *dudeschen brudere* wurbaz meir vil werdere und libere dan andere geistliche lute.’

Ich darf mich nicht mit gleicher Breite auf eine Erörterung des zweiten uns vor allen übrigen interessierenden Beispiels, von der H. Elisabeth, No. 47, einlassen. Elisabeth, geboren 1207, im selben Jahre, wo der Deutsche Orden zum ersten Male nach Hessen kam, hatte seit 1229 in Marburg gelebt, war 1231 gestorben; Konrad von Marburg hatte dann im Juli 1233 vor der Mainzer Reichsversammlung gestanden, war wenige Tage danach erschlagen worden; die Gründung der Marburger Kommende hatte 1234 stattgefunden, Gregor IX im Oktober desselben Jahres jene fünfmonatige Frist für die Vernehmung der Zeugen der Wunder Elisabeths gesetzt, der ihre Heiligsprechung im Mai 1235 gefolgt war. Ob sich die Ergebnisse des Zeugenverhörs noch in einem römischen Archive vorfinden werden? Leider steht mir hier nicht zur Verfügung Dietrich's von Apolda *Biographie der H. Elisabeth* in der ersten Ausgabe von Lambecks *Bibl. Caesar. Vindobon.* (Wien, 1669). Dietrich ist 1283 nach der Einweihung der Elisabethenkirche in Marburg gewesen, wo er aus der mündlichen Tradition der von ihm überaus geschätzten Ritter schöpfen konnte.

Nicht einmal das erste Stück des ganzen Traktates, dem alle diese Erzählungen angehören, ist vollständig: es bricht mitten im achten Kapitel ab. Es ist mir überhaupt zweifelhaft, ob diese Handschrift je das ganze Werk, dessen Inhalt im Eingang skizziert ist, enthalten hat:

die Zahl von vier Schreibern, die Priebisch schon für das vorliegende verhältnismässig kleine Bruchstück eruiert, bestärkt mich darin. Auch ist es nicht einmal ausgemacht, dass das Werk überhaupt vollendet war. Ich habe den Eindruck, als ob hier die immer streckenweise fertiggestellte Reinschrift eines noch im Werden begriffenen Werkes vorliege, dessen Entwurf von einem, Ausführung aber von mehreren Verfassern herrühre, und das dann gar nicht fertig geworden ist. Auch *im* Text sind zwei grössere Lücken vorhanden. Sie sind auf folgende Art entstanden. Der Schreiber hatte nicht nur die letzten vier Zeilen der drittletzten Seite der ursprünglich vorletzten Lage, sondern auch das sich anschliessende letzte Blatt—man kann mancherlei Gründe dafür finden—leerge lassen. Der erste Buchbinder hielt darum die Lage für die Schlusslage und band sie demgemäss ans Ende. Ihm lag also nicht mehr Text vor als wir jetzt haben. In der Folgezeit riss jemand nach alter Gewohnheit das leere Pergamentblatt ab, wodurch auch die andere Hälfte des Doppelblatts lose wurde und verloren ging. Der zweite Buchbinder verbesserte nicht den Fehler des ersten.

In seiner Einleitung gibt der Herausgeber—wie man es bei ihm gewohnt ist—in musterhaft klarer und knapper Form alles das, was man an Angaben über die Handschrift selbst erwartet. Auch die Bemerkungen, die sprachlich orientieren sollen, hätten kaum kürzer zugleich und inhaltsreicher gegeben werden können. Überhaupt steckt in der Publikation eine Masse Arbeit, weit mehr, als der flüchtige Blick zu erfassen vermag. Wie mühsam das Suchen nach den Quellen der einzelnen Erzählungen ist, weiss jeder deutsche Philologe, der die mittelalterliche Theologie nicht gleich seinem eignen Fache kennt. Und von wem lässt sich das sagen!

Jedenfalls hat uns Priebisch mit seiner schönen Arbeit ein Werk zugänglich gemacht, das nicht nur einen Hessen, wie ich es bin, interessiert, sondern in grossem Zusammenhange gewürdigt werden muss, ob man ihm auch, von künstlerischem Standpunkte angesehen, keine besondere Note erteilen kann.

Ich habe nur auf wenig aufmerksam machen können. Die eingehende sprachliche Untersuchung, die des Herausgebers Aufgabe nicht sein konnte, wird dem Denkmal die geographischen Grenzen noch verengen, die syntaktische wird dem Herausgeber darin Recht geben, dass wir in dem Grundtext ein originales, kein Übersetzungswerk vor uns haben.

Den Preis von 5 Mark für ein Buch von xxii + 104 Seiten, die grösstenteils Textabdruck enthalten, finde ich sehr reichlich bemessen. Eigentümlich wirkt dem gegenüber die Dürftigkeit der typographischen Wiedergabe aller der Zeichen, die nicht gerade häufig vorkommen, vgl. v, 9, VII, 29, IX, 4, vor allem die Seiten x, XI; am tollsten sind die Galgen wiedergegeben, die hier und da Absätze markieren: 4, <sup>23</sup>, <sup>25</sup> hat man einem P den einen Zinken, 31, <sup>4</sup> einen andern abgebrochen und die so erhaltenen Strünke um einen flachen Winkel gedreht. Ein eigentümlicher Schwanz, der ein s vorstellen soll, ist 42, <sup>30</sup> und anderswo zu sehen.

G. SCHAAFFS.

## MINOR NOTICES.

Dr Aluigi Cossio, whose interesting volume on the *Vita Nuova* we recently reviewed, is resident among us, at St Bede's College, Manchester, and alludes somewhat pathetically to his 'exile,' and the studies wherewith he is endeavouring to solace it. The argument of his *L' Archeologia dell' Arte in Dante* (Estratto dal Giornale Dantesco xvii, 5, 1909)—which aims to shew that Dante, anticipating modern archaeology, realised the course taken by Classical Art, from Egypt by Crete to Greece, and thence to Rome—turns on the interpretation of two passages. These are (1) the description of the 'Gran Veglio' of *Inf.* xiv, 94 sqq., and (2) the famous canzone numbered xx in the Oxford Edition,

Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute.

In connection with the first passage Dr Cossio has much to say on the recent discoveries in Crete; of the Canzone—as puzzling to interpreters as it is obviously important for Dante's mental history—he offers an ingenious exposition of which the least that can be said is that it is worthy of serious consideration.

In his discussion of Carducci's exegesis we are inclined to think the writer gives too little weight to Dante's studies in Bologna. Nor does he appear (p. 24) to have realised that neither Witte nor Carducci is responsible for the identification of the Gihon of Paradise with the Nile; since *Aethiopia* comes to the Vulgate through the LXX as the translation of 'Cush' in Gen. ii. 13.

Dr Cossio's interesting theory about Beatrice and Gemma, already broached in his previous work, reappears here in his interpretation of Canzone xx.

We cannot congratulate the Italian printers on their accuracy, though the type is characteristically clear and good. Not only are there misprints in the few English quotations (a well-known English Dantist figuring as 'Paget-Poyntee'!), but in Latin we have *polysemum* for *polysensum*, and even in Italian *degredata* for *degradata* and *Flegetonta* for *Flegetonta*; while Cinguenè and Ginguenè appear on the same page.

L. R.

In Mr T. H. Dickinson's edition of *Robert Greene's Plays* in *The Mermaid Series* (London: F. Unwin) the text is a reprint from Dyce's modernized edition of 1861, but is said to have been 'compared with the later collations' of other editors, whatever that may mean. The popular introduction is adequate and generally well informed, but it is not profound and is rather pretentious. The theory of stage history borrowed from Fleay is largely incorrect, and the discussion of the doubtful plays unsatisfactory: the aesthetic criticism, too, impresses us

unfavourably. The editor should beware of such sentences as 'Nash called him "the Homer of women," and that phrase is worth the entirety of *Strange News* in defending Greene's fame': they betray at once an uncritical acceptance of other writers' hasty identifications, and a dangerous gift of facile phrase. Each play is introduced by a short paragraph summarizing the information available, and there are a few footnotes to the text. To cite the popularity of *Jonah and the Whale* and the motion of *Nineveh* as evidence of the continued success of the *Looking Glass* is surely fantastic. We should have liked to see the worthlessness of the evidence for Greene's authorship of the *Pinner of Wakefield*, and the extreme improbability of the ascription, more strongly stated. Had it not been for the inscription on the title-page of the Chatsworth copy, no one would ever have dreamed of suggesting that the play was Greene's, and until that inscription has been shown to be older than the nineteenth century, the attribution is really not worth discussing. We suppose that it is the very slender dramatic merit of Greene's acknowledged works that makes his editors cling so pathetically to this breezy comedy. Mr Dickinson, by the way, has not thought it necessary to quote the title-pages of the original editions. The result is that the reader will search his volume in vain for any evidence that *Alphonsus*, *Friar Bacon*, or *James IV* are Greene's at all.

W. W. G.

Professor Arnold Schröer in his parallel-text edition of *Othello* (*Shakespeare's Othello in Paralleldruck nach der ersten Quarto und ersten Folio*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1909) has given us a very useful help to the study of the play. He prints the text of the first Quarto (1622) side by side with that of the first Folio, and gives the variants of the second Quarto (1630) in foot-notes. It is certain that, if texts are to be critically compared, this should be done by reading them side by side, and not by endeavouring to reconstruct one from another by the help of a list of various readings; and with a view to this, students of the play generally will find the present edition a great convenience, while the low price at which it is published places it within the reach of all. We can imagine that the comparison of the text of the first Quarto with that of the Folio, which is here made easy, might be a very valuable exercise in criticism for the young scholar. The editor seems to have reproduced the texts with great accuracy, and he claims that in some details his rendering is more accurate than that of the photographic facsimiles, which when the original is imperfectly printed, are apt to give an unsatisfactory result. The present volume is No. 14 of the *Englische Textbibliothek*, published under the direction of Professor Hoops.

G. C. M.



Dr Karl Jansen's treatise, *Die Cynewulf-Forschung von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*. Heft xxiv, 1908) is a summary of the literature which has gathered around the name of Cynewulf from the days of Humphrey Wanley to the present time. The author lays no claim to any title beyond that of a careful student of that literature, and his own personal opinions are confined to one page at the end of the volume, in which he summarily presents his own verdict on some of the questions at issue. It is somewhat to be regretted that a volume in Dr Trautmann's very valuable series should be devoted to a work of this kind. An elaborate statement and equally elaborate refutation of theories long since found untenable and relegated to the limbo of forgotten things, can serve no useful purpose. It will tend to check study of the original poems, by encouraging reliance on opinions taken at second-hand. A concise summary of the most recent views on some disputed matter may serve a useful purpose, but such elaborate volumes as the present are entirely out of place.

A. M.

Dr Otto Schlotterose's edition of the *Phœnix* (*Die altenglische Dichtung 'Phœnix.'* *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*. Heft xxv, 1908), with notes, translation, vocabulary and other aids to its study, is a welcome addition to the somewhat scanty list of independent texts of Old English poems. The edition is the more welcome as the *Phœnix* is poetically one of the best of Old English Christian poems, at least in its earlier portion.

Dr Schlotterose is a devout follower of Dr Moritz Trautmann in his editorial methods, and though his careful revision of the text contains evidence of much good work, it is to be regretted that he is not a little more conservative in his methods. More especially it seems highly unsafe, in the present state of our knowledge of Old English metre, to make so many alterations for alleged metrical reasons. The translation is good, less pedantic than German translations often tend to be, and not slurring over difficulties by word for word versions which are as unintelligible in the translation as in the original. At the same time a translation seems superfluous in an edition which can only be intended for scholars. The same remark applies to some extent to the vocabulary. Etymological information of the kind supplied there is either superfluous or can be found better and more fully elsewhere. More useful is the printing of the text of the poem of Lactantius, so that we are able to judge of the poet's methods of composition for ourselves. There are also useful excursions on the dialect, metre, and authorship of the poem.

A. M.

Mr C. E. Doble's edition of Goldsmith's Comedies and *Vicar of Wakefield* (*The Plays of Oliver Goldsmith together with the Vicar of Wakefield*. Oxford: H. Frowde, 1909) is a very pleasant book to read. It is well printed and liberally illustrated by reproductions of old engravings from various sources, and especially of Mulready's illustrations to the *Vicar of Wakefield*, published in 1843. The notes are in the form of a Glossarial Index, in which all necessary explanations are given, with many parallel passages from Goldsmith's miscellaneous prose works, and all the noticeable points of the text are alphabetically indexed. This is a very happy arrangement, by which the reader is comfortably encouraged to read the text without referring to the notes, and at the same time, when he pleases, he can get plenty of entertainment out of the notes read separately, including the pleasure of being constantly reminded of all the best things in the text. In an Appendix a history is given of the production of the two plays and of the *Vicar of Wakefield*, with a list of the passages in the latter which were altered or suppressed, and some notes on matters requiring special illustration. The book is an excellent piece of work, and published at a very moderate price.

We welcome the fifth edition of Mr Pollard's well-known and very useful book, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909). It is practically a reprint of the fourth edition, with a few corrections and alterations, some of them due to suggestions by Prof. Skeat. As a popular guide to the subject there is no more convenient book.

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Professor C. H. Grandgent writes from Florence with reference to the review of his edition of Dante's *Inferno* in the *Modern Language Review* for January 1910 (Vol. v, pp. 124 ff.): 'Inasmuch as my reviewer, Mr Paget Toynbee, devotes an appreciable part of his space to a complaint that I have not included his *Dictionary* in my list of "Bibliographical Abbreviations," I wish to correct at once the impression that I have been guilty of even unintentional discourtesy to so eminent a scholar. The list in question is, as its title states, merely an explanation of abbreviations, and consists in large measure of the titles of Dante's works and of books of the Bible. Much as I should have liked to include the *Dictionary* with Deuteronomy and *Convivio*, there was absolutely no excuse for doing so, as I have nowhere referred to it in abbreviated form. I have recommended the work in my Introduction, and have expressed my indebtedness to Mr Toynbee in my Preface, which, I believe, is the usual place for such acknowledgments. Indeed, it must have been the emphasis there laid on the helpfulness of his studies that betrayed Mr Toynbee into the statement that his *Dictionary* "has evidently been laid under contribution" by me "pretty frequently." I must confess to my shame that, while I have greatly profited by Mr Toynbee's researches in other quarters, I have certainly not opened that justly popular compendium more than fifty times in my life, and,

so far as I am aware, have made no use of it at all in the preparation of this volume. My critic has, it would seem, been similarly misled, by the warmth of my acknowledgment to Torraca, to assume that my notes "are very largely a compilation from the well-known Italian commentary" of that scholar. While even a fancied resemblance between my work and Torraca's can be only complimentary to me, I must, in justice to that commentator, disclaim a relationship that might seem to make him responsible for a system of exegesis almost exactly the opposite of his own and for almost countless interpretations at variance with his views. In point of fact, my work was virtually completed when his admirable edition appeared, but the abundance of fresh material contributed by him compelled me (as it must compel everyone who prefers fact to time-honored fiction) to make a thorough revision of the historical and biographical part of my annotation. I take this opportunity to say, as I ought to have said in the book itself, that the citation on p. 137 from Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* is copied *verbatim* from the Venetian edition of 1472, the oldest source accessible to me; the three "misprints" go back, then, to that date. Allow me to add, in conclusion, that the term "bird-hunting," to which my critic takes exception, is not used by me as a synonym of "falconry": it means, not hunting *with* birds, as my reviewer seems to suppose, but hunting birds—just as "fault-finding" means finding fault, and "hair-splitting" means splitting hairs.

[I of course readily accept Professor Grandgent's disclaimer as to the use (or the reverse) made of Professor Torraca's commentary and of my *Dante Dictionary* in his edition of the *Inferno*. No doubt numerous coincidences created a wrong impression. As regards the misprints in the quotation from Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* I am afraid Professor Grandgent does not better his case. He asserts that he copied the quotation *verbatim* from the Venice edition of 1472. In that edition, of which I happen to possess a copy, the passage in question runs (with the contractions expanded) as follows:—'Et inde Gerion dicta est: quia regnans apud Baleares insulas: Gerion miti vultu blandisque verbis: et omni comitatu consueverit hospites suscipere: et demum sub hac benignitate sopitos occidere.' For *vultu* Professor Grandgent prints *vulto*, and for *sopitos* he prints *sospites*. *Sospites* was substituted for *sopitos* in the Reggio edition of 1481. I have not seen the undated Cologne edition of the *De Genealogia* (Proctor, 1104), but I can state that all the other fifteenth and sixteenth century editions of the Latin text read *sospites*, except the latest of all, the Basle edition of 1532, which reads *hospites*. There can be little doubt, however, that *sopitos* is the right reading, and this was the opinion of Betussi, the author of the Italian translation (first printed in 1547), who renders 'adornmentati.' The obvious correction *comitate* for *comitatu* was made by the editor of the Basle edition, and is apparently adopted by Betussi, who renders 'con ogni familiarità,' but his translation of this sentence is too free to enable one to decide with certainty which reading he followed.

PAGET TOYNBEE.]

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

February—May, 1910.

### GENERAL.

- BIONDOLILLO, F., *Poeti e critici*. Palermo, Trimarchi. 3 L.  
HUDSON, W. H., *An Introduction to the Study of Literature*. London Harrap. 5s.  
MATTHEWS, BRANDER, *A Study of the Drama*. London, Longmans. 6s. 6d. net.  
WOODBERRY, G. E., *The Inspiration of Poetry*. London, Macmillan. 5s. net.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### General.

- Bibliotheca romanica. 101. Boileau, *Oeuvres*. Le lutrin; 102—107. La Bruyère, *Oeuvres*. Les Caractères. Discours à l'Académie; 108. Maffei, Sc., *Merope*. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no. 40 pf.  
Mélanges de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offerts à M. Maurice Wilmotte. 2 vols. Paris, H. Champion. 20 fr.

#### Latin.

- CLARK, A. C., *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin*. London, Frowde. 2s. net.

#### Italian.

- BARBERINO, FRANCESCO DA, *Documenti d'amore, secondo i manoscritti originali a cura di F. Egidi*. Fasc. 8. Rome, Società filologica romana. 4 L.  
BONCOMPAGNO DA SIGNA, *Amicitia*. Edizione a cura di S. Nathan. Rome, Società filologica romana. 5 L.  
CARLI PICCOLOMINI, B., *Commento sopra la canzone 'Hotti donato il cor di buona voglia' da un MS. del sec. xvi, pubblicato da P. P. Clementini*. Rome, E. Loescher. 5 L.  
CIAN, V., *Ugo Foscolo*. Pavia, Mattei, Speroni e C. 5 L.  
COPELLI, T., *Il teatro di Scipione Maffei*. Parma, Battei. 4 L.  
DONAVER, F., *Antologia della poesia dialettale genovese*. Genoa, Libr. editr. moderna. 3 L. 50.  
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- GNACCARINI, G., *Indice delle rime volgari a stampa che fanno parte della biblioteca Carducci*. II. Bologna, Romagnoli d'Acqua. 10 L.
- LADENARDA, F. E., G. Carducci. Vol. I. Palermo, Reber. 3 L. 50.
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## CHATEAUBRIAND AND MILTON.

THE period of Chateaubriand's exile in England—those seven troubled years during which, in M. Faguet's words, the author of *René* 'fit l'apprentissage de la vraie douleur'—was the period which formed his literary genius. To the emotional inspiration of his love-episode in Suffolk, it is probable we owe Atala herself, Céluta in *Les Natchez*, and Cymodocée in *Les Martyrs*<sup>1</sup>. His study of English literature during those seven years provided him with valuable suggestions and rich actual material for the two last-named works. And this study broadened his critical views, helped to free them from neo-classic prejudice; made possible, in short, those splendid pages of criticism in the *Génie du Christianisme* on which perhaps his title to immortality will most surely rest.

The name of Milton may sound strange when coupled with that of Chateaubriand. But Chateaubriand's study of our literature was not mainly a study of those writers who heralded the Romantic revival in England. The attraction for him of Gray, of Beattie, or of Ossian, is not to be compared to that of a poet whose artistic nature was largely his own, whose personality even had much in common with his own, and whom he admired passionately from those days of youth when he first studied his life and works in exile, to those of disappointed old age in which he beguiled his melancholy by translating into French prose the whole of the *Paradise Lost*.

We are perhaps too prone to insist on that side of Chateaubriand's personality and literary temperament which links him, in European literature, to Byron and to the Goethe of *Werther's Sorrows*. We call him the chief of 'les pleurnicheurs,' and we think of the deplorable literary school of the imitators of *René*. But to label him the French

<sup>1</sup> A. Le Braz, *Au Pays d'Exil de Chateaubriand*. This charming work throws light on that part of Chateaubriand's exile which had hitherto remained the most obscure. The aristocratic René (in his *Mémoires*) recounts delightfully the story of Charlotte, but gives no hint of the fact that he once earned his bread by teaching French in a village school.

Byron and have done with him is sadly superficial and unjust. By noticing his sympathy with Milton, as an artist and as a man, the magnetic attraction that Milton's genius had for him during the whole of his life, we may be enabled to right the balance a little. Not that even then we shall have accounted for all, or nearly all, of the conflicting elements that make up his strange personality and his still stranger work.

'J'étais encore très jeune' we read in the Preface which Chateaubriand wrote for *Les Natchez* in 1826, 'lorsque je conçus l'idée de faire l'épopée de l'homme de la nature.' The poetic dreams of Chateaubriand's youth were on a vast scale. They haunted and possessed him; and like Milton, who dreamed of immortality at Horton, he lived to realise them. As we know from the *Mémoires*, he grew up prone to a melancholy partly constitutional, partly the result of a lonely uncared-for childhood. He wandered over the heather and through the woods that surrounded the 'paternal castle' at Combourg, often with his sister Lucile who first encouraged him to describe what he saw<sup>1</sup>. But that grey Breton country did more for him than harmonise with his prevailing melancholy; the rolling plains, the vast grey sky, the sea at St Malo helped to waken in him that instinct for the infinite, which he was to show in the spaciousness of the natural description, the vastness of the scheme, the massed profusion of the details of his greatest works. We have Sainte-Beuve's assurance that he was born *ennuyé*; he was also born with the epic imagination. And it is our object to show how Milton stimulated the growth of these epic instincts in Chateaubriand.

He had come of age before he paid much attention to his studies; by that time he had learnt at least to love the *Aeneid* and *Télémaque*. The epic stimulus was always with him, however he might love to soothe his brooding melancholy with Tibullus, or to feed *sensiblerie* and the passions of adolescence on such things as *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Paul et Virginie*.

In 1790 he found himself in Paris. His unprofitable college years were now behind him; he had dreamed of travel, and even of the church; but his haughty and morose father had roused himself to sufficient interest in his son to interpose with the brusque command, 'Monsieur le chevalier, il faut renoncer à vos folies. Votre frère a obtenu pour vous un brevet de sous-lieutenant dans le régiment de Navarre.' Presentation at Court, and association with the literary

<sup>1</sup> See Anatole France, *Lucile de Chateaubriand*. There are traces of Lucile in the Velléda of *Les Martyrs*.

circles of Paris, awaited the young 'sous-lieutenant.' This latter event was well-nigh disastrous; not so much to his creative work as to his critical views, instinctively so broad and so sympathetic. They were warped and narrowed by this association with French neo-classicism, with such men as La Harpe, Delille and Fontanes, loyal friend as the latter proved to be. Chateaubriand was now seized with a passion for reading, and took steps to use it to help out his idea of the 'épopée de l'homme de la nature.' Homer and Virgil, the *Lettres Persanes*, and the *Incas* of Marmontel, Fénelon and Voltaire, Rousseau above all, with his *sensiblerie*, his individualism, his idolising of the noble savage, have all left their mark on the extraordinary conception which took final form as *Les Natchez*. And Miltonic reminiscences 'leap to the eye' in the very first pages; though we cannot prove that Chateaubriand ever studied Milton to any extent in Paris, even in the translation of Louis Racine. The first sketch of *Les Natchez*, begun as early as 1790, is not forthcoming; the Miltonic reminiscences, in the text as we have it, are probably later additions, the result of his studies while in England.

In April, 1791, he started on a voyage to America; not that he hated the Revolution just then, or was in any particular danger; but rather as a disciple of Rousseau tired of the artificial society of the capital, and as a literary artist in search of new worlds of imagination to conquer. He had discovered that his first sketch of *Les Natchez* 'lacked the true colours'—naturally, as the Natchez were a Red Indian tribe of whom he had read in Charlevoix, and round whose fortunes he proposed to write his 'épopée de l'homme de la nature.' A grotesque and audacious project, worthy of the young Chateaubriand.

No doubt his stay in America did much for him; it accustomed his eye to vast prospects; it gave him the epic perspective, as well as some of the exotic colours he had lacked; it fulfilled his longing for solitude. But he did not observe much at first hand; and we must beware of attaching much importance to such assertions as 'j'ai vécu dans les huttes des sauvages<sup>1</sup>.' Honour called Chateaubriand back from his epic dreams. He has left us a famous account of his chance reading of an English newspaper, away among the 'huttes des sauvages,' on which were the alarming words 'Flight of the King.' Louis XVI had escaped from Paris, only to be captured at Varennes. His defenders were assembling, and, after all, Chateaubriand was an aristocrat.

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Bédier, *Études critiques*.



'Je pensais que, portant l'uniforme français, je ne devais pas me promener dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde quand mes camarades allaient se battre.' We are not concerned here with the details of Chateaubriand's campaigning. He eventually landed at Southampton, in the worst of health and in desperate need, on May 17th, 1793.

Recent research has abundantly enlightened us as to his life in England<sup>1</sup>. The *Essai sur les Révolutions*, published in London in 1797, was the first-fruits of the exile. He began it in a Holborn garret, eking out a precarious existence by hackwork as a translator; he continued it and wrote the greater part of it in the intervals of his professional duties as French master at Brightley's School, in Beccles, Suffolk. The *Essai*<sup>2</sup> is disappointing to us in our search for the persistence of the epic idea in the author; it is a work foreign to the Chateaubriand we know. It is a mere chaos into which the writer flings the scepticism and misanthropy roused in him by the Revolution that had thrown him into exile and into want, and that was soon to strike down members of his own family.

Still, so chaotic a work, informed by a vast if ill-assimilated reading, raises many points of interest. Chapter XIX, which has to do with the descent of poetry from Homer, gives a quaint list of the epic poets of Europe; a list in which Milton fraternises with Ercilla, Klopstock and Voltaire. Chapter LIII is more significant, for here (*a propos* of a fragment from the *Bhagavat-Gîta*) we have a eulogy of the *Messias*, and a translation of part of the eighth Canto. It was natural that Chateaubriand should be attracted to Klopstock, who combines *sensiblerie* with some measure of the epic instinct. Still more evident is it that the 'épopée' of Chateaubriand's dreams is occupying his mind when we consider other objects of his study at this time. He tells us, in the *Mémoires*, of his devising certain 'plans d'études' for young ladies in

<sup>1</sup> The seven years' exile falls into three distinct periods—the time of utter poverty in London, which can hardly have lasted a year; the schoolmastering in Suffolk (and the love-adventure at Bungay) which covered quite two years and a half, or even more; and the period of comparative comfort in the society of the *émigrés*, a period of eager literary activity, which lasted till his return to France, May 7th, 1800. Cp. E. Dick, *Le Séjour de Chateaubriand en Suffolk*, F. Baldensperger, *Chateaubriand et l'émigration française à Londres* (articles in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1907, 1908)—also M. Le Braz' book quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> The work is a laboured and far-fetched parallel between ancient and modern revolutions; ancient Greece is made to explain 1789—and the conclusion reached is that *there is nothing new under the sun*—'l'homme, faible dans ses moyens et dans son génie, ne fait que se répéter sans cesse.' With Rousseau, somewhat inconsistently, he declares for some vague and impossible 'return to Nature.' Except for a few sincere and touching passages on the sad lot of the *émigrés*, and the superb 'Nuit chez les sauvages d'Amérique,' the book is of little interest as literature. It fills Vols. 2 and 3 of the *Oeuvres complètes*.

the neighbourhood of Beccles, notably for Miss Charlotte Ives, daughter of the Rev. John Ives of Bungay<sup>1</sup>. With her he read Dante and Tasso—and he could read Milton, and good store of English literature, in her father's library. Thus, while occupied with his teaching, and the composition of the *Essai*, he found time to turn the pages of most of the significant epics in European literature; and his special interest not only in Milton's works but in his life is shown in one of the most curious and least known of his early compositions, written at this very time<sup>2</sup>.

He happened on the story (first found in Richardson's *Memoirs*, and probably apocryphal) of Davenant being the instrument of Charles II's clemency to Milton, who himself had saved Davenant under the Commonwealth. 'Histoire honorable aux Muses,' wrote Chateaubriand later, 'sur laquelle j'ai rimailé jadis des vers détestables.'

He had an instinct, as most subjective writers have, for fixing on picturesque details and incidents in the life of any author in whose works he was interested. The 'vers détestables' in question show how dangerous is that love of the picturesque which ignores or 'arranges' hard historical facts, and indulges in embroidery hardly justified by the widest poetic license.

It would be cruel to quote much of *Milton et Davenant*—for Chateaubriand, with all his gifts, had not the gift of writing verse. When Milton had saved Davenant's neck under the Commonwealth, the two poets, it would appear, sat down to a cosy literary chat and declaimed their verses:

Davenant récita l'idylle du *Ruisseau*,  
Milton lui repartit par le vif *Allégro*,  
Du doux *Penseroso* redit le chant si triste,  
Et déclama les chœurs du *Samson Agoniste*,

a remarkable feat, when we remember that *Samson* can hardly have been begun before 1667! Much sentiment, further on, is expended on one of Milton's daughters (which one we are not informed):

C'est elle qui souvent, dans un docte entretien,  
Relit le vieil Homère à l'Homère chrétien,

<sup>1</sup> M. Le Braz recounts the idyll of Bungay with much detail, and shows to what an extent French literature is indebted to the unfortunate Charlotte.

<sup>2</sup> *Milton et Davenant*, dated 'Londres 1797.' *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 24. It is probable that this was written in Suffolk, with the paraphrase of Gray's *Elegy* and other slight poems. Cp. Le Braz.

and when Davenant arrives with Charles II's pardon for the blind poet, this daughter opens it in great perturbation, not knowing what is in store for her father :

D'une voix altérée elle lit la sentence :  
 'Voulant à la justice égaler la clémence,  
 Il nous plaît d'octroyer, de pleine autorité,  
 A Davenant, pour prix de sa fidélité,  
 La grâce de Milton. CHARLES.' Qu'on se figure  
 Les transports que causa la touchante aventure !

This suffices, I should think. Delille or Fontanes could have done better. But we must at once admit that Chateaubriand *has* written better poetry; for the best parts of his verse-paraphrase of Gray's *Elegy*, and the charming *Romance* in the *Dernier Abencérage* are beyond the neoclassics; they even help in some degree to bridge the gulf between eighteenth century poetry and Lamartine.

Milton's prose also interested Chateaubriand at this time. He was drawn to it because of its political and historical significance. It is curious to note what an attraction the period of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth always had for him<sup>1</sup>. He is fond of tracing parallels between the French Revolution and that of 1649. In the chaotic *Essai*<sup>2</sup> we stumble across such things as a citation and translation of the *Alarm to all Flesh*, and a most loyal plea for the authenticity of the *Eikon Basilice*, 'malgré les plaisanteries de Milton !'

The *Essai* out of hand, Chateaubriand could concentrate his attention on *Les Natchez*. M. Le Braz has shown plausibly enough that parts of this work may have been written in Suffolk. But it is to the latter period of the exile (1797-1800)—when the author had returned to London—that we must attribute the elaboration of this work, and especially of the two famous episodes *Atala* and *René* which once formed part of the original canvas.

At first sight *Les Natchez* would appear more chaotic even than the *Essai*; but its confusion is of a different kind. It has the audacity and spontaneity of young genius that has found itself; it is a chaos alive and fertile. It is in two parts; the first a prose epic, the second a plain narrative. We are only concerned with the first part—that part of the original sketch which Chateaubriand deliberately 'raised from the narrative to the epic,' as the outcome of the varied studies we have been tracing. This was not a mere process of literary patch-

<sup>1</sup> In later life he devoted a historical monograph to the period: *Les quatre Stuarts, Œuvres complètes*, Vol. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Tome II, Chap. 16. (Vol. 3 of *Œuvres complètes*.)

work; to the fervid imagination of his youthful days Homeric comparison and extravagant epic exploit came naturally. There is much that is grotesque, of course, in this Red Indian Epic; but I cannot help thinking that M. Faguet, who appreciates *Les Natchez* so truly, has rather belittled the epic portion in his enthusiasm for the second part<sup>1</sup>.

The main story may be stated baldly and simply enough. The Natchez, an Indian tribe of Louisiana, who have adopted as their comrade René the European, are incited, by the machinations of the traitor chief Ondouré, to rise and massacre the French colonists of the province. René, as a white man, falls in the conflict; this leads inevitably to the death of his Indian wife Céluta (loved by Ondouré), his friend Outougamiz, and most of the characters in the story. The Natchez, as punishment for their rising, lose their fatherland, and after much wandering, meet with annihilation.

Round these events are grouped, in right epic fashion, Heaven, Hell, and most of the powers therein, who all take due interest in the fortunes of the Indian tribe. The epic portion is in twelve books, and has all the due paraphernalia of invocations, catalogues, prodigious conflicts, descriptions of the other world; and a long narrative episode, in which Chactas, the old Natchez chief, tells René of his journeyings. As might be expected, it is in the epic framework, particularly in the supernatural portion of it, that Milton's influence is mainly to be found.

The whole is written in a musical prose—*Télémaque* first showed the author the possibilities in French of 'la prose poétique'—rhythmic, sonorous, more free and supple, if less balanced and less mature, than the style of prose that Chateaubriand afterwards perfected in *Les Martyrs*. Here is the opening, in which he proposes to treat, like Milton, of

Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

'A l'ombre des forêts américaines, je vais chanter des airs de la solitude tels que n'en ont point entendu les oreilles mortelles; je vais raconter vos malheurs, ô Natchez, ô nation de la Louisiane, dont il ne reste plus que les souvenirs!' Here we have the Miltonic strain of pride; in the last clause a gush of Romantic melancholy; and 'airs de la solitude' is the forerunner of many an imaginative phrase which will hardly be found in *Télémaque*.

<sup>1</sup> M. des Essarts, curiously enough, prefers the epic portion to the narrative (see the article *Chateaubriand* in P. de Julleville). Sainte-Beuve fights shy of *Les Natchez*—'Je ne l'aborderai pas, car nous n'en sortirions jamais.'



Satan figures in the commencement of the Second Book: he is one of the 'machining persons.' 'Planant dans les airs, au-dessus de l'Amérique, il jetait un regard désespéré sur cette partie de la terre où le Sauveur le poursuit comme le soleil qui, s'avancant des portes de l'Orient, chasse devant lui les ténèbres.' We soon see that it is Milton's Satan that Chateaubriand is thinking of. He is much concerned at the spread of the Gospel among the Indians of America. 'Rempli de projets de vengeance,' which is only Chateaubriand's way of echoing 'full fraught with mischievous revenge,' he descends to his empire, and summons what is surely the most Miltonic of all epic contrivances, the council of demons. He harangues them (the scene is not localised) and incites them to stir up evil passions in the Indians. The whole would be only a clumsy piece of machinery if it were not for the speech itself, in which the Indian colour, skilfully used to amplify the Miltonic hint, gives much sombre impressiveness:

Dieux de l'Amérique, s'écrie-t-il, *anges tombés avec moi*, vous qui vous faites adorer sous la forme d'un serpent, vous que l'on invoque comme les génies des castors et des ours; vous qui, sous le nom de manitous, remplissez les songes, inspirez les craintes, ou entretenez les espérances des peuples barbares; vous qui murmurez dans les vents, qui mugissez dans les cataractes, qui présidez au silence ou à la terreur des forêts, allez défendre vos autels!

The great *phrase* is constructed with much art, and is not unworthy of *Les Martyrs*. It will be noticed that Chateaubriand has followed Milton in identifying the fallen angels with the gods of the heathen world; we shall see as we proceed how he took many such hints, without necessarily betraying their source by any trace of verbal reminiscence.

The 'Stygian council' ends with an obviously Miltonic trait: 'Il dit, et le Tartare pousse un rugissement de joie, qui fut entendu dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde.' Here, however, most of the impressiveness is gone. It is childish baldness compared to the shout

that tore Hell's concave, and beyond  
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.

The Miltonic influence is evident in the other scenes of *Les Natchez* which take place in the infernal world. In this same Book is a truly extraordinary passage descriptive of the meeting of Satan with the 'Démon de la Renommée, fille de Satan et de l'Orgueil,' in which Chateaubriand seems to be thinking both of Virgil and Milton; for the allegorical description of La Renommée recalls the great figure of Rumour in the Fourth *Aeneid*, and her relationship to Satan, and

verbal similarities in their colloquy, recall the episode of Sin and Death.

But it would be tedious to treat in detail all the traces of Milton to be found in the supernatural framework of *Les Natchez*. A word may be said about the great battle between Indians and French in the Tenth Book, where, amid many Homeric and Virgilian traits, the influence of Milton is not absent. Satan is present in the fray; his legions hover in the air and darken the sun; Satan raises supernatural noises. 'Jamais tel bruit n'avait été ouï, depuis le jour où le chaos, forcé de fuir devant le Créateur, se précipita aux confins des mondes arrachés de ses entrailles.' And Night is summoned by Satan to end the conflict—'Ange ravissant...prenez votre robe des tempêtes. Vous savez ce que vous me devez; vous n'étiez pas avant la chute de l'homme, et vous avez pris naissance dans mes ténèbres.' There is much power in the description of Night, her descent on the combatants, and the wild havoc of her tempests—'Aux reflets de la lune, on apercevait des arbres brisés par les bombes et les boulets, des cadavres flottants dans le débordement du Meschacebé, des chevaux abattus ou errant à l'aventure...des armes et des drapeaux abandonnés.' Are these last the 'scattered arms and ensigns' of *Paradise Lost*? In the Fourth Book of *Les Natchez* there is a Heaven—a creation half Biblical, half Platonic, at times grotesque and obscure enough, though full of scattered beauties. The Miltonic influence here, though it exists, can hardly be shown by the selection of verbal resemblances. But, at the outset of the Book—where we follow the 'ange protecteur de l'Amérique' in his ascent to Heaven—his meeting with Uriel, the archangel of the sun, is surely suggested by Milton, as is undoubtedly their conversation on the creation of the sun, its light, and points of Ptolemaic astronomy. The conversation also recalls the inquiries of Adam and the replies of Raphael, as a short quotation may show:

Brûlant chérubin, si toutefois ma curiosité n'est point déplacée...ce qu'on dit de l'astre auquel vous présidez est-il vrai?

Uriel, avec un sourire paisible:

Esprit rempli de prudence, votre curiosité n'a rien d'indiscret, puisque vous n'avez pour but que de glorifier l'œuvre du Père.

We now take leave of this amazing work, in which the grotesque and the beautiful are so strangely mingled. We have shown that Milton plays no unimportant part in the epic framework; by suggesting structural particulars on the one hand, and actual phraseology on the other. We might instance other parallel passages, if we were not liable

to fall into the very real danger of attributing to Milton what are direct reminiscences of Homer or Virgil. Milton himself made such large profit of the classics that the task of finding the true source of many scattered things in *Les Natchez* would be as hopeless as it is unnecessary. It is most profitable to dwell on the one fact that the supernatural in *Les Natchez* is largely Milton's. And it is of course the Christian supernatural. This suggests some of the most interesting questions that can be asked about Chateaubriand.

When he wrote the *Essai* he was avowedly sceptical; much has been written on the change in thought and belief which turned the Rousseauist, the 'demi-philosophe' of 1797 into the author of the *Génie du Christianisme*<sup>1</sup>. The change seems sudden enough when we recollect that the first sketch of the latter work was actually begun in London, in 1799, two years after the publication of the *Essai*. The sentimental reason given by Chateaubriand has weight, but by itself is not enough. The news of the death of his mother and one of his sisters, weeping over his errors, and praying for his conversion—this would have been enough for some men, but hardly enough for Chateaubriand. We want more explanation than the famous 'j'ai pleuré et j'ai cru.' One critic has suggested that Chateaubriand, while in London, came under the influence of the growing reaction in favour of Christianity. This is quite likely, and is a point that invites research. Of one thing I am certain: the reason for Chateaubriand's 'conversion' was not merely sentimental, and only to some degree intellectual: it was mainly and essentially artistic. All through life M. Faguet's neat little dictum about him holds good—'Le Beau l'attire. Il l'a attiré vers le Christianisme.' His ruling passion was the search for Beauty, Beauty in all its forms. At Combourg, he dreamed of his 'terrestrial Eve.' Once his literary vocation was found, he compassed half the world to depict the beauties of Nature. For this, he went to America; for this, later on, he saw Rome and Greece, Palestine and the Alhambra. For this, he studied the literatures of other lands.

The influence, then, of his study of Milton on his much-discussed 'conversion' must have been considerable. Its force, I think, can hardly be over-estimated. Chateaubriand was mainly attracted to Christianity because he saw beauties in it, literary possibilities unknown or at least forgotten by the France of his day. More than a hundred years ago

<sup>1</sup> This work, published in 1802, is, as we all know, one of the most eloquent and successful pleas in literature for the beauty and venerableness of the Christian religion, its appeal to the emotions, the beauty of its ordinances, above all, its artistic possibilities.

Boileau, who dictated the creed of the French neo-classics, had let fall his ban on the Christian supernatural:

De la foi d'un Chrétien les mystères terribles  
D'ornements égayés ne sont point susceptibles,

and the pale shades of poets who lived in France in the eighteenth century had as a rule obeyed his command. Now Chateaubriand, once he became alive to his vocation, condemned the eighteenth century and all its ways. What more natural than that he should uphold against it the new source of beauty he had found? Here again M. Faguet puts the position with fine precision and an engaging touch of malice: 'Découvrir une nouvelle forme du Beau, et continuer de prouver au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'il ne sait pas ce qu'il dit—double allégresse.' Who knows how much Milton must have taught him of the artistic possibilities of the Christian supernatural? We have seen that during the exile he studied Klopstock, Dante and Tasso. Glowing pages in the *Génie du Christianisme* show his regard for them—and for Milton above all. His occupation, then, with those poets of the world who have best shown the literary possibilities of the Christian religion, must be considered as the chief source and reason for his epoch-making work. Milton's share in this is pre-eminent. He provided actual material, as we have seen, for *Les Natchez*, and, as we shall see, for *Les Martyrs*: he had much to do with the very existence of the *Génie du Christianisme*.

The idea of *Les Martyrs* occurred to Chateaubriand in Rome, in the year 1802. The obscure *émigré* of 1800 was now famous; *Atala*, published barely a year after his return to France, had not only brought American colour for the first time into French literature; it had rivalled Rousseau and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in its passionate individualism, and had outdone them in the breadth and the gorgeousness of its natural description. The *Génie du Christianisme* (thanks largely to a similar project of Buonaparte's) had done much to overthrow *philosophisme*: its critical pages had sounded the manifesto of the French Romantic Movement. Chateaubriand now turned eastward in his search for Beauty; and particularly for that kind of beauty which he had praised so eloquently in the *Génie*. He had upheld, against classic mythology, the literary possibilities of the Christian supernatural: he was now going to vindicate his theory by a brilliant example. In Italy, in Greece, in the Holy Land and in Spain, he was busied in making sketches for his great prose epic, *Les Martyrs*, which he did not publish till 1809. Some of his earlier sketches are preserved in the *Itinéraire*, which appeared two years later; there are many who prefer the simpler



descriptions in the travel-book to the full-dress elaboration in the epic. Granada, the Alhambra, and a love-adventure there, provided the stimulus for his last creative work, the beautiful tale of *Le Dernier Abencérage*. Such were the fruits of the journey.

*Les Martyrs* is not Chateaubriand's masterpiece: but it is at any rate his greatest effort. His youthful daring, in *Les Natchez*, had made light of the difficulties of the epic; or rather, had not realised them. His matured powers, in *Les Martyrs*, did not hesitate to attempt the enterprise a second time. He failed; but it is a tribute to the audacity and the persistency of the epic instinct in Chateaubriand that he came as near as he did to success.

Perhaps it was mainly his determination to vindicate the great thesis of the *Génie* that made him throw this work into epic form. At any rate, in the opening invocation, on the threshold of the hopeless enterprise, he calls with almost pathetic significance on the Muse of two great poets who had shown him the possibilities of the Christian supernatural.

*Muse céleste*, vous qui inspirâtes le poète de Sorrente et l'aveugle d'Albion; vous qui placez votre trône solitaire sur le Thabor; vous qui vous plaisez aux pensées sévères, aux méditations graves et sublimes, j'implore à présent votre secours.

The subject of *Les Martyrs* is the struggle of Christianity and paganism under Diocletian and Galerius; and the eventual triumph of Christianity at the accession of Constantine. This triumph is brought about, according to the scheme, 'par les efforts glorieux de deux époux martyrs,' Eudore, a young Greek warrior converted to Christianity, and Cymodocée, daughter of Démodocus, a 'priest of Homer,' who for love of Eudore eventually adopts his faith. They are martyred in Rome when the persecutions break out under Galerius. The scene of the work is 'dispersedly in various countries.' The whole scheme of events, as in *Paradise Lost*, is controlled inevitably by Eternal Providence, which sends angels many and various to help on the fortunes of the two 'martyrs' and their friends; which permits Satan and his crew to stir up evil passions in Galerius, Hiérocles (rival of Eudore in Cymodocée's love) and the forces of paganism generally—and which arranges as a final consummation that Galerius shall die just as his fatal decree has been carried out. Constantine succeeds, the Christian religion is proclaimed on the tomb of the martyred couple, 'et les temples des faux dieux rentrent pour jamais dans la poudre.'

The canvas is vast; the scheme is often incoherent. The idea of the meeting and the struggle of early Christianity with decadent

paganism has great possibilities; but Chateaubriand was not the man to grasp them as they should be grasped. We care little for the main scheme, for we soon find that the author's greatest strength goes into the episodes and the descriptions. Some of these are among the glories of French literature<sup>1</sup>. But to read the work through is a weariness of the flesh. The epic framework is of more importance here than in *Les Natchez*. All the conventions are observed. We have the set similes and the set descriptions, invocations and catalogues, battles and storms. Not only do the supernatural agencies help on the action; but variety is given by the interspersing of long passages of supernatural description. A Paradise<sup>2</sup> occupies the whole of the Third Book, a Hell the greater part of the Eighth. As might be expected, Milton's influence is mainly felt in the supernatural portions; and most particularly in the Hell, which we must now examine.

It interrupts Eudore's narrative—an account of his youthful adventures given in the presence of Cymodocée and her father. Satan notes the effect produced on the young 'priestess of the Muses' by this story of travel and danger: 'Il allait profiter de l'amour du couple prédestiné pour faire naître de violents orages....Il quitte la terre et descend vers le sombre empire.'

Echoes of *Paradise Lost* are clearly heard as he descends: 'Par-delà les restes mugissants du chaos, il arrive à la frontière de ces régions impérissables comme la vengeance qui les forma; régions maudites, tombe et berceau de la mort, où le temps ne fait point la règle.'

Not only in their sombre atmosphere, but in their turn of phrase, almost in their very movement these lines recall

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace  
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes...  
The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave.

<sup>1</sup> The conventional 'episode,' the *Récit d'Eudore*, contains the finest things in the whole work—the battle of the Franks and Romans (Book vi) which Sainte-Beuve, never too generous to Chateaubriand, thinks worthy of the *Iliad* and the last books of the *Aeneid*; and that marvellous *Episode de Velléda* (Books ix and x), the summit of the author's genius.

<sup>2</sup> The Paradise has Miltonic reminiscences; in his notes Chateaubriand defends by Milton's example the lavish display of jewellery he has made in it; he has also borrowed such details as the staircase in the Third Book of *Paradise Lost*, and the description of Messiah's chariot in the Sixth. Sainte-Beuve calls the Paradise 'obscur et tourmenté'; it is loaded with Biblical imagery; it borrows features from most of the Paradises in ancient and modern literature; it is a bewildering medley of matter and spirit. Still, it is an ecstatic picture, full of imaginative beauty. If Chateaubriand has thought fit to shroud his Divine Persons in much cloudy symbolism, he has at least refrained from attributing to his Deity the 'arguments of a school-divine.' And nowhere, perhaps, is the prose style more magnificent than in this Book.

The quotation also shows the perfection of style to which Chateaubriand had attained in *Les Martyrs*—nothing in the earlier epic approaches their gloomy roll and their consummate mastery of cadence.

Satan is struck with remorse and pity as he enters his doleful realm. The human emotions of Milton's Satan, especially his remorse at the unhappy fate of his comrades, and at the destruction he must bring on man, are among the features of *Paradise Lost* which Chateaubriand is never tired of praising. Some of the most eloquent pages in the *Génie du Christianisme* treat of the character of Milton's Satan. The praise is happier than the imitation, but this latter is often striking:

Une larme involontaire mouille les yeux de l'esprit pervers au moment où il s'enfonce dans les royaumes de la nuit. Sa lance de feu éclaire à peine autour de lui l'épaisseur des ombres....L'Enfer étonne encore son monarque....'C'est donc moi,' s'écrie-t-il, 'qui ai creusé ces prisons et rassemblé tous ces maux !...Que m'avait fait l'homme, cette belle et noble créature ?'

Touches such as these—suggested only by his study of Milton—enable Chateaubriand at times almost to make his Satan alive, and distinguish his figure from the crowd of the other supernatural creations in *Les Martyrs*, which are rarely more than empty personifications, or tedious compounds of moral allegory.

Satan meets Death at Hell-gate—a female figure described with hideous detail, and much allegory almost in the mediaeval style of the *Roman de la Rose*. The weak side of Chateaubriand's treatment of the supernatural is here painfully evident; one feels that he has deliberately tried to make the description as odious as he can; and here and elsewhere one is irritated at the mass of petty allegorical detail. In such a description he is furthest from the grandeur and the vagueness of Milton's treatment; dignity is lost and gives way to rant, gush, and unhealthy phantasmagoria.

The colloquy of Satan and Death is what might be expected from the Second Book of *Paradise Lost*:

O mon père !...Viens-tu rassasier la faim insatiable de ta fille ? Je suis fatiguée des mêmes festins, et j'attends de toi quelque nouveau monde à dévorer.

O Mort ! tu seras satisfaite et vengée ; je vais livrer à ta rage le peuple nombreux de ton unique vainqueur.

With the description of the tortures of the damned we have nothing to do; it is in great part a *réchauffé* of Dante and Fénelon; in which, however, the ingenious mental torments suggested by the Archbishop of Cambrai evidently appealed more to Chateaubriand than the physical horrors of the *Inferno*.

We now approach the most Miltonic part of the whole book; for we have a Pandemonium, a roll-call of devils, and a 'Stygian Council' in full and formal array. Neptune, Apollo, and other classical deities are in the throng; also Moloch, and the 'dog Anubis' of the *Nativity Ode*. Their number is swelled by many dreary abstractions—'génie de la guerre,' 'génie de la fausse sagesse.' Chateaubriand is prone to a fault quite as bad as tedious moral allegory—to the emptiest and easiest of all methods of personification, which consists in simply writing an abstract noun with a capital letter.

At times, indeed, there is a measure of Miltonic inspiration, without any slavish following of the original. A hint is taken, and finely developed, a sombre imagination supplies many a just and effective epithet; eye and ear, memory and feeling, are appealed to in succession with much skill; and the unfailing sonority of the rhythmic prose is most impressive. Here are some features of the Pandemonium:

Une tempête éternelle gronde autour de ses créneaux menaçants, un arbre stérile est planté devant sa porte...On aperçoit une longue suite de portiques désolés, semblables à ces galeries souterraines où les prêtres de l'Égypte cachaient les monstres qu'ils faisaient adorer aux hommes. Les dômes du fatal édifice retentissent des sourds mugissements d'une incendie: une pâle lueur descend des voûtes embrasées.

And this is the description of Satan, about to address the assembly:

Non plus comme cet astre du matin qui nous apporte la lumière, mais semblable à une comète effrayante, Lucifer s'assied sur son trône, au milieu de ce peuple d'esprits. Tel qu'on voit pendant une tempête une vague s'élever au-dessus des autres flots, et menacer les nautonniers de sa cime écumante, ou tel que, dans une ville embrasée, on remarque, au milieu des édifices fumants, une haute tour dont les flammes couronnent le sommet, tel paraît l'archange tombé au milieu de ses compagnons.

The barest hints have here sufficed to stimulate Chateaubriand to a description surely not quite unworthy of that of a greater Satan which we all know. Milton compares him to an eclipsed sun; like Chateaubriand's 'comète effrayante' he 'perplexes monarchs' with 'fear of change.' It was also he who,

above the rest,  
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,  
Stood like a tower;

and the hint that suggested his opening words was a good deal broader:

Dieux des nations, Trônes, Ardeurs, guerriers généreux, milices invincibles... magnanimes enfants de cette forte patrie<sup>1</sup>!...

<sup>1</sup> 'Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers...  
Warriors, the flower of Heaven!'



Satan now invites proposals as to the best means of exterminating the growing bands of Christians on earth. Three demons offer their counsel; and the first, 'démon de l'homicide,' in his abruptness and his uncompromising ferocity, is none other than the Moloch of *Paradise Lost*:

'Qu'est-il besoin de délibérer,' s'écrie l'ange atroce, 'faut-il, pour détruire les peuples du Christ, d'autres moyens que des bourreaux et des flammes? Dieux des nations, laissez-moi le soin de rétablir vos temples...Qu'un immense et dernier massacre fasse nager les autels de notre ennemi dans le sang de ses adorateurs!'

This is undisputably Moloch, though robbed of one of his most Miltonic traits—his sombre dignity. Belial suggested to Chateaubriand the contrast in the words of the next speaker, the 'démon de la fausse sagesse.' His 'persuasive accent' is clearly recognisable here:

Monarques de l'enfer, vous le savez, j'ai toujours été opposé à la violence...Nous n'obtiendrons la victoire que par le raisonnement, la douceur, et la persuasion.

Belial's calmness, hypocrisy, and plausibility are all found in this second demon of Chateaubriand's; while the third, Astarte, 'démon de la volupté,' has features that recall both Belial and Satan:

Le plus beau des anges tombés, après l'archange rebelle, il a conservé une partie des grâces dont l'avait orné le Créateur<sup>1</sup>.

The council is at an end; the first demon will further the designs of his chief by stirring up the spirit of massacre; the second will provoke sophism, the third sensuality. Satan applauds their projects. All is ready for the great enterprise, destined, of course, later to be overthrown by that all-ruling Providence which is as absolute in *Les Martyrs* as in *Paradise Lost*. We take leave of Chateaubriand's Hell as we watch the demons ascending, like fluttering bats, up through Hellgate into the world:

Ainsi parle Lucifer; trois fois il frappe son trône de son sceptre; trois fois *les creux de l'abîme renvoient un long mugissement*. Le chaos, *unique et sombre voisin de l'enfer*, ressent le contre-coup... Aussitôt les légions s'élèvent, sortent du conseil, traversent la mer de larmes, la région des supplices, et volent vers la porte gardée par le Crime et la Mort. On voit passer la troupe immonde à la lueur des fournaises ardentes, comme, dans une grotte souterraine, voltigent à la lumière d'un flambeau ces oiseaux douteux dont un insecte impur semble avoir tissu les ailes.

Sainte-Beuve, in his great book on Chateaubriand and his literary circle under the Empire, is very severe on this Hell. 'La scène de

<sup>1</sup> Cf.

and again:

'His form had not yet lost  
All her original brightness'—  
'A fairer person lost not Heaven.'

l'abîme,' he says, 'à laquelle nous assistons est tout ce qu'on peut imaginer de plus pénible, de plus forgée à froid, de plus désagréable.' He talks of it as a mere exercise in pastiche, a series of Dantean and Miltonic ideas 'froidement réchauffées.' Cold *réchauffé* in literature must always be worthless; but surely this of Chateaubriand's, even when it is *réchauffé*, is not always cold! We have shown that at times the merest hint is enough to set his imagination aglow, that his borrowing is seldom literal, and seldom a mere process of literary patchwork. And there is no reason why even pastiche should necessarily produce bad literature. To remember *Paradise Lost* while writing this book of *Les Martyrs* was to Chateaubriand almost second nature. And if he never approaches the heights of Milton, he can at least contrive to soar 'with no middle flight' into regions of sonorous and imaginative gloom.

It will perhaps have been noticed that where he follows Milton most closely, as in the scene in Pandemonium, his worst faults of moral allegory and empty personification, and his fits of morbid extravagance, are least in evidence. Milton taught him particularly the art of localising and defining the supernatural. In *Les Martyrs*, of course, there is no clear-drawn map of Universal Space such as Milton had in his mind; but the different portions of Chateaubriand's Hell are at least fairly definite; we are not lost in utter confusion. Milton showed him that this necessary concession to the geometric instincts of finite minds is not incompatible with the greatest effects of vagueness and indefiniteness. So the Hell in *Les Martyrs* is at once more vivid and better defined, less elusive and impalpable than those dreary *inania regna*, the Hells in *Télémaque* and the *Henriade* of Voltaire.

It is unnecessary to insist on other scattered reminiscences of Milton in *Les Martyrs*. They occur mainly in what we have called the epic framework. The formal 'catalogue,' and the geographical survey, with its wealth of allusion and reminiscence, is not infrequent in *Les Martyrs*. Chateaubriand treats this with great breadth of style; and his more perfected art brings it in with far less incongruity than is the case in *Les Natchez*. The device of course is as old as Homer, but the wide sweep of range in Chateaubriand's examples, and especially the rolling music of the proper names, suggest Milton; at times in fact irresistibly<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In the Notes to *Les Martyrs* we meet with such statements as 'J'ai lu Stényclare au lieu de Stényclère, pour l'oreille.' Chateaubriand, like Milton, was very careful of the euphony of his proper names.

Here is a passage from the Second Book, descriptive of the 'chant d'Endore':

Passant aux jours d'Abraham, et adoucissant les sons de sa lyre, il dit le palmier, le puits, le chameau, l'onagre du désert, le patriarche voyageur assis devant sa tente, les troupeaux de Galaad, les vallées du Liban, les sommets d'Hérmon, d'Oreb et de Sinaï; les rosiers de Jéricho, les cyprès de Cadès, les palmes d'Idumée; Ephraïm et Sichem, Sion et Solyme, le torrent des Gédres et les eaux sacrées du Jourdain.

And in the famous Grecian night in the First Book the melody of the names enhances the beauty and the breadth of the description:

C'était une de ces nuits dont les ombres transparentes semblent craindre de cacher le beau ciel de la Grèce.... Les sommets du Taygète, les promontoires opposés de Colonides et d'Acrilas, la mer de Messénie, brillaient de la plus tendre lumière; une flotte ionienne baissait ses voiles pour entrer au port de Coronée.... Alcyon gemissait doucement sur son nid, et le vent de la nuit apportait à Cymodocée les parfums du dictame et la voix lointaine de Neptune.

Not only is Chateaubriand in *Les Martyrs* quite at home in reminiscent description and catalogue; he can use the invocation at times in a strangely Miltonic way, for personal confession and revelation, in passages of proud confidence or of pathetic lyrical outcry. A fine example of this is the invocation to the last of the twenty-four books of *Les Martyrs*, that superb *Adieu à la Muse* in which he passes in review his travels in foreign lands:

O Muse! qui daignas me soutenir dans une carrière aussi longue que périlleuse! retourne maintenant aux célestes demeures. Je vois les bornes de la course.... Adieu! consolatrice de mes jours, toi qui partageas mes plaisirs, et bien plus souvent mes douleurs!... J'étais à peine sorti de l'enfance, tu montas sur mon vaisseau rapide, et tu chantas les tempêtes qui déchiraient mon voile; tu me suivis sous le toit d'écorce du sauvage, et tu me fis trouver dans les solitudes américaines les bois du Pinde.... Porté sur ton aile j'ai découvert au milieu des nuages les montagnes de Morven, j'ai pénétré les forêts d'Erminsul, j'ai vu couler les flots du Tibre, j'ai salué les oliviers du Céphise et les lauriers de l'Eurotas.... Avec toi j'adorai les eaux du Jourdain et je priai sur la montagne de Sion. Memphis et Carthage nous ont vu méditer sur leurs ruines; et, dans les débris des palais de Grenade, nous évoquâmes les souvenirs de l'honneur et de l'amour.

This is no mere exercise in declamation; it is only too sincere. Chateaubriand felt when he wrote those words that his best period—his truly creative period—was over. After *Les Martyrs* he was immersed in politics; lost to literature save for the *Mémoires*, brilliant but unequal, and for other works that show more certain signs of decadence<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Les quatre Stuarts*, *Vie de Rancé*, *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise*. This last contains some fine criticism, especially on Milton, and the most detailed account of his life that had appeared in France; but it is largely a farrago of passages from earlier works and from the *Mémoires*, and has some surprising lacunae.

The *Dernier Abencérage*, beautiful as is its Spanish colour, and its atmosphere of chivalry, shoddy by a certain stiffness of handling that even before 1809 the fountain was running dry.

The large manner of the *Martyrs* had vanished, never to return. The Muse had gone away.

We have come to the end of the scattered reminiscences of Milton in Chateaubriand's works. Interesting as they are in themselves, they are not so important as is the one general fact that Milton was an inspiration to Chateaubriand during his best time of literary activity. That splendid period which comprises pretty exactly the first decade of the nineteenth century produced *Atala*, *René*, *Le Génie du Christianisme*, *Les Martyrs*. We have seen Milton's influence in the last named work; the consideration of the critical views on Milton, so novel, so brilliant in the *Génie*, so sympathetic in the *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise*, is outside the scope of the present article. But *Atala* and *René* may help us to realise that the inspiration of Milton did not extend merely to verbal suggestion, hints for incident and construction, but that it must have had a tangible if vaguer influence on the epic manner of Chateaubriand.

*Atala* and *René* are not usually called novels, at least in France; the word is felt to be profoundly unsatisfying. This is not merely on account of the thinness of the actual plots, and the subordination of action to description and sentiment. It is because of the largeness of the manner, and the vast framework with which the meagre plot is surrounded. M. Faguet has summed up the contents of these novels: 'Il faut que le Christianisme, le fétichisme, l'amour naturel, l'amour chrétien, l'amour moderne se donnent rendezvous dans *Atala*—que la nature, les ruines, la civilisation, la société, la solitude, le désir d'action et la passion du néant se retrouvent dans les quelques pages de *René*.' The scale of *Les Natchez* and *Les Martyrs*, as we have seen, is more amazing still. But *René* and *Atala* are both short; and show us that this crowded profusion of detail, this enclosing of a meagre story in the vastest framework, had become instinctive in Chateaubriand. It is one of the marks of the epic instinct. And who can tell how much Milton is responsible for this broad manner, this instinct for the infinite, in Chateaubriand?

*René* must not open his mouth to tell his friends the story of his grief until they have been surrounded with all the magnificence of New-World scenery and with a bird's-eye view of the doings of civilised and savage society:

L'aurore se levait ; à quelque distance dans la plaine on apercevait le village des Natchez, avec son bocage de mûriers et ses cabanes qui ressemblaient à des ruches d'abeilles. La colonie française et le fort Rosalie se montraient sur la droite, au bord du fleuve. Des tentes, des maisons à moitié bâties, des forteresses commencées,



des défrichements couverts de nègres, des groupes de blancs et d'Indiens, présentaient, dans ce petit espace, le contraste des mœurs sociales et des mœurs sauvages. Vers l'orient, au fond de la perspective, le soleil commençait à paraître entre les sommets brisés des Apalaches, qui se dessinaient comme des caractères d'azur dans les hauteurs dorées du ciel ; à l'occident, le Meschacébé roulait ses ondes dans un silence magnifique, et formait la bordure du tableau avec une inconcevable grandeur.

This Pisgah-sight of nature is a mark of all the works of Chateaubriand's best time. And who can have taught him the true perspective better than the poet who gave us Christ's view from the mount in *Paradise Regained*?

But man, his actions and his passions, are not always surrounded in Chateaubriand with a framework which, if grandiose, is merely passive. We can see here another mark of the epic instinct. Nature sympathises with man; and not only nature in its narrow sense, but supernatural forces. The epic—be its subject the wrath of Achilles, the plucking of an apple, or the struggle of Christianity and Paganism under Diocletian—calls Heaven and Earth to witness. The Gods are never far off; the elements, themselves gods in the older epics, interest themselves in man's affairs. Chateaubriand, as we have seen, is rarely successful in his delineation of supernatural beings; on the other hand he has a superb power of identifying the passions of man with the manifestations of those powers of nature which we do not now personify. In Chateaubriand, love comes in cataclysms. We remember how in *Atala*, the highest moment of human passion is reached in the great storm-scene in the savannah; how in *Les Martyrs*, Eudore yields to Velléda amid the roar of the tempest on that Druidic rock; lashed by the waves, hearing in imagination the wail of the spirits that were to carry his lover to the Ile des Bretons. And when passion is quieter, nature still sympathises. Chactas, at the first distant presentiment of Atala's fatal sickness, thinks that the laurels murmur sadly on the mountain-side. This 'pathetic fallacy' of a sympathising Nature is, as we know, a leading idea in all the earlier manifestations of the Romantic spirit; and Chateaubriand would find it in Ossian, one of the favourite studies of his youth. But when we think of the pervading influence exerted on him by Milton, we may not be wrong in giving their due weight to passages such as these:

Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,  
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe  
That all was lost.

...Earth trembled from her entrails, as again  
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan;  
Sky louded, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops  
Wept at completing of the mortal Sin  
Original.

Chateaubriand's was an imperfect genius, in which the elements were unkindly mixed. His work contains little that is finished and complete; but it is almost incomparably rich in tendencies, in hints which were to be developed by the whole succeeding age of French literature. One thing, as we know, he did perfectly; he gave expression in *René* to the mental malady of his age. And in the *Génie du Christianisme*, as Professor Saintsbury has pointed out, he showed himself the 'first brilliant exponent' of imaginative criticism since Longinus. The side of his genius on which we have been insisting was both imperfect and short-lived. The expression of his epic tendencies was but half articulate; he had no command of the 'greater harmony,' though he drew from French prose a richer music than had ever been heard before. Then again, his constructive and logical faculties were deficient; and consequently his two longer efforts in the epic form are imperfect as works of art. Still, this epic tendency, only half-expressed in him, was caught up and developed by his followers. The spaciousness and breadth of outline in the descriptions of such a poem as the *Moïse* of Alfred de Vigny, the profusion of detail, the panoramic splendour of countless descriptions in Victor Hugo, all show the inspiring influence of this side of the genius of Chateaubriand. This genius he owed in the first place to the Nature that had created him so; but a poet, whether in verse or in prose, is always both born and made. The development of his epic tendencies he owed in great part to the stimulus afforded him by the study of the works of John Milton.

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## CHAUCER : 'THE SHIPMAN'S PROLOGUE.'

ONE of the most important points to be considered, in the question concerning the correct arrangement of the *Canterbury Tales*, is the authenticity and position of *The Shipman's Prologue*; as to which the MSS. differ.

Some MSS. contain a *Shipman's Prologue* which is obviously spurious. It consists of only twelve lines, beginning (in MS. Sloane 1685): 'How, frendes, sayd oure oste so dere'; and ending: 'And right a-none hys tale he began.' It is quite true that the *Pardoner's Tale* is followed by the *Shipman's* in many MSS. of all types, but nearly all the best MSS., including the *Harleian*, the *Hengwrt*, the *Lansdowne* and two that resemble it, and all those of the *Ellesmere* type have at this point a manifest gap, as the *Pardoner's Tale* has no *End-link* nor any indication of the *Tale* that was to follow. But several MSS. of the *Petworth* type contain this spurious connexion between the *Pardoner* and *Shipman*, viz. Sloane 1685, Royal 18, Barlow, Laud 739, Cambridge Ii, and Rawl. Poet. 149. The *Petworth MS.*, and Cambridge Mm. preserve the same lines, but absurdly place them at the end of *Gamelin*, though the *Pardoner* is expressly referred to; and the *Hatton MS.*, with equal absurdity, places them at the end of the *Clerk's Tale*.

One rather serious consequence was that *Thynne*, who chiefly followed a MS. of the *Petworth* type, unluckily preserved these spurious lines to connect the *Pardoner* with the *Shipman*, and all the later black-letter editions followed him.

However, it is easy to remember that, as *Tyrwhitt* has said: 'The *Tale* of the *Shipman* in the best MSS. has no *Prologue*. What has been printed as such in the common Editions is evidently spurious.' This is all that need be said about the *Pardoner-Shipman* link, alias the spurious *Shipman's Prologue*.

But there is another set of twenty-eight lines, certainly genuine, that was called *The Shipman's Prologue* by *Tyrwhitt*, and again so

called by Dr Furnivall in the Six-text edition, where they are numbered B 1163-1190. The history of these lines is both difficult and remarkable.

Without assuming any correctness for my theory that the MSS. should be regarded as being of five different types, which I call, respectively, the Hengwrt, Petworth, Lansdowne, Harleian, and Ellesmere types, it will nevertheless be convenient to discuss these five types separately, and in the above order. If any other order be taken, it will not, in the present case, affect the results, except as regards the Selden MS. only. This is a MS. which Miss Hammond (quite justifiably) puts in a class *by itself*. With this I agree; I merely left it out because the order of Tales is such as can hardly be reconciled with that in other MSS.

In the Hengwrt MS. these lines, viz., B 1163-1190, do not appear.

In MSS. of the Petworth type (corresponding to Miss Hammond's Groups Iva, Ivc, Ivd, Ive) these lines usually form a Squire's Prologue. In many MSS. they are headed 'The Prologe of the Squiere,' or 'The prolog of the Squyers Tale,' and they actually precede the Squire's Tale. In l. 1179, many have the reading 'Seide the squier,' to show that the Squire's Tale was to follow. At the same time, it is tolerably certain that, in such MSS., it is assumed that the previous speaker was the Man of Law. For, whereas in B 46, the Man of Law had said: 'I can right now no *thrifty* tale seyn,' the Host is pleased to remark, in l. 1165 'This *was a thrifty* tale for the nones.' And in l. 1168, he says: 'I see wel that ye *lerved men* in lore,' with allusion to the 'parish prest,' as addressed in l. 1166, and to the Man of Law, who was the last teller of a Tale. It is therefore certain that, at *one* stage of the *tentative* arrangement of the Tales, these lines were meant to form a Man-of-Law End-link and a Squire's Prologue. And it must carefully be noted that this particular arrangement is favoured in a large number of MSS., including many of the Petworth type, and three of the Lansdowne type.

To be exact, we find this order in the following MSS. of the Petworth type:—Harl. 7333, Trin. R. 3. 15 (Miss Hammond's Group Iva); Corpus, Sloane 1686, Lansdowne (Ivb); Harl. 1758, Sloane 1685, Rawl. Poet. 149, Lichfield, Hodson (2), Egerton 2863, Royal 18, Laud 739, Barlow (Ivc); Petworth, Camb. Mm. (Ivd); Hatton, Camb. Ii (Ive). These *eighteen* MSS. all agree upon this point. Probably the Northumberland and New College MSS. follow suit; and if so, the



number amounts to *twenty*. But this is by no means all; for, as Thynne largely followed a MS. of this type, all the old printed editions present the same arrangement.

The testimony of MS. Rawl. Misc. 1133 is extraordinary. We find, at the beginning: 'Here endeth the tale of the man of lawe, And here biginneth the Prolog of the Squier'; and again, at the end (i.e. after l. 1190)—'Here endith the Prolog of the Squier, And here biginneth his tale folwing.' Notwithstanding which, l. 1179 is—'Seide *the sompnour*, here shal he nought preche.'

MS. Royal 17 has at the beginning the same rubric; but after l. 1190 it actually gives the *second* Squire's Prologue, or that which still bears that name, viz., lines F1-8 of the Six-text; and then the Squire's Tale follows. But here again, in l. 1179, we find: 'Sayde *the sompnour*, he schalle notte preche' (*here* being omitted). We can hardly take the allusion to the Sompnour seriously, under such circumstances.

But the testimony of the famous Harleian MS. 7334 is the strangest of all. Here B 1163 follows B 1162, but there is *no* rubric; l. 1175 is left blank; l. 1179 has: 'Sayde *the sompnour*, he schal heer naught preche'; and the Prologue comes to a sudden end at l. 1185. Instead of ll. 1186-1190, all that appears is the inept rubric: 'Here endith the man of lawe his tale,' followed by a new rubric: 'Here bygynneth the prologe of *the wyf of Bathe*.'

We must next notice the wholly *unique* testimony of the Selden MS., or MS. Arch. Selden, B. 14. The rubric before l. 1163 is: 'Here endith the man of lawe his tale; and next folwith *the Shipman* his prolog.' In l. 1179: 'Seide the Shipman, here shal he not preche.' And, after l. 1190: 'Here endith the Shipman his prolog. And next folwyng he bigynneth his tale, etc.' And the Shipman's Tale follows (B 1191-1624).

The Ellesmere MS. and all that closely resemble it omit the whole of this Prologue; B 1163-1190 do not appear in them. These MSS. include:—Ellesmere, Cambridge, Camb. Dd 4. 24, Egerton 2726, Devonshire, Egerton 2864, Addit. 5140, Bodley 686, Hodson (3), Addit. 35286, Laud 600, Harl. 7335; in number, *twelve*. So also (I believe) the Paris MS. and Trinity 49 (Oxford). If so, the number is *fourteen*. So also (as said already) the Hengwrt MS.

We can now recapitulate the *facts*, which no theory can alter. It appears that this Prologue follows the Man of Law, and is definitely assigned to the Squire, in 18 (or 20) MSS. Two more likewise assign

it to the Squire, yet mention *the sompnour* in l. 1179. The Harleian alone assigns it to nobody, mentions *the sompnour* in l. 1179, but terminates in confusion, because The Wyf of Bathe follows.

Only *one* MS., the Selden, both calls it The Shipman's Prologue, and prefixes it to the Shipman's Tale.

All the rest of the MSS. (as far as I know) omit it altogether.

I now offer an explanation of the phenomena, which satisfies me for the present. Perhaps someone else can give us a better theory; but they must keep the proved facts in view.

Any one who reads this Prologue carefully must admit that it was originally meant to follow the Man of Law; and indeed, it occurs nowhere else.

It is more suitable for the Shipman than for the Squire; and I think it was composed with the Shipman in view.

But it became useless as a Shipman's Prologue, for the simple reason that there was no Shipman's Tale ready to follow it! For any one who reads what is *now* called the Shipman's Tale will see the justice of my note on l. 1202 (Oxf. Chaucer, v. 168): '*us*, i.e., *us*, women. This is clear proof that some of the opening lines of this Tale (and therefore, probably, all of them) were not originally intended for the Shipman, but for the Wife of Bath, as she is the only lady in the company to whom they would be suitable.' On second thoughts, Chaucer early discovered that he had a great deal more for the Wife of Bath to say than he had put into this Tale of hers; and he gave himself more room, expanding her 'long preamble,' as the Friar called it (D 831), to 856 lines, and writing a new Wife's Tale which he linked on to the Friar's Tale. When he came to deal with the Prioress, Sir Thopas, and Melibee, he hitched on the old Wife's Tale to the Prioress's in a few masterly lines (B 1625-1642) and called it The Shipman's Tale. This rendered the old Shipman's Prologue (left behind near the beginning of the MSS.) valueless, unless it could be used for someone else. He assigned it, provisionally and by way of temporary experiment, to the Squire, intending, no doubt, to alter a few of the concluding lines, which of course he never did; just as he never altered lines B 1200-1209, which are so impossible for the Shipman. And so it became, for a time, a Squire's Prologue. But, instead of mending it, he afterwards took a shorter course by writing a *new* Squire's Prologue of only eight lines, and so introduced the Squire easily enough. The old Squire's Prologue (previously the Shipman's) was thus practically abandoned. The Harleian MS. attempted to retain it, but found it

useless; and the whole tribe of the Ellesmere MSS. ignored it wholly, with perfect justice.

There was only one scribe who made some subsequent use of it. His arrangement of the Tales was all his own, and so it came to pass that, as Miss Hammond says, 'the Man-of-Law End-link introduces the Shipman, as in no other known MS. of the Canterbury Tales.' It is happy, no doubt, and Tyrwhitt (followed by Furnivall) was glad of an excuse for utilising the lines in a fitting place. All the same, I believe the scribe was simply in luck, and that he merely chanced to revert to an arrangement which Chaucer had once upon a time intended, but had afterwards decisively abandoned. I can only record my belief that, though it may be pardonable to call lines B 1163-1190 by the title of *The Shipman's Prologue* for the purpose of preserving them, it is nevertheless unjustifiable to 'lift up' lines B 1163-4652 so as to follow B 1162; contrary to the arrangement of every MS. and every edition before the Chaucer Society came into being. For, as Miss Hammond so well explains (p. 277), the Selden MS. brings the Man of Law's Tale and Shipman's Tale into close connexion, not by lifting the Shipman's Tale *up*, but by moving the Man of Law's Tale *down*!

I had to follow the lead of the Chaucer Society in this respect because there was no choice left. To have done otherwise would have upset all the new numbering of the lines, and reference to the Six-text would have become impossible. But I much regret it; and hope that some future editor will adopt a bolder course.

As at present advised, I should follow the lead of the Harleian MS., and arrange the Tales thus.

A; B 1-1162; B 1163-1190, assigned to no one, but marked as having been once a Shipman's Prologue, then a Squire's Prologue, but finally abandoned; D; E, F (counted as forming but *one* Group); G; C; B 1191-4636; B 4637-4652 (a rejected End-link, but genuine, which Harl. omits); H; I.

The Ellesmere order is much the same; but it places G just before H; a matter of small consequence.

I am of opinion that the 'lifting up' of B 1191-4652, so as to follow B 1190, did gross violence to the evidence when judicially considered. Also, that the placing of the so-called C before D, against the testimony of every MS. and of every old edition, cannot be justified.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

## THE 'ACADEMIC TRAGEDY' OF 'CAESAR AND POMPEY.'

THERE are in the British Museum, the Bodleian, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, and among Dyce's books in the Victoria and Albert Museum, several copies of an old play about which so many misleading and inaccurate statements have been made, and in regard to which so much loose conjecture has been hazarded, even in the standard histories of Elizabethan drama, that it seems time to call a halt to errors which have been repeated from book to book, by giving a correct account of the play, along with such a full analysis of its content and description of its style as should remove the possibility of future blunders.

The play in question is the so-called 'Academic Tragedy' of *Caesar and Pompey*, or, as the title-page of what I take to be the first quarto reads: *The | Tragedie | of | Caesar and Pompey | or | Caesar's Revenge. | Privately acted by the Students of Trinity | Colledge in Oxford. | At London | Imprinted for Nathaniel Fosbrooke and John Wright, and are | to be sould in Paules church-yard at the | signe of the Helmet | 1607.* It was entered to Wright and Fosbrooke in the Stationers' Registers on June 5, 1606. We may take it, I suppose, to have been composed earlier in that year, perhaps in consequence of the impulse given to dramatic performances at Oxford by the King's visit in 1605, and forerunning what Professor Schelling has called the 'Theatromania' at Oxford in 1607. On the title-page of the copy in the British Museum there are entered in ink, below the date 1607, the figures 1608 to 1615 inclusive. These may, perhaps, refer to performances of this play at Trinity in those years.

The first of the long series of mis-statements about this play is found in Craik's *English of Shakespeare* (Rolfe's edition, p. 46). He there states that two editions have come down to us, 'one bearing the date of 1607, the other without date but apparently earlier.' The undated



edition I have not seen; it is noted by Greg (*Handlist of English Plays*, p. 134) as found in the Dyce collection, and in that of the Duke of Devonshire, with the following title-page: *The Tragedie of Caesar and Pompey or Caesar's Revenge. G. E.* [i.e., George Eld] *for John Wright.* Now as the play was entered to Wright and Fossbrooke in 1606, and as both these names appear on the title-page of the 1607 edition, it is most unlikely, not to say incredible, that an earlier edition should have appeared under Wright's name alone. It is a fair assumption that the undated edition represents a later issue of the play after Fossbrooke had sold out his rights in it to his former associate, John Wright. Had Craik known of the entry in the Stationers' Registers, he would hardly have ventured this assertion. His statement as to the earlier date was inspired, I fancy, by another notion of his, equally unfounded, but unfortunately repeated again and again by historians of the Elizabethan drama, namely that this play 'appears first to have been produced in 1594. See *Henslowe's Diary* Collier, p. 44.' Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, vol. II, p. 140) repeats the statement that this play 'may have been that mentioned in *Henslowe's Diary*,' and Schelling in his *List of Plays (Elizabethan Drama*, vol. II, p. 548) gives 1594 as the year of production, 1607 as that of the publication of this play. Why he should do this and yet on the same page print the *Henslowe* play of 1594 in italics as a lost play I cannot understand. The only reason for assuming 1594 as the date for the first performance of the academic tragedy is its conjectured identity with *Henslowe's* play, '*sese* and *pompie*,' and if they are identical, *Henslowe's* play is not lost. But, to speak plainly, Professor Schelling, for whose 'happy and copious industry' and wide knowledge in the field of Elizabethan literature no one can have a more profound respect than I, seems destined to error whenever he refers to this play. Earlier in his work (vol. II, pp. 22-3) after citing Craik's identification of the 'academic tragedy' with the play mentioned by *Henslowe*, he proceeds to mention a Latin play on *Caesar* by Thomas May, still in manuscript, and to hazard the guess that this latter 'may be identical with a late *Julius Caesar*, acted privately by students of Trinity College, Oxford, it is not recorded when.' But the play acted by the Trinity students was the very play which he has just identified with *Henslowe's*; for his citation of Craik combined with his entry of 1594 in his 'List of Plays' show that he accepts this identification. It cannot, therefore, be identified with May's Latin play; to say nothing of the fact that May, born in 1595, was but eleven years old when our

play was entered in the Stationers' Registers. And further, it is most unlikely that May, a fellow-commoner of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, would have turned into Latin a play performed by the students of Trinity College, Oxford. If May's MS., reported in *Biographia Dramatica*, pt. II, vol. I, p. 503, as in the possession of Stephen Jones, be still extant, it would be but the work of a few moments to settle this latter point. Possibly Professor Schelling's suggestion that the Trinity College play may be the same as May's comes from the *Retro-spective Review* (vol. XII, p. 8) where the two are mentioned together, though without any attempt at identification. From this reference, as he notes himself, Professor Schelling gets his entry '*Julius Caesar*, Trag. Trinity, Oxford, n. d.' (vol. II, p. 579), entered in italics as a lost play, but this can only be the undated edition of *Caesar and Pompey* of which I have already spoken.

Dr Kern, the author of a German thesis on the sources of Chapman's play *Caesar and Pompey* (Halle, 1901), has introduced further confusion into this matter by misunderstanding and wresting two statements of Fleay's. Fleay, as is well known, held the curious theory that Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was a condensation of two plays, *Caesar's Tragedy* and *Caesar's Revenge*, made after Shakespeare's retirement, possibly by Jonson (*Bibliographical Chronicle*, vol. II, p. 185 and *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 215). Kern, referring to Ward (vol. II, p. 139), makes Fleay assert that the play of 1607 served as *Vorlage*, i.e., model, for Shakespeare's play. Fleay, I venture to say, was not likely to make the mistake of calling a play dating from 1606 the model of one which he puts before 1601. Nor does he, Dr Kern to the contrary notwithstanding, mean the Trinity College play when he speaks 'of the old play on which Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* is founded' (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. 309). He means, as he says elsewhere (*Biographical Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 65), 'the Admiral's play of 1594,' that is the play mentioned by Henslowe on November 8 of that year. It is not always possible to say what was the final view of Mr Fleay on any topic connected with the history of the Elizabethan drama, but so far as I have been able to discover, he never accepted the identification of the Trinity College play with that mentioned by Henslowe.

And, after all, what possible ground is there for such an identification other than a similarity of name? I have protested elsewhere against the abuse of this argument, if argument it can be called. Nothing appears more certain from the bewildering mass of documents and references on which our knowledge of the production of the

Elizabethan drama depends, than the fact that there was no copyright in the names of plays, but that, on the contrary, a successful play was only too likely to be followed by another of the same, or almost the same, title, produced as a rival 'get-penny' by some rival company. We know, for example, that there were two *Hamlets*, two *Romeo and Juliets*, two *Richard IIIs* and two *King Lears*. The story of Caesar's rivalry with Pompey, his death, and the tragic revenge taken on his murderers, was one which appealed with special force to the Elizabethan playwright. As far back as February 1, 156½, a play called *Julys Sesar* was performed at Court, 'the earliest instance of a subject from Roman history being brought upon the stage' (Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry*, vol. I, p. 180). *The Third Blast of Retreat from Plays* (1580) mentions 'the life of Pompeie and the martial affaires of Caesar' as among the 'histories' which were represented, or, according to the author, misrepresented, upon the stage (Hazlitt, *English Drama, Documents*, p. 145). In 158½ a play called *The Storie of Pompey* was played before the Queen at Whitehall on Twelfth Night by the children of Paul's (Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels*, p. 336). Professor Schelling takes this to be the same as *The History of Caesar and Pompey* mentioned by Gosson (*Playes Confuted*, 1581 or 1582, p. 188 in Hazlitt's *Documents*). This seems to me unlikely as Gosson's words, 'the history of Caesar and Pompey, and the play of the Fabii at the Theatre' (i.e., Burbage's play-house), point to a play in the possession of some other company than Paul's Boys, who had their own play-house and are not known ever to have performed at the Theatre. (On the vexed question of the situation of Paul's Boys' play-house consult Maas, *Äussere Geschichte der englischen Theatertruppen*, pp. 160 ff.)

A play on Julius Caesar, presumably in Latin, is mentioned in the article in the *Retrospective Review* already cited, as having been performed at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1582. The writer of the article ascribes it to 'Dr Gedes, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth,' but this can only be a mistake, perhaps a misprint, for Edes, or Eedes, Canon of Christ Church, and chaplain to the queen, who is mentioned by Meres as among 'our best for Tragedy.' Malōne (*Variorum Shakespeare*, vol. XII, p. 2) mentions a Latin play on the death of Caesar by Eedes, which was performed at Christ Church in 1582, and this is, no doubt, the one alluded to in the *Retrospective Review*.

Henslowe's *Diary* mentions '*seser and pompeie*' as first performed by the Admiral's Men on Nov. 8, 1594, and '*The 2 P<sup>te</sup> of sesore*' on June 18, 1595.

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* may be dated about 1601, and apparently its great success provoked the rival company to an extraordinary effort, for Henslowe records, under the date of May 22, 1602, the advance of a sum of five pounds 'to give unto Antony Munday, Michael Drayton, Webster, Middleton, and the rest in earnest of a book called *Caesar's Fall* (*sesers ffalle*).' This seems a truly formidable combination, but we know nothing as to its result. No record exists of this play's production, much less of its publication.

Another play on Julius Caesar, this time of the strictest Senecan type, appeared in 1607. This is Sir William Alexander's *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*, probably composed between 1604 and 1606, and published in *The Monarchicke Tragedies* of 1607.

Finally we have, in addition to the Trinity College play, Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey, A Roman Tragedy*, published in 1631, but written, as the author states in the dedication, 'long since,' and the Latin play on Julius Caesar by Thomas May already referred to as existing—if it still exists—only in manuscript.

This list of plays on Julius Caesar embraces, I believe, all of which we have any knowledge, but it is probable enough that there were others of the same period dealing with this topic of which we have not even a mention. Incomplete as this list may be, however, it is long enough to show the popularity of the theme, and the folly of attempting to identify two plays on this subject, because of a mere similarity of name.

There are, on the other hand, arguments of no inconsiderable weight against such an identification. In the first place *The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey* was performed, not before, but by, the students of Trinity College. Now all that we know of the academic drama of Elizabethan times goes to show that the students performed plays written especially for them, either by one of their own number, or by a college Don of dramatic gifts, a Gager or an Edes. *Hamlet* and *Volpone* were indeed performed at Oxford, but by professional actors, Shakespeare's own company, not by the students. How indeed should it have been otherwise? Dramatic performances at a University in those days were not mere revivals of past glories, as with us, but the cultivation of a living art. For the academic drama, in English and Latin, was, as the researches of Schelling, Churchill, and Keller have shown, very much alive in the days of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. I can imagine few more incredible suppositions—and our histories of the Elizabethan drama abound in dubious hypotheses—than that the



students of Trinity, wanting a play for some festive occasion in 1606, should have turned to Father Henslowe and Prince Henry's men for the loan of the play-book of a drama brought out by the Admiral's company, as far back as 1594.

It seems to me almost equally incredible, from another point of view, that the College play which has come down to us should be identical with Henslowe's '*s eser and pompie*.' We know, to be sure, nothing about this latter besides its name except the date of its first performance and the company that produced it. But these two facts enable us to hazard some conjecture as to its probable type. The Admiral's Company in 1594 stood under the leadership of Alleyn and were, in their choice of tragedies, dominated by the tradition of Marlowe. A glance through the pages of Henslowe's *Diary* for 1594 shows us what sort of tragedies they preferred; from June 3, 1594 to March 14 of 1595 we have an unbroken series of plays. Among them *Tamburlaine*, counting both parts, ranks as first, with seventeen performances, the *Jew of Malta* and *Dr Faustus* are equal for second place with eleven each, and the *Massacre at Paris* comes close up with nine, or perhaps ten performances. The only serious plays which approach those of Marlowe in popularity during this period are the lost *Bellendon* [Belin Dun]—*The Famous chronicle of Henry I, with the life and death of Bellin Dun, the first thief that was ever hanged in England*, says the entry of the play in S. R. May 17, 1594,—and the lost *Tasso's Melancholy*, probably containing a 'star part' for Alleyne as the mad poet. '*S eser and pompie*' stands well up among the other plays with a record of seven performances between November 8, 1594, and March 14, 1595, and was revived once more in connection with a less successful second part on June 25, 1595. This mention of a second part, by the way, is itself an argument against the identity of the Admiral's play with that of Trinity College. The latter, as we shall see, exhausts its subject so that no continuation is possible. Now if we may argue from the known to the unknown, have we not reason to suppose that the Admiral's play was a vigorous chronicle of the wars of Caesar and Pompey with plenty of action of tickle the groundlings, and, I fancy, a fine mouth-filling part for Alleyne as Caesar? Is the Trinity College play anything of this kind, or does it at all resemble the sort of play that could have been performed with a fair measure of success before such an audience as frequented the Rose in 1594? A brief analysis of the play will, I think, show the contrary.

It opens in the approved academic fashion by the entrance and

soliloquising prologue of a supernatural figure, Discord, who informs the audience as to the war between Caesar and Pompey and the former's victory at Pharsalia. As Discord leaves the stage a number of fugitives from the battle, Pompey himself, Titinius, and Brutus enter and discuss the situation. Pompey resolves to seek aid in Egypt; Brutus remains, and in the next scene is taken prisoner and pardoned by Caesar. In the third scene Caesar, in debate with Antony, Dolabella, and a Lord, expresses his remorse for having precipitated civil war, but is still of a mind to pursue Pompey. In the next scene Cato laments the loss of Roman liberty. In the fifth we get the parting between Pompey and Cornelia, and in the last scene of the act the meeting of Caesar with Cleopatra, who seeks his aid to restore her to the throne of Egypt. Caesar falls in love with her, and so also does Antony, who is present at the interview.

Discord appears again to open the second act with a rhetorical soliloquy, and gives place to Achilles and Sempronius who meet and murder Pompey on the Egyptian sea-shore. In the second scene Cornelia laments Pompey's death and kills herself. In the third Caesar pronounces sentence on the murderers and departs to feast with Cleopatra; Antony remains to soliloquise on his hopeless passion for the Egyptian. Then Brutus brings the news of Pompey's death to a group of Roman nobles who are persuaded by Cicero to submit to Caesar; and in the last scene of the act we have a long dialogue between Cato and his son, closing with the suicide of Cato.

Discord opens the third act with a summons to Brutus and Cassius to slay Caesar. Cassius enters to avow his purpose of killing the Dictator. The second scene introduces Caesar's triumph. Antony remains on the stage to lament his separation from Cleopatra. His *Bonus Genius* appears to rebuke his folly and to prophecy his ruin through Cleopatra. He thereupon resolves to 'wake from idle dream.' The third scene consists of a dialogue between Brutus and Cassius in which the former takes an oath to slay Caesar. The fourth represents the festival of Lupercalia, Antony's repeated offer of a crown to Caesar, and Caesar's repeated refusal. This scene, not the first scene of Act II, as Collier (*Annals of the Stage*, vol. III, p. 124, n.) states, contains a flagrant plagiarism from the *Fuërie Queene*. Compare :

The restless mind that harbours sorrowing thoughts,  
And is with child of noble enterprise,  
Doth never cease from honor's toilsome task,  
Till it brings forth Eternal glories brood.

with Spenser's lines :

The noble hart, that harbours vertuous thought,  
And is with child of glorious great intent,  
Can never rest, untill it forth have brought  
Th'eternall brood of glorie excellent.

*Faerie Queene*, I, v, i.

The fifth scene represents the meeting of the conspirators, Brutus, Cassius, Casca, Cumber [*sic*], and Trebonius. In the last scene of the act Calpurnia seeks to keep Caesar from the Senate by reciting her ominous dream, an augur brings in bad omens, and Caesar decides to remain at home. He is, however, over-persuaded by Cassius who enters at this moment. The scene then shifts, without any division in the text, to the Senate house, where Caesar is attacked by the conspirators. He defends himself by a long speech until Brutus, who has been detaining Antony outside, enters and stabs him, whereupon he falls and dies. Antony enters to lament his death and vow revenge, and bears off the body in his arms. One of the murderers, by the way, bears the name of Bucolian, a fact which seems to point to Appian's History, *Bell. Civ.*, II, 113, 117, as a source.

The fourth act opens with the usual soliloquy of Discord, who introduces the remaining action by foretelling the revenge of Caesar at Philippi. Octavian then laments the death of Caesar, whose funeral is now performed, accompanied by Antony's oration. It is worth noting that this oration does not bear the slightest resemblance to the speech in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. This play, it is true, was not printed till 1623, but if so unscrupulous a plagiarist as the author of *Caesar and Pompey* had ever seen it performed, he could hardly have refrained from introducing some reminiscence of it into his own play.

The second scene of this act shows Brutus and Cassius at the head of an army, to whom Titinius, playing the part of a Senecan *nuntius*, reports the disturbances in Rome. The leaders decide to levy more troops and to meet in Thessaly. The third scene opens with a monologue by the Ghost of Caesar; Antony and Octavian enter at swords' points, but are persuaded by the affable familiar Ghost to renounce their quarrel and unite in a vow of revenge upon his murderers.

The last act consists of one long undivided scene. Discord opens it by calling up the 'Stygian fiends' to make a hell on earth. Brutus and Cassius enter at the head of an army, boasting of their conquests in the East, but Brutus is troubled by forebodings of approaching death, and by remorse for the murder of Caesar. After the departure of the

others the Ghost of Caesar enters to Brutus and warns him that he shall die that day by his own hand. The battle of Philippi is now supposed to be fought off the stage. Cato's son enters wounded, tells of the battle, and dies. Cassius sends Titinius for news of Brutus and in his absence kills himself. Titinius returns and kills himself. Brutus enters, dogged by the Ghost of Caesar, and kills himself. The revenge being accomplished in this satisfactory fashion, the play closes with a dialogue between the Ghost and Discord quite in the manner of the last scene of *The Spanish Tragedy*. A passage from the last speech of the Ghost will give some notion of the author's old fashioned versification and of his partiality for classical allusions :

I will descend to mine eternal home  
 Where everlastingly my quiet soul  
 The sweet Elysium pleasure shall enjoy,  
 And walk those fragrant flowery fields at rest :  
 To which nor fair Adonis bower so rare  
 Nor old Alcinous gardens may compare.  
 There that same gentle father of the Spring  
 Mild Zephyrus doth odours breath divine,  
 Clothing the earth in painted bravery,  
 The which nor Winter's rage nor scorching heat  
 Or Summers sun can make it fall or fade,  
 There with the mighty champions of old time  
 And great Heroës of the Golden Age  
 My dateless hours Ple spend in lasting joy.

It is evident from the above analysis, I think, that the Trinity College play is as unlike what we may fairly assume the Admiral's play to have been as could well be expected. It has no central dominating rôle in which Alleyn could have found scope for his powers. It is, indeed, entirely without that power of characterization which gives life and interest even to some of the crudest and most formless plays of the time. It has, in spite of the enormous amount of matter which the author has dragged in, curiously little action. Most of the scenes consist of detailed reports of actions off the stage, or of long tirades in which the speakers express their grief for the past or avow their determination for the future. There is no plot, in the proper sense of the word, nor any attempt at dramatic construction, but scene follows scene in purely chronological order. This is a method of dramatic composition that we are accustomed to associate with the popular rather than the academic Senecan drama ; but Churchill and Keller (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, vol. 39, p. 257) have shown that a number of academic tragedies followed the lines of the popular chronicle plays rather than the stricter Senecan form. Finally there is not the slightest trace in this play of the broad realistic humour which is so frequent,



not to say constant, in the early popular drama and which we may reasonably assume to have appeared in the Admiral's play.

The Trinity College play, then, fully deserves the name by which it is commonly known, the 'Academic Tragedy' of *Caesar and Pompey*. It is modelled on the Senecan imitations so popular at the Universities and Inns of Court, but shows also the influence of the popular drama. I fancy the author's favourite play must have been the *Spanish Tragedy*, which itself represents this popularization of Seneca. The stiff and monotonous blank verse reminds one far more of Kyd than of Marlowe or Shakespeare. It is indeed curiously archaic to have been written in 1606, a fact which may, perhaps, suggest that it was composed by an elderly Don, rather than by an undergraduate. It is crowded to a most unusual degree with classical allusions such as would appeal to an academic audience. If the dates in MS. on the title-page refer to performances of this play, it must have been a marked favourite at Oxford, and this conjecture is corroborated by the fact that two printed editions were called for, whereas the majority of academic tragedies remain in manuscript to the present day. But we can by no stretch of imagination conceive of it as successful to the degree of seven performances in four months at the Rose.

We may then assert pretty positively that the Trinity College play has no connection whatever—beyond a similarity of name—with the lost play of '*seser and pompie*' mentioned by Henslowe. Nor has it any connection with Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, which precedes it, nor with Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* which follows it in date. The one play with which it may possibly have had some connection is the lost *Julius Caesar* of Edes. Dull in itself it is yet of interest historically as the first known example of a tragedy written in English on a classical theme, which was performed at either of the Universities.

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## THE REVISION OF 'KING LEAR.'

THE modern text of *King Lear* is founded partly on the editions brought out in Shakespeare's own lifetime, the two quartos of 1608, and partly on the folio of 1623. None of these, of course, were published by him, nor can they be considered authoritative.

A comparison between the early quartos and the first folio shows the usual marks of difference: the quartos (very much alike) were no doubt pirated editions, badly printed, badly spelt, and not divided into scenes; the folio is much better work from the publishers' point of view, but it was edited by actors and is likely to have been affected by some sort of stage corruption, and like several other plays in the folio, it has been shortened.

The question at issue is whether the folio edition shows also any traces of revision by the hand of Shakespeare.

Whether the missing passages could have been dropped by his authority is a question hardly worth arguing: it is certain that the folio version is cut for the stage, and even if Shakespeare mutilated his own text to suit an Elizabethan audience we could never know it: we could only say that the cuts were more or less judicious. Whether Shakespeare ever revised *King Lear* is a question, therefore, which cannot depend for its solution on the missing passages, unless indeed something new takes their place. As a matter of fact there is new matter in the folio, though it does not usually replace something dropped: it throws a great deal of light, however, on the question of a revision. So also would alterations; but in this play, except verbal differences, there are very few, and verbal differences are not much to argue from.

The dropped passages, the new passages, and the verbal differences have all been used to support and to refute the hypothesis of a revision. Delius, after much discussion, comes to the emphatic conclusion that no revision has taken place. Koppel, dealing with the matter at equal

length, arrives at an opposite conclusion. Schmidt follows Delius, and with few exceptions the modern critics take the same view,—against a revision. Mr Craig in the Arden edition, writing of the difference between quarto and folio says, 'We cannot with any certainty determine whether the author was in any way responsible for these differences. My study of the facts leads me to believe that he was not, and that we have no evidence that from the time he handed over the play to his Company, leaving it to them to deal with at their pleasure, he took any further care of it.'

I venture to question that opinion, because it seems to me that several important arguments have been lost sight of, and a line of reasoning is possible which has not yet been followed.

If every case is taken where the folio introduces new matter not found in the quartos, it happens in an extraordinary number of instances that the new matter is not necessary to the sense and would show no gap if omitted. Only 5 lines out of a total of 95 (according to Koppel's counting 110, but I am reckoning complete lines only) are in this sense necessary. When we consider how badly printed the quartos are, the fact is significant. Koppel has already noted and commented upon it.

What is equally significant, and what has not yet been noticed, is that the new matter, though thoroughly Shakespearean in manner, except perhaps one passage, sometimes shows traces of afterthought, as if it had been added when the original was not absolutely fresh in memory. As will be seen later, there are other characteristics suggesting afterthought, and it is often possible to detect a profound meaning in them. It is from this point of view that I propose discussing the new passages.

It would be well, if the case were being stated for the first time, to quote every case where the quarto<sup>1</sup> is supplemented by the folio; but Koppel has already done this, and, as might have been expected, a large number are inconclusive. I shall merely give references to these inconclusive instances, noting them as negative evidence in showing no gap if they are dropped. I omit single words and incomplete lines, unless spoken by a new character. The scenes and line numbers are from the Globe edition; the spelling has been modernised.

I, i, 164:

*Albany and Cornwall.* Dear sir, forbear.

<sup>1</sup> The text of the two quartos is substantially the same, and they are therefore referred to as 'the quarto.'

The line clashes with the 'do' which begins Kent's reply, and we find in the folio that 'do' has been omitted; modern editions retain it, and I suspect wrongly.

The rejection of 'do' points to a revision and suggests that 'Dear sir, forbear' is new matter, and not an instance of omission on the part of the quarto. The new line gives emphasis to Lear's rash temper—even Cornwall is moved to protest;—a similar interjection later (Albany: 'Pray, sir, be patient,' I, iv, 284) is also found only in the folio. Both could be omitted without showing a gap.

I, ii, 181—187. Edmund is speaking (after 'that's my fear')

.....I pray you, have a continent forbearance till the speed of his rage goes slower; and, as I say, retire with me to my lodging, from whence I will fitly bring you to hear my lord speak: pray ye, go; there's my key: if you do stir abroad, go armed.

*Edgar.* Armed, brother!

For this the quarto has 'go armed' after 'advise you to the best': modern editions, perhaps unnecessarily, retain it.

The folio lines, I suspect, were added to explain how it is that Edgar is supposed to have written to Edmund. They introduce for the first and last time a 'lodging' for Edmund that is other than Gloucester's home. The improbability of Edgar writing to Edmund when presumably both lived in the same house, is so obvious that something seemed wanting to make the device credible; Gloucester, it will be remembered, believes in it at once. One gathers from this passage that Edmund's lodging, where Edgar is to conceal himself and to which he is supposed to have written, is placed outside Gloucester's house: there is no other way of accounting for 'If you do stir abroad, go armed'; hiding in Gloucester's house would be odd enough, but going in and out of it, whether armed or not, would be madness. But this introduces a new difficulty. Everywhere else in the play it appears that Edgar, Edmund and Gloucester lived together: they are together in this scene and all three seem thoroughly at home; they are together again in II, i, and it is impossible to suppose anywhere else than in Gloucester's house, and at the same time this is evidently the place where Edgar has been in hiding ('Thy father watches; oh, sir, fly this place'). As Mr Bradley points out<sup>1</sup>, they would never have been living together in II, i, after Edgar's warning, unless they had been doing so before.

The conclusion is forced upon us that Shakespeare's original conception was that Edmund should be living, as one would expect, in Gloucester's house; with this supposition we can accept the letter-

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Review*, October 1908 and January 1909.



writing as a rather clumsy stage device, but common enough. The new 'lodging' gave realism where realism was wanted, while the resulting confusion of places would be unnoticed.

There is a second inconsistency in the passage. If it always formed part of the original text why should Edgar say, almost immediately after being told to retire with Edmund to his lodging, 'Shall I hear from you anon'?

I, iv, 345—356:

- Gon.* This man hath had good counsel:—a hundred knights!  
 'Tis politic and safe to let him keep  
 At point a hundred knights: yes, that, on every dream,  
 Each buzz, each fancy, each complaint, dislike,  
 He may enguard his dotage with their powers,  
 And hold our lives in mercy. Oswald, I say!
- Alb.* Well, you may fear too far.
- Gon.* Safer than trust too far.  
 Let me still take away the harms I fear,  
 Not fear still to be taken: I know his heart.  
 What he hath uttered I have writ my sister:  
 If she sustain him and his hundred knights  
 When I have show'd the unfitness.—

For this the quarto has:

- Gon.* What, Oswald, ho!  
*Oswald.* Here, madam—

and omits the 'What, Oswald, ho!' of l. 336. The folio lines here show several indications of insertion, while there is no gap if they are omitted.

In the first place they greatly extend the time after Oswald's first calling until his appearance: in the quarto he is not called until l. 345 and then appears immediately; in the folio his call is put back to l. 336, before the fool's exit, and by delaying his answer time is given for the conversation quoted.

The artistic advantage is obvious: Goneril is *already* waiting for Oswald before entering upon this discussion with her husband; she spends an idle moment with him, interjecting her remarks with another impatient call, and breaks off the moment Oswald appears, not even caring to finish her sentence. If the quarto had merely dropped the Goneril-Albany discussion there would be no reason to find Oswald's first call displaced; it could never have happened by chance. The call seems purposely to have been put back in the folio in order to give a proper setting to new matter, that Goneril's explanation should be in character and perfunctory<sup>1</sup>. It is worth noticing in this connec-

<sup>1</sup> The 'What, Oswald, ho!' of line 336 coming immediately after 'Pray you content' is in the same vein.

tion that I, iii, 16–20 is omitted in the folio and that possibly I, iii, 345–356 takes its place: from an artistic point of view it is better that Goneril should explain herself to her husband rather than to herself or to Oswald.

In the second place the folio passage is closely connected with another of six lines, II, iv, 142–47, which also is found only in the folio. It occurs early in the first meeting of Lear with Regan and shows that Regan knows the details of the quarrel—that Goneril has ‘restrained the riots of your followers’—and knows them through a letter<sup>1</sup>. It may be supposed that Shakespeare had intended from the first that his audience should find Regan in possession of this knowledge before Lear’s arrival, but seeing that the point was not sufficiently clear, inserted the two passages, the one where Goneril describes the contents of her letter, and the other where Regan shows her knowledge of it.

The passage moreover contains some slight inconsistencies which suggest a rather careless insertion. Goneril says, ‘What he hath uttered I have writ my sister.’ Almost immediately afterwards in the part included in both folio and quarto she asks Oswald ‘Have you writ that letter to my sister?’ There are two inconsistencies here, and another in ‘What he hath uttered,’ for as far as we know from the play Lear’s only utterances on the subject are during this scene.

II, iv, 21 :

*Kent.* By Juno, I swear, ay !

It may be noted that the folio omits the preceding ‘No, no they would not’ and ‘Yes, they have.’ Perhaps this is a case of substitution.

II, iv, 99, 100 :

*Glou.* Well, my good lord, I have inform’d them so.

*Lear.* Inform’d them ! Dost thou understand me, man ?

and almost immediately afterwards, Lear speaking :

Are they inform’d of this ? My breath and blood !

Koppel has already noticed that these passages are related together, the first leading up to and accounting for the second. It is most unlikely that accidental omission in the quarto should have affected both, and as intentional omissions to shorten they are not worth making.

They are telling lines—as indeed are all the folio additions—but there is no gap if they are omitted.

<sup>1</sup> The presumed contents of the letter (I, iii, 25 and iv, 358), if we took the quarto version only, would be that Goneril had decided to slack her former services and let his knights have colder looks.

II, iv, 142—147. The passage has already been noted. There is no hiatus, as Koppel observes, if it is omitted.

III, i, 22—29:

Who have—as who have not, that their great stars  
Throned and set high?—servants, who seem no less,  
Which are to France the spies and speculations  
Intelligent of our state; what hath been seen,  
Either in snuffs and packings of the dukes,  
Or the hard rein which both of them have borne  
Against the old kind king; or something deeper,  
Whereof, perchance, these are but furnishings.

This passage, wanting in the quarto, is immediately followed, ll. 30—42, by a passage omitted in the folio. For this coincidence one explanation only seems possible: the folio text must have been printed from a corrected quarto and the addition (in the folio) taken by the printers as a substitute for the quarto text. A similar instance occurs in *Love's Labour's Lost*, only in the reverse direction: a passage has been corrected and the correction taken to be an addition, so that we get the two versions one after the other. Here, in *Lear*, an addition has been taken to be a substitution. It is quite clear from the wording that it is not meant to be so: the two halves of the speech are of a totally different character, and the half which the folio omits is much the more important.

From an analysis of these two halves we may conclude that the folio portion, quoted above, was very likely not a part of the original text, but that the quarto portion must certainly have been so, and was not intended to be dropped. The quarto omits nothing essential: the division between Albany and Cornwall is given, then the expected arrival of the French, and finally Kent's request that his hearer should go to Dover and report. The folio enlarges a little on Albany and Cornwall's quarrel, and gives a reason how the French came to know of it; but it omits the essentials—the landing of the French and the despatch of the gentleman to Dover. Kent's 'If you shall see Cordelia, as no doubt you will' comes as a complete surprise in consequence. The passage as it stands in the folio looks like an insertion. We are told that France has heard of the 'hard rein' which *both* the dukes have borne against the King. It is quite impossible of course that France could then have heard anything of Cornwall and Regan's action, and it is not at all likely that Shakespeare would have written so, if the play as we have it had been produced at one time.

Koppel supposes the folio omission to be intentional—the sufferings of Lear being known in France (in the quarto only the quarrel between the

Dukes, of which advantage is taken for invasion), it becomes superfluous to send the gentleman to Dover. There is left for the audience a cheering assurance of approaching deliverance given by hints. Koppel in fact attempts to explain all the folio omissions as Shakespeare's own work and as deliberate improvements. The question of revision, however, does not depend on his success.

III, ii, 79—95. The fool remains behind to make a speech which is quite out of harmony with the rest of the scene. Most critics have taken it to be a non-Shakespearean insertion.

III, iv, 26, 27 :

In, boy ; go first. You houseless poverty—  
 Nay, get thee in. I'll pray, and then I'll sleep<sup>†</sup>,

and almost immediately afterwards, l. 38,

*Edgar.* Fathom and half, fathom and half ! Poor Tom !

There is again a distinct relation between these two passages, suggesting they were not cases of accidental omission. In the first Lear tells the fool to go before him into the hovel, and this naturally leads up to the second. The effect of Edgar's exclamation depends on our having seen the fool go in and having had our attention drawn to it.

III, vi, 92 :

*Fool.* And I'll go to bed at noon.

These are the last words spoken by the fool. It has been suggested by Mr Bradley that they are to foretell his death, and with the assistance of the actor they could easily convey that impression. But for them the fool passes out of the play as if forgotten or thrown aside after serving Shakespeare's purpose ; it is possible that he added the line to remedy this, as an afterthought—surely the simplest and most effective way that even he could have chosen.

v, iii, 88 :

*Goneril.* An interlude !

and in the next line : 'Let the trumpet sound.' The latter restores the verse broken by 'An interlude,' thereby suggesting insertion. In the quarto Albany's speech runs on without interruption ; it is very unlikely that the interruption and the half line then required to keep the verse should both have been accidentally dropped.

v, iii, 310 :

Do you see this ? Look on her, look, her ps,  
 Look there, look there !



In the quarto Lear dies with a cry of pain. 'Break, heart, I prithee break' there given to Lear must in any case belong to Kent. In the folio the cry of pain is omitted, and Lear dies apparently with a sudden joy: he imagines a sign of life in Cordelia and swoons away on the instant. At first Shakespeare may not have intended to spare us anything: the function of evil is to destroy, was the dominant thought; and the pursuit of it relentless. A change of this kind would be in character with his later work.

The following passages supply only negative evidence, as leaving no gap if they are omitted: I, i, 42—5, 50 f., 65, 85 f., iv, 284, II, iv, 47—55, 299, iv, i, 7—9, ii, 26, vi, 169—173, v, ii, 11 (the last line), iii, 76, 222.

There are two passages which were probably accidental omissions in the quarto, and two which certainly were so. The first two, I, i, 90 f. ('*Lear*. Nothing! *Cordelia*. Nothing') and III, iv, 18 ('In such a night To shut me out! Pour on: I will endure'), are very intelligible printers' mistakes, the eye being caught by a repetition of the same words later; it should be noticed, however, that they show no gap if omitted. The others are III, vi, 13—15, v, iii, 144.

This completes the list of cases in which the folio gives matter which is not found in the quarto. From their number and nature only two suppositions seem tenable: either that the producer of the quarto eliminated passages here and there with the utmost nicety—hardly ever, as did the folio editors, making the mistake of showing a gap—that he sometimes removed subtle inconsistencies, but showed no other motive whatever for his selection; or our added passages are as a rule genuine insertions, and that a revision by the author has taken place. The general character of the quarto text, with its extraordinary blunders and careless editing, altogether negatives the former supposition and we are driven to accept a revision.

Supposing this has taken place, we should expect a certain amount of pruning as well as grafting; we can guess at one or two places. For instance I, iii, 16—20 and 24 may, as already noted, be intentional omissions in exchange for I, iii, 345—356; so too Edgar's soliloquy III, vi, 108—122, which is so little wanted that some editors suppose it not to be Shakespeare's.

As regards alterations. There are verbal differences, as there always are, between folio and quarto; but few, if any, show marks of revision. The folio corrects a great many obvious blunders; but, apart from that, is by no means always the better text. Two cases only seem recog-

nisable. In II, ii, 1 Oswald meets Kent outside Gloucester's castle; in the folio he says 'Good dawning to thee, friend'; in the quarto 'Good even.' Later on, in II, iv, 89, 90, Lear arrives and learns that Regan and Cornwall refuse to see him; in the folio he says:

Deny to speak with me? They are sick? They are weary?  
They have travell'd all the night?

In the quarto 'all the night' appears as 'hard to-night.' The time scheme is confused in this play, as in *Othello*, and would be still more so without the folio corrections. In the quarto it would appear that Kent and Oswald arrive in the evening and Lear early next morning; this clashes with what follows (Sc. iv, line 303 'The night comes on') and the time for both may very well have been set back in revision.

But for this possible instance, the quarto text appears to have been left untouched—not a line blotted—and the revision practically confined to making omissions and additions. From the nature of the added passages we see its purpose and scope: they are explanatory, to intensify the dramatic effect, and sometimes to strike a far deeper note. As examples of this last we may note Lear's tenderness to the fool, his pathetic desire for sleep (III, iv, 26, 27), the fool's consciousness of death (III, vi, 92), Gloucester's resignation (v, ii, 11), Goneril's scorn ('An interlude!' v, iii, 88), and finally the shock which kills Lear, intense joy for intense pain (v, iii, 310). There is everywhere improvement.

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## NOTES ON GRILLPARZER'S 'KÖNIG OTTOKARS GLÜCK UND ENDE.'

### I.

'DER ÖSTERREICHISCHE PLUTARCH' AND 'DAS ARCHIV FÜR HISTORIE,  
GEOGRAPHIE, STAATS- UND KRIEGSKUNST' AS SOURCES OF GRILL-  
PARZER'S DRAMA.

THE fact that the Austrian periodicals *Der österreichische Plutarch* and *Das Archiv für Historie, Geographie, Staats- und Kriegskunst* were utilised by Grillparzer in the composition of his drama, has been long recognised. Alfred Klaar in the introduction to his investigation of the sources of *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*<sup>1</sup>, mentions Wurzbach, Fäulhammer, and particularly Robert Zimmermann (*Studien und Kritiken zur Philosophie und Aesthetik*, II, pp. 63 ff.) as having drawn attention to the matter. Klaar himself devotes considerable space (pp. 12 ff.) to the two publications; he cites a number of articles bearing on Ottokar's period, and the footnotes scattered throughout his work show that he had kept them in view as possible sources of Grillparzer's play. In the present paper I have endeavoured to supplement his investigations by a systematic examination of the works in question.

Both the *Österreichische Plutarch* (1807-14) and the *Archiv* (1810-22) were founded by the eminent Viennese savant Joseph Hormayr, his object being to rouse by means of them the interest of his fellow-countrymen in their glorious past. It was only natural under these circumstances that he should devote considerable space to the stirring times of Ottokar and Rudolf. Grillparzer, of course, read both journals, and he no doubt drew from them in the first instance the ideas and motives on which his proposed drama was built up. The minuter study of chronicles and more remote historical sources, to which

<sup>1</sup> Alfred Klaar, *König Ottokars Glück und Ende. Eine Untersuchung über die Quellen der Grillparzer'schen Tragödie.* Leipzig, 1885.

Grillparzer's notebooks bear testimony, would naturally belong to a stage in the plan when the main lines of the drama were already determined; and even in the case of these, Hormayr's periodicals constituted a kind of intermediary. Moreover, as Klaar mentions (p. 14), Hormayr in his criticism of Grillparzer's drama (*Neues Archiv*, 1825, Nos. 22, 23, 24, 26, 32, 33, 34) claims for himself no small credit for having stimulated and assisted the poet by the articles which appeared in his publications.

The *Österreichische Plutarch* contains a series of biographies of the great men of Austrian history. Of chief importance for our present purpose are the numbers containing the life of Rudolf von Hapsburg (1. Bändchen, 1807), and that of Ottokar (15. Bändchen, 1808)<sup>1</sup>.

In the former of these articles the following points have bearing on *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*. On pp. 22 ff. the struggle between Rudolf and Ottokar is described. Ottokar is characterised (p. 23) as: 'ein Fürst an Geist und Körper voll Kraft und ewig unruhiger Thätigkeit,...kriegliebend und ehrgeitzig ohne alle Schranken. Lange Gewohnheit des Glückes erklärt allein alle seine Zaghaftigkeit nach seinem ersten misslungenen Unternehmen wider den neuen König den deutschen. Nicht lange wägende, kaltblutige Überlegung, sondern ungestümme Empfindung und Begier lag allem zum Grunde, was er sprach und that,...er belohnte königlich und strafte unmenschlich.'

P. 23. [Ottokar hatte] 'die Belehnung darüber von Richard von Cornwall erhalten<sup>2</sup>.'

P. 24. 'Ottokar in der Zuversicht, Böhmen könne niemahls erobert werden<sup>3</sup>.'

P. 25. The defection of the Styrian nobles: Pettau<sup>4</sup>, Lichtenstein<sup>5</sup>. Also Pfannenber, Stubenberg, Seldenhofen<sup>6</sup>.

P. 28. 'Ottokar, gebeugt und voll Ingrimms, liess sich in der feyerlichen Versammlung aller anwesenden Reichs- und Heeresfürsten, im kaiserlichen Lager vor Rudolphen auf die Kniee nieder, und nahm

<sup>1</sup> Klaar, *l.c.*, p. 14. Klaar appears to have overlooked the life of Rudolf.

<sup>2</sup> III, iii, 141 (for convenience of reference I have numbered the lines of each scene separately): Die Lehn von Böhmen gab mir König Richard!

<sup>3</sup> v, v, 132: Du lügst, kein Böhme flieht!

and iv, 460: Kein Böhme hat noch seinen Herrn verrathen!

<sup>4</sup> III, iii, 248: Pettau surrenders to Rudolf.

<sup>5</sup> v, iii: Lichtenstein fights against Ottokar.

<sup>6</sup> II, i, 484:

Eine Wehre, Heinrich!

Ihr, Ulrich Lichtenstein, Graf Bernhard Pfannberg,

Chol Seldenhoven, Wulfig Stubenberg,

Ihr gebt die Schwerter, und euch selbst in Haft!



die Lehen<sup>1</sup>. Österreich verliess er ungesäumt mit seinem ganzen Gefolg und Heere, begab sich zuerst nach Mähren<sup>2</sup>, von dannen nach Prag<sup>3</sup>.

P. 29. 'Ottokars Gemahlin Kunigunde empfing ihn bey seiner Heimkehr mit den bittersten Vorwürfen<sup>4</sup>.'

P. 30. 'Brünn ward all diesen Schaaren [d. h., den Hilfstruppen] zum Sammelplatze beschieden, Laa geplündert, und Drosendorf<sup>5</sup> durch Kriegsmaschinen und täglich wiederholte Stürme geängstigt.'

P. 31. Ottokar's 14 days' delay<sup>6</sup>. 'Durch die Untreue des Glückes erschüttert, wollte er in diesem Vernichtungskampfe nichts des falschen Glückes Launen überlassen, und sich vor allem des festen Drosendorf<sup>7</sup> in seinem Rücken versichern.'

P. 32. 'Die Cumanen, ein Riesenschlag, furchtbar anzuschauen<sup>8</sup> mit ihren langen verworrenen Bärten, um Brust und Nacken flatternde Zöpfen<sup>9</sup>.... Schleuder und Bogen handhabten sie trefflich<sup>10</sup>. Sogleich wurden die cumenischen Reuter über Weidendorf voraus geschickt, vom Feinde sichere Kundschaft einzuziehen<sup>11</sup>. Der Kaiser schlug (am 25ten August 1278) beim Flecken Stillfried sein Lager auf<sup>12</sup>.'

P. 34. 'Ihr Banner führte der hundertjährige Ritter Conrad von Haslau<sup>13</sup>.'

P. 35. Haslau stumbles. Heinrich von Lichtenstein seizes the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Act II, v.

<sup>2</sup> IV, 4: Und irrt seitdem im Land herum von Mähren.

<sup>3</sup> The scene of Act IV is 'vor der Burg zu Prag.'

<sup>4</sup> IV, 114 ff.

<sup>5, 6</sup> V, i, 17: Erst stürmt er vierzehn Tage Drosendorf.

<sup>7</sup> V, i, 31:

*Ottokar.* Ich habe Drosendorf, der Rücken ist gesichert.

<sup>8, 9</sup> I, ii, 5:

Ein sonderbares Volk und sonderbar bewaffnet!  
Weist her den' Säbel!

In the above account there is no mention of Säbel.

<sup>10</sup> I, ii, 11 f.:

Wozu soll der Haarschöpf  
Da oben auf dem Scheitel?

Also I, ii, 52 f.:

...dass ihre Zottelbärte  
Wie Schilfgras aus gedämmtem Wasser ragten.

<sup>11</sup> V, i, 1 f.:

Kumanen  
Und Ungarn von des Kaisers Heere streifen,  
Die March hinauf, im Rücken unsrer Stellung.

<sup>12</sup> V, i, 50 ff.:

*Ottokar.* Ich dacht' ich wär' in Stillfried.  
*Diener.* Wir ritten gestern durch in dunkler Nacht.  
Jetzt liegt der Kaiser drinnen.

<sup>13</sup> V, iv, 21 f.:

Dir, Konrad Haslau,...  
Vertrau' ich Östreichs flatterndes Panier.

banner<sup>1</sup>. Rudolf fights with Herbod von Füllenstein. 'Da viele Ritter... zu Hilfe herbeyeilten, sprach er lächelnd: "Sorget nicht für einen einzelnen Menschen<sup>2</sup>"' etc. Ottokar's horse falls<sup>3</sup>. 'Seyfried von Merenberg und Berchthold Schenk von Emerberg, beyde selbst und in ihren Anverwandten von dem König gekränkt, erschlugen ihn, nach grimmigem Widerstande<sup>4</sup>.' Rudolf laments Ottokar's death.

P. 46. Characterisation of Rudolf: 'Es ist fast ohne Beyspiel, dass er aus so geringem zu so grossem Glücke, bloss durch Muth und Weisheit emporgehoben, gleichwohl mitten im Laufe des Sieges, die edelste Mässigung und Grossmuth, Versöhnlichkeit gegen seine Feinde und dieselbe Biederkeit beybehielt, die dem mannhaften Grafen im Schweizerlande<sup>5</sup> Aller Herzen gewonnen hatte.' The article is accompanied by a portrait of Rudolf.

The second article, entitled 'Przemysl Ottokar der Zweite,' also, no doubt, suggested a great deal to Grillparzer. We note the following excerpts as of special importance for the play.

P. 34. The defeat of Bela at Kroissenbrunn, on June 26, 1260<sup>6</sup>. Bela renounces Styria, and Ottokar builds the monastery of Goldenkron and the town of Marchegg<sup>7</sup>.

P. 37. Ottokar's divorce from Margaretha on the grounds of her relationship in the fifth degree<sup>8</sup>, and of her taking the lesser vows on the death of her first husband<sup>9</sup>. Margaretha goes to Krain, dies there six years later and is buried at Lilienfeld. On October 25, 1261, Ottokar is married at Pressburg amid scenes of great magnificence to Kunigunde, the granddaughter of Bela. On August 9, 1262, he does homage at Aachen to King Richard for Austria and Styria<sup>10</sup>. In

<sup>1</sup> v, iv, 24 f.:

Ihr bleibt ihm nah, Herr Heinrich Lichtenstein,  
Und wahrt des Manns.

<sup>2</sup> v, iv, 79 f.:

Ei, lasst ihn nur, ihr Herrn,  
Das Fechten möcht' ich doch nicht ganz verlernen.  
<sup>3</sup> v, v, 6: Sie haben mir das Pferd erstochen unterm Leib.

<sup>4</sup> v, v.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Rudolf's conversation with the Schweizersoldat in Act III, iii, 30 ff.

<sup>6</sup> I, ii, 27 ff.

<sup>7</sup> I, ii, 34 f.:

Marchegg, so soll man mir die Stadt auch nennen,  
Die ich dort baun will zu des Siegs Gedächtnis!

<sup>8</sup> I, ii, 165 ff.:

Und in Betracht, dass Ihr im vierten Grad  
...unserm gnädigen Herrn verwandt.

Cp. Klaar, p. 32, Anm.

<sup>9</sup> I, ii, 172 f.:

...ein Gelübd'  
Zu Trier gethan.

<sup>10</sup> III, iii, 141:

Die Lehn von Böhmen gab mir König Richard.

1264 he gives his daughter Kunigunde in marriage to Prince Bela, second son of King Bela.

P. 39. 'Benness von Diedicz, aus dem Geschlecht der Rosenberger, hatte eine schöne Tochter, Ottokar zwang sie zu seiner Lust. Der Vater und der Oheim Milota brüteten Rache, da warf der König beyde in Fesseln,...der Vater starb durch Henkers Hand. Milotan schenkte Ottokar die Freyheit und, was sehr unvorsichtig war, sein Vertrauen<sup>1</sup>.'

P. 48. 'Als sich Ottokar...(im Frühjahr 1272) mit Friederich dem neuen Erzbischofe zu Salzburg verglich<sup>2</sup>,... suchte er darunter vergeblich Seyfried von Merenberg, einen Lehensmann und Anhänger der Babenbergischen Gertrud. Er wurde hingerichtet. Ottokar scheint tiefe Reue über das unruhmliche Werk seines argwöhnischen Zornes empfunden zu haben.'

P. 49. On King Richard's death, Ottokar's old friend the Archbishop of Cologne, goes to Prague and asks him to accept the crown he had refused sixteen years before. Cp. p. 26: 'er wolle lieber Böhmens gewaltiger König seyn, als ein armer Kaiser wie Wilhelm.' Like Zawisch in the drama, a certain Andreas Rziczán advises Ottokar not to take it. Ottokar will not give a definite reply. Rudolf is chosen king at Frankfort on September 29, 1273, and crowned at Aachen<sup>3</sup> on October 28. He sends Friedrich von Zollern, Burggraf of Nürnberg, to demand the restitution of the stolen lands<sup>4</sup>.

P. 53. Ottokar replies: 'Österreich besitze er durch Abtretung seiner ersten Gemahlinn, der unstreitigen Erbin, Steyer habe er mit seinem guten Schwert den Ungarn aberobert, Kärnthen und Krain durch Erbschaft und andere gültige Verträge erworben<sup>5</sup>.'

P. 55. Ottokar seeks supernatural aid in a dark forest.

Pp. 57, 58. Rudolf invests Vienna and Neuburg<sup>6</sup>. Meinhard von Tyrol attacks Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain. Ottokar, at a loss what to do, sets up his camp, first at Drosendorf, then at Korneuburg<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> iv, 512 f.:

Ich glaube wohl, dass du auch hassen kannst,  
Betrügen nicht. Dir will ich mich vertraun!

<sup>2</sup> The Erzbischof von Salzburg is mentioned, Act iii, iii, 151.

<sup>3</sup> iii, ii, 59.

<sup>4</sup> ii, 453 ff.

<sup>5</sup> ii, 514 ff.:

Den Ungarn hab' ich Steier abgewonnen...  
Vererbt ward Kärnthen mir von meinem Ohm...  
Und Östreich brachte mir zur Morgengabe  
Die Königin Margrethe, meine Gattin.

<sup>6</sup> The capture of these towns is reported Act iii, iii, 226 ff.

<sup>7</sup> iii, i, 36 f.:

Er lagert an der Donau,  
Seitwärts Korneuburg.

Bruno von Ollmütz persuades him to consent to arbitration. On November 21, 1276, Ottokar is in the imperial camp. He relinquishes all claims to Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, Portenau, the Windisch Mark and Eger<sup>1</sup>, agrees to liberate the hostages and consents to a general amnesty. He offers homage for the 'böhmisch Cur' and the office of 'Erzschank.' In return, the 'Acht und Bann' is to be rescinded. He bends the knee publicly to Rudolf 'in der Gegenwart der versammelten Fürsten des Reiches.'

On arriving at Brünn he is assailed by his wife with bitter reproaches<sup>2</sup>. His fury now knows no bounds; he devastates the lands of the malcontents, and, to gain time for the final conflict, proceeds to make treaties. The Künringer in Austria and Paltram remain loyal to him.

P. 63. In a speech to Künringer Ottokar says: 'Alles habe seine Zeit.... Der im Winterfrost säen wollte, büsste durch ein Missjahr.... Am meisten aber brauche reife Erwägung des wilden Krieges zweifelhafter Ausgang<sup>3</sup>.'

Pp. 64 ff. are very similar to the corresponding part of the life of Rudolf. Rudolf discovers the conspiracy to kill Ottokar and proclaims that Ottokar's life must be spared.

P. 66. Two knights attack Rudolf, but are defeated by him.

The remaining description of the battle, except the mourning of Rudolf over Ottokar's body (cp. Klaar, p. 110, note), offers few if any points of contact with the play. On pages 69 ff., however, there is a suggestive estimate of Ottokar's character and a discussion of his suitability for treatment in tragedy. This is reprinted in Nos. 55—56 of the *Archiv* (see below).

'Der ungestüme, strenge, nur stückweis kluge Ottokar hatte einen ruhigen, berechnenden, milden Gegner... er war ein böser Mann im Handeln mehr als im Vorsatz.... Den Frieden konnte er nicht lieben, den Widerstand nicht leiden, die Untreue nicht vergeben, nicht lavieren, nichts erwarten. Das sind Eigenschaften eines stürmischen, nicht eines schwarzen Gemüthes.... Ottokar war ein tragischer, Rudolph ein

<sup>1</sup> II, 507. The Burgraf of Nürnberg demands:

Und Österreich und Steier, Krain und Kärnten,  
Nebst Eger, Portenau, der wind'schen Mark.

<sup>2</sup> Her long tirade offers few points of comparison with Act IV. The expression 'Der Überwinder aller Völker zwischen der adriatischen und baltischen See' reminds us of Ottokar's speech, Act I, II, 222 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Act V, I, 42: Reife bringt die Zeit.  
There is also possibly an echo of the expression 'Winterfrost' in 63 ff.:

Sonst war der Sommer warm  
Der Winter Frost.



epischer Held. Jener, der Flut entgegen, die Umstände seinem Willen unterordnend, erkämpfte den eigenen Untergang. Dieser von der Flut getragen, seinen Willen nach den Umständen gestaltend, mehr benützend, als schaffend oder zwingend, endete in Sieg und Herrlichkeit—Rudolph stritt bauend, Ottokar zerstörend—Rudolf kriegte, weil er es nicht vermeiden, Ottokar weil er es nicht lassen konnte.... In ihm hat sich Macbeth, der König der Schotten, abgespiegelt. Wie diesen Shakespeare vorstellt, so könnte Ottokar aufgeführt werden. Beyde Gestalten würden der Geschichte zusagen, wie der Bühne. Shakespeare hat seine Könige nicht gemacht, er hat sie nur durchschaut. Beyde folgten dem, was sie für höhere Winke hielten, dem Rath der Zauberschwestern, beyde wurden durch ihre Königinnen zur That des Verderbens hingezogen, beyden war der Gedanke unerträglich, ihre Kronen auf den Häuptern der Söhne und Enkel ihrer Nebenbühler zu sehen, beyde hatten keine Rast, solange noch ein Blutverwandter des alten Stammes übrig war.... Beness war Banquo und Merenberg das Fife, aus welchem Ottokars Macduff hervorgieng. Beyde verlohren ihr Leben in der Schlacht, durch düster anhebenden Zweykampf.' The article concludes by emphasising the fatalistic element in Ottokar's career. The final words are: 'So ereilte Haralden bei Hastings,—bey Laa Ottokar,—Adolph von Nassau bei Gelheim—bey Nancy Carl den kühnen—bey Bosworth Richarden III ein und dasselbe Schicksal—Es heisst Vergeltung!!'

*Das Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst*, through which, as Klaar observes<sup>1</sup>, articles bearing on Ottokar's life and times run like a red thread, appeared in Vienna from 1810 to 1822. I note the following as having bearing on Grillparzer's work:

1810. Nos. 53—54 (May 2). A review of Collin's *Rudolphiade* describing, *inter alia*, how Ottokar saw the spirit of his dead wife Margaretha before the battle of Marchfeld, how Milota fled without making any attack and how finally Ottokar plunged with berserker

<sup>1</sup> P. 16. Cp. A. Fäulhammer, *Franz Grillparzer, eine biographische Studie*, Graz, 1884, pp. 88 ff. Klaar, *l.c.*, pp. 14 ff., refers to the following articles: 1814, nos. 1—2, 'Die Schlacht im Marchfeld'; 1816, nos. 15—16, 'Rudolf von Hapsburg,' 1272; nos. 44—45, 'Bruno von Ollmütz'; nos. 125—126, 'Rudolf an Ottokar's Leiche,' 'Zavisch von Rosenberg,' 'Österreich unter den Königen Ottokar und Albrecht I'; 1817, nos. 125—126, 'Ob denn Oesterreichs Geschichte' etc.; 1820, nos. 53—54, 'Wie der König Ottokar seine Nichte' etc. Goedeke's *Grundriss*, 24 Heft., p. 419, mentions in addition: 1810, nos. 53—54, 'Collin's Rudolphiade'; nos. 55—56, 'Schatten der Vorwelt'; 1812, nos. 145—146, 'Seyfried von Mährenberg'; 1817, nos. 45 ff., 'Die Taufe Rudolphs von Hapsburg'; 1817, nos. 59 ff., 'Kaiser Rudolph und Herbot von Füllenstein'; 1817, nos. 111 f., 'Ottokar's Raub aus der Gruft von Znaym'; 1817, no. 142, 'Ottokar's Leichnam in Znaim.'

fury into the thick of the fight. The review is followed by extracts from Collin's poem<sup>1</sup>. (Cp. also Nos. 72, 73, 83, 90.)

1810. Nos. 55—56 (May 7). In these numbers a series of articles begins, entitled 'Schatten der Vorwelt.' The first of these deals with 'Der Böhmenkönig Ottokar,' but it is merely a reprint of the greater part of the life of Ottokar in the *Österreichische Plutarch* (see above).

1812. Nos. 145—146 (December 2). 'Seyfried von Mährenberg' by Ignatz Kollmann. This poem describes the fortunes of Seyfried von Mährenberg, a pious Styrian nobleman. Incensed at his absence from a festival, Ottokar sends troops to his castle to capture him. He is subjected to the most terrible tortures and despite the self-sacrifice of his daughter, who seeks to save his life by the most degrading possible condition, Ottokar has him secretly murdered. The daughter flees to a convent. Stubenberg, her betrothed, plans revenge, together with Mährenberg's nephew. The subsequent history of Ottokar's life is then related, including a description of the final battle and the episode of Herbolt's duel with Rudolph (in which the former is killed). The poem concludes with a reference to the treachery of Milot and Zabusch, and culminates in the death of Ottokar at the hands of Stubenberg and Mährenberg. Ottokar is represented throughout as a black-hearted tyrant, who thoroughly deserves his fate. Verse 8 suggests comparison with the passage quoted above page 455, note 6. It runs:

Herr Bernhard von Pfannberg und der von Wildon  
Der Pettauer Fritz an der Draue  
Mit Lichtenstein, Wülfing, des Stubenbergs Sohn, etc.

1814. Nos. 1—2 (January 3). 'Die Schlacht im Marchfelde.' This article begins with a reference to Napoleon and Wagram and mentions the titles of many chronicles. These may have been by this means brought to Grillparzer's notice.

1815. Nos. 46—47 (April 17). 'Ritterfeste, Gastmahle und Kleiderpracht im 13ten Jahrhundert.' This article contains a description (p. 184) of how Ottokar's niece Kunigunde is married to the Hungarian

<sup>1</sup> Beyond the glowing description of Austria in the beginning of Collin's *Rudolph von Habsburg*, which may have suggested the splendid lines given by Grillparzer to his Ottokar von Horneck in Act III, scene iii, it is difficult to trace any influence of this poem on the drama. The following points of similarity are, however, perhaps worth mentioning. Rudolph's admiration of minstrelsy (Fragment IV, Grillparzer, III, iii); his lending a horse to carry a priest across the river Aar (Fragment IV, 47 ff.; Grillparzer, I, ii, 365 ff.); the description of the Cumanen (Fragments V and VI; Grillparzer, I, ii, 5 ff.); Ladislaus' failure to recognise Rudolph owing to the latter's simple costume (Fragment VI; cp. Grillparzer, III, iii, 117 f.:

Ich suche nun schon lange rechts und links;  
Wo habt ihr euren Kaiser, edle Herrn?)

prince Bela (cp. *Archiv*, 1820) amid scenes of great splendour. In honour of the event Ottokar builds a magnificent bridge over the Danube<sup>1</sup>, and a great tournament takes place<sup>2</sup>. King Bela is present with his two sons and an escort of the highest nobility.

1815. Nos. 72—73 (June 16). 'Zustand der Wissenschaften und Künste in Österreich während des 13ten Jahrhunderts aus des Chorherrn Franz Kurz noch ungedruckte Geschichte; Österreich unter König Ottokar und Albrecht.' This paper is mostly concerned with the poetry of the age; Horneck and Ulrich von Lichtenstein are referred to.

1816. Nos. 15—16 (February 2). 'Rudolf von Hapsburg, 1278.' A poem which tells how Rudolf cast two men into chains who had been treacherous to Ottokar, and how he selected the Truchsess von Steyer to protect Ottokar in the battle.

1816. Nos. 33—34, 39, 42—43 (March 15). 'Österreich unter den Königen Ottokar und Albrecht I,' edited by Kurz.

1816. Nos. 44—45 (April 10). 'Bruno von Ollmütz, 1247—81,' by Professor Richter of Brünn (cp. 46—47). Mention is made here of Bruno's presence at Ottokar's wedding with Margaretha in Haimburg, and how he helped Ottokar in his struggle against Bela. 'Ottokars Übermuth war im Glücke kaum zu ertragen, im Unglück war er Tyrann, dennoch darf man es von Bruno rühmen, dass er ausgehalten bis ans Ende, ohne zu kriechen ohne sich durchzuwinden und seiner Würde das geringste zu vergeben...weit entfernt wie Milota, erduldeten Kränkungen tückisch zu rächen, benahm er sich in der tragischen Periode nach dem ganzen Gehalte eines musterhaften Kirchenvaters eines rechtschaffenen Freundes und Ministers, geachtet selbst vom gerechten Feinde<sup>3</sup>.' There is also a description of his attempt to reconcile Ottokar with Rudolf. Cp. Klaar, pp. 13, 61, 68 note.

1816. Nos. 61—64 (May 20). 'Zavisch von Rosenberg Sohn Budivogs Dynasten von Welisch,' by Franz Alvisius Waack. The following passages from this article, which is also mentioned by Klaar (p. 13), have bearing on Grillparzer's drama: 'In jener Zeit lebte im benannten Königreiche Heinrich I von Rosenberg, welcher drey Söhne, Milota, Budivog und Vitko gezeugt hat.... Vom Budivog...entsprossen

<sup>1</sup> This has perhaps suggested Act I, ii, 70:

*Ottokar.* Die Moldaubrücke auch?

*Bürgermeister.* Nur gestern ward der letzte Stein gefügt.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Act II, 217 f.:

Des Königs Hoheit naht,

Der ganze Zug; sie kommen vom Turnier!

<sup>3</sup> Here occur the words: 'dieser Bischof, der als geborner Deutscher den Zustand des Christenthums von der Ostsee bis an die Tieber und vom Rhein bis an die Weichsel selbst geschaut.' Cp. Act I, ii, 222; but see also pp. 459 and 470 of these notes.

vier Söhne, Zavisch, Vitko, Czenko und Wak. Mit den vortrefflichsten Gaben von der Natur ausgestattet, bezaubernd schön seine körperliche Gestalt, sein Benehmen athmend die ritterlichste Anmuth, war er [Zavisch] ein feiner, beliebter Höfling und da er sich bey seinen grossen Fähigkeiten auch auf die schönen Wissenschaften, namentlich die Dichtkunst verlegte, war er zugleich ein schöner Geist und sehr gebildeter Kopf... er lebte zu poetisch, und—nahm ein tragisches Ende. So trefflich der Kopf dieses Edelmannes war, so leidenschaftlich und verkehrt war sein Herz.' The essayist goes on to say that Kunigunde soon loved him more than her husband. He describes the offering of the crown to Ottokar and his refusal with the words: 'Dass er lieber ein reicher König in Böhmen, als ein armer Kaiser, wie Wilhelm gewesen seyn wolle.' Further, the revolt of the oppressed nobility, including Budivog and Zavisch. Zavisch flees to Rudolf; 'den Gedanken zu dieser Flucht gab vornehmlich die Königin Kunigunde Zavischen... um ihren Gemahl der Lebensgefahr auszusetzen.' The battle of Marchfeld is then described; Milota commands the left wing; 'Zavisch, der inzwischen von Rudolph zurückgekehrt war, und sich Ottokar zum Scheine unterworfen hatte, führte einen Haufen von 2000 Mann an. Milota hatte schon vor der Schlacht Rudolph heimlich berichtet, dass Ottokar nichts weniger als einen Angriff vermuthete.' Following the treachery of Milota and Zavisch, Ottokar is taken prisoner and slain in defiance of law and right. The rest of the article is taken up with the subsequent life of Zavisch and Kunigunde after their marriage. It should also be mentioned that the article is liberally supplied with footnotes referring to the chronicles. These would no doubt be of value to Grillparzer.

1816. Nos. 81—82 (July 5). 'Rudolf an Ottokars Leiche,' a poem by M. von Canaval. Cp. Klaar, p. 14. There is possibly an echo in Grillparzer of phrases such as: 'Nichts nimmt er mit sich ins Leichentuch<sup>1</sup>,' and 'und so wie ich heute, gefallener dir, Verzeihe, verzeihe der Herr auch mir<sup>2</sup>.'

1817. Nos. 45—46 (April 14). 'Die Taufe Rudolfs von Hapsburg' (1218).

1817. Nos. 59—60 (May 16). 'Kaiser Rudolf und Herbort von

<sup>1</sup> v, v, 164 ff.:

Und ist von Deinem Prunk und Reichthum allen  
Nicht eine arme Decke Dir geblieben,  
Als Leichentuch zu hüllen Deinen Leib.

<sup>2</sup> v, v, 173 f.:

Und Gott sei ihm und sei uns allen gnädig!  
Bertha. Und vergib uns, als auch wir vergeben!



Füllenstein,' a poem by R...z. Herbort is brought to the Kaiser, challenges him to fight, and the Kaiser consents. Herbort, however, falls on his knees and asks his pardon. Rudolf gives him a safe-conduct to Poland, whence he had come.

1817. Nos. 111—112 (August 15). 'Ottokars Raub aus der Franciscaner-Gruft von Znaym im Jahre 1296.' How König Wenzel removed the corpse of Ottokar.

1817. No. 142. 'Ottokar's Leichnam in Znaym.'

1817. Nos. 125 and following (October 17 ff.). A series of articles on the subject: 'Ist denn des österreichischen Kaiserstaats Geschichte ärmer an herzerhebenden oder hochtragischen Stoffen für Dramaturgie, Ballade, Legende, Roman und bildende Kunst als die des Alterthums oder eines fremden Mittelalters.' Cp. Klaar, p. 14. The first article mentions various writers who have dealt with Austrian history, particularly Matthäus von Collin. Ottokar is not specially discussed.

1817. Nos. 125—126 (October 17). 'Ob der berühmte steyer-märkische Minnesänger Ottokar von Horneck Mönch zu Admont gewesen?'

1817. Nos. 142—143. 'Ottokars Leichnam in Znaim.' (This article is missing from the British Museum copy of the *Archiv*.)

1818. Nos. 95—96 (August 10). An essay on Napoleon and Timur, comparing the two men. It may well have suggested to Grillparzer the comparison between Ottokar and Napoleon, which, we know, was present to his mind.

1820. Nos. 53—54 (May 3). 'Wie der Böhmenkönig Ottokar seine Nichte, die schöne Markgrafentochter von Brandenburg an König Bela von Ungarn zu Wien vermählt hat.' This is merely a modernised version of Horneck's chronicle.

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## II.

### THE RELATION OF GRILLPARZER'S DRAMA TO MATTHÄUS VON COLLIN'S 'FRIEDRICH DER STREITBARE.'

In his article on *Matthäus von Collin* in *Euphorion*, *Ergänzungsheft* v (1901), J. Wiham has discussed (pp. 195—199) the similarity between that writer's *Friedrich der Streitbare* and Grillparzer's *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*. A careful study of Collin's play has led us to the conclusion that the indebtedness of Grillparzer to his predecessor was

somewhat more extensive than Wihan has stated: and we propose in the following paper to sum up briefly the similarities between the two plays. We have printed in italics those points to which Wihan has already drawn attention.

To look first at the general resemblances in the character and fate of the hero of each play. In both tragedies the hero *is obsessed by ambition* (*Friedrich*, I, iii, 99 f.; II, ii, 65 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, ii, 212 ff. etc.)<sup>1</sup>; he is self-reliant (*Friedrich*, I, i, 122 f.; *Ottokar*, I, ii, 251 f.); and he claims that his action in divorcing his wife *is determined by consideration for his people and their posterity* (*Friedrich*, I, i, 103 ff., 125 ff.; II, i, 234 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, ii, 118, 124—132; v, v, 66). His fall is due to *a weakening of his will* (*Friedrich*, v, i, 16 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, i, 6, 10 f., 26 ff.). *He repents* (*Friedrich*, II, ii, 103 ff., iv, ii, 1 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, v, 29 ff.). Finally, *he submits to God's will* (*Friedrich*, III, i, 331; *Ottokar*, v, i, 46, 52). Like *Friedrich*, *Ottokar anticipates his death* (*Friedrich*, III, i, 410; v, ii, 70 f., 107 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, ii, 60 f.), and *recognises it as a just punishment* (*Friedrich*, v, ii, 100 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, v, 64 ff., 185 ff.); both make a last desperate stand (*Friedrich*, v, ii, 39; *Ottokar*, iv, 543; v, i, 54—59).

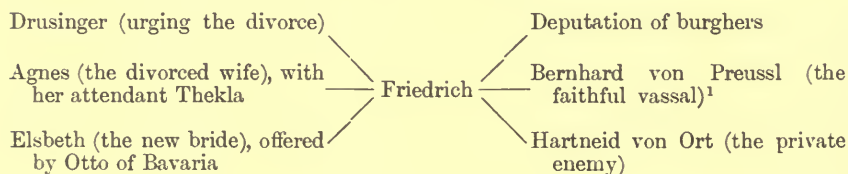
The heroine of each drama recognises the injustice of her divorce (*Friedrich*, I, i, 25 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 236 ff.), but submits (*Friedrich*, I, i, 74 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 369—381; ii, 202 ff.); *Margaretha intercedes for her husband with his enemy* (*Ottokar*, III, iii, 218 f.; v, ii, 17); so also does Agnes (*Friedrich*, iv, ii, 267; v, iii, 169 f.); *each is her husband's good genius, without whom he falls* (*Friedrich*, v, i, 16 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, i, 14).

That the main theme—the ambitious monarch who comes to the inevitable fall—is the same in both dramas is not perhaps of much moment in an age when poets had before their eyes the career of Napoleon and his relations to Josephine. Were this all, a comparison between the plays could hardly be expected to do more than show what a great dramatic poet was able to make of materials out of which an inferior writer only succeeded in constructing a dull and mediocre tragedy. But a study of the *technique* of the two works and especially of the grouping of the characters, seems to us to lead to the conclusion that Grillparzer may, after all, have learned a good deal from Collin's drama.

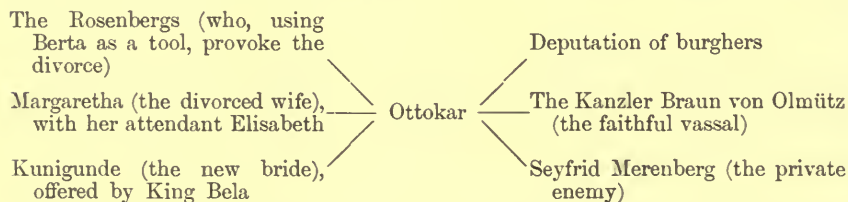
<sup>1</sup> In each drama we have, for convenience of reference, numbered the lines of each scene separately. *Friedrich der Streithare* is to be found in Matthäus von Collin's *Dramatische Dichtungen*, 1. Band, Pest, 1813, pp. 1—148.

It will make this aspect of the case clearer if we first give a brief outline of the subject of *Friedrich der Streitbare*. Friedrich, the last of the Babenberg Dukes of Austria, is ambitious of raising his duchy to a kingdom, and desires to leave an heir to his domains. He therefore divorces his childless wife, Agnes of Meran, urged to this course by Drusinger von Schrattenthal. The latter hopes by thus encouraging the duke's ambitions to further certain plans of his own. Friedrich is offered a second bride in Elsbeth, daughter of Otto, Duke of Bavaria. Meanwhile, a deputation from several Austrian towns begs Friedrich to reconsider his decision and reinstate Agnes; and Agnes's father, Otto of Meran, in alliance with King Bela of Hungary, takes up arms against him on her behalf. Friedrich is successful in preventing a meeting between Otto and Bela, by keeping the former shut up in a valley near Lunz. Fortune, however, ultimately goes against him. He makes a final desperate effort to regain the ground he is losing, but is struck down by a private enemy, Hartneid von Ort. To the last he is accompanied by his faithful vassal Bernhard von Preussl.

The grouping of the various characters in the drama round the central figure might be graphically represented as follows:



Now in Grillparzer's tragedy we find that Ottokar stands in similar relations to the characters by which he is surrounded. Thus:



The points of similarity between the two plays arising out of this parallel grouping, are briefly as follows:

1. The pretext for the divorce is in each case that the hero and his wife, although *wedded for years* (*Friedrich*, I, i, 20; *Ottokar*, I, i, 278),

<sup>1</sup> In the first act this function is filled by the Archbishop.

are of too near kin (*Friedrich*, I, i, 9; *Ottokar*, I, i, 270; ii, 164 ff.); and that there is no heir (*Friedrich*, I, i, 139; ii, 126 f.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 252; ii, 142). Both Agnes and Margaretha look back in retrospect on their married life (*Friedrich*, I, i, 51 ff.; iii, 33 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 279—342), and, after the divorce is pronounced, each retires to some distance, Agnes to Lunz (*Friedrich*, I, iii, 21), Margaretha to Krems (*Ottokar*, I, ii, 204). Finally, each monarch meets again his injured wife (*Friedrich*, IV, ii; v, iii; *Ottokar*, v, ii).

2. In *Friedrich der Streitbare* Drusinger instigates the divorce in order to gain his own ends. Cp. Act I, sc. ii, 88—96:

*Bernhard von Preussl.* Wer hat zuerst des Herzogs feur'gen Wunsch  
Für diesen Thron erzeugt? war't ihr es nicht?  
So sehr des Herrn zu leichte Gunst missbrauchend,  
Dass ihr ihm riethet, alles hinzuopfern  
Für dieses Thrones Glanz, auch selbst die Gatinn,  
Die liebende Gefährtinn seines Lebens.  
Hab ich euch nicht bey allem, was nur heilig,  
Solch Unrecht nicht zu üben, hoch beschworen?  
Habt ihr mich je gehört? was wollt ihr nun?

In *Ottokar* this rôle is played by the family of the Rosenbergs. Cp. Act I, sc. i, 134—136, where Zawisch, addressing Benesch and Milota, says:

Ihr wolltet selbst des Königs Eh' getrennt,  
Habt jahrelang euch weidlich drum bemüht,  
Sie ist getrennt.

3. In each case a new bride is offered to the hero: in *Friedrich der Streitbare* Elsbeth, daughter of Duke Otto of Bavaria. Cp. Act II, sc. i, 302—311:

*Otto.* Euch will ich sie vertraun, der ihrer werth....  
Drum reicht mir eure Hand, die wackre, starke,  
Auf dass sich drein des Vaters Rechte füge,  
Und seyd als lieber Sohn hiemit begrüsst.

In *Ottokar*, Kunigunde, 'grand-daughter' of King Bela. Act I, sc. ii, 134—137:

*Ottokar.* Zur Festigung des nun geschlossnen Friedens  
Hat König Bela mir die Hand geboten  
Von Kunigunden, seinem Enkelkind,  
Des Herzogs von Massovien einz'gen Tochter.

4. The private enemy is in both dramas a traitor. In Collin's play *Friedrich* says to Hartneid von Ort (Act II, sc. i, 180 f.):

Anfangs ein edler Mann, wardst du Verräther  
An Land und Herzog.

In the beginning of Act II of *Ottokar* Seyfried von Merenberg is brought in as a prisoner by Milota. *Friedrich* is killed by Hartneid



von Ort and Frangipani (Act v, sc. iii, 221—242); Ottokar by Seyfried von Merenberg (Act v, sc. v, 80 ff.).

5. The faithful vassal is in the one drama, Bernhard von Preussl<sup>1</sup> (*Friedrich*, I, iii, 153 ff.; III, i), in the other the Kanzler, Braun von Olmütz (*Ottokar*, III, ii; IV, i, 228 ff.); and each stands by his master to the end (*Friedrich*, end; *Ottokar*, v, v, 160). We have already noted that in *Friedrich der Streitbare* the Erzbischof carries out the formalities of the divorce in the opening scene, whereas this duty falls to the Kanzler in *Ottokar* (I, ii, 150 ff.). The deputation of burghers is in *Friedrich* introduced by Bernhard (II, i), in *Ottokar* by the Kanzler (I, ii).

6. In both dramas the fifth act brings *the decisive battle and catastrophe*. Ottokar's strategy to entice his enemy from the hills into the valley and then to surround him:

Ich hab' ihn hergelockt in diese Berge  
Mit vorgespigelter, verstellter Flucht.  
Dringt er nun vor: die Mitte weicht zurück,  
Die Flügel schliessen sich—dann gute Nacht, Herr Kaiser!  
Ich hab' ihn, wie die Maus im Loch!

(Act v, sc. i, 34 ff.),

resembles that of *Friedrich* in Act IV, sc. i, 1 ff.

The monarch's horse is killed under him (*Friedrich*, v, iii, 223 f.; *Ottokar*, v, v, 6), and he himself falls, as we have seen, by the hand of a private enemy. Agnes's words over *Friedrich's* bier might be paralleled by Elizabeth's words over *Ottokar* in the final scene.

It seems clear from the above that the ground plan of Grillparzer's drama, so far as it deals with Ottokar's personal fate—there is, of course, no question of the struggle between Ottokar and Rudolf—is based on that of *Friedrich der Streitbare*, that is to say, the technical scheme which Grillparzer has adopted for his work comes from Matthäus von Collin.

A careful study of Grillparzer's use of his historical materials—which is beyond the scope of the present paper—would, we believe, bear this out. His faithfulness to history is proverbial; but he had an almost overwhelming mass of records and traditions to draw upon; it would be interesting therefore to see how he selected just such events and motives as were necessary to his ground plan. For example, it was historically the confiscation of land which led to the enmity between Zawisch and Ottokar. For this Grillparzer substituted and magnified

<sup>1</sup> Bernhard Preussl, 'der älteste und vertrauteste Freund des Herzogs,' was also to have played a part in Grillparzer's own drama of *Friedrich der Streitbare*.

the episode of Berta, which opened up greater dramatic possibilities. The other tools, which Zawisch employs to bring about his revenge—the ‘private enemy’ the ‘new bride’—have all their prototypes in *Friedrich der Streitbare*.

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### III.

#### GRILLPARZER AND KOTZEBUE'S ‘RUDOLPH VON HAPSBURG UND OTTOKAR VON BÖHMEN.’

It might seem hardly likely that Grillparzer could have learned anything from Kotzebue's trivial sentimental play *Rudolph von Hapsburg und Ottokar von Böhmen*, which was produced in Vienna in 1815<sup>1</sup>. He dismisses it rather contemptuously, but with perfect justice, in his autobiography as a drama which has for its hero ‘eine Art Kinderschreck, ohne dass dabei jemand ein Arges gehabt hätte<sup>2</sup>.’ But it must not be forgotten that it was the chief play dealing with the theme that Grillparzer had an opportunity of seeing on the stage<sup>3</sup>, and it is likely that certain reminiscences of it remained in his memory. A comparison of Kotzebue's play with *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*, which was completed in the autumn of 1823, at least seems justified.

In the first act of *Rudolph von Hapsburg und Ottokar von Böhmen* we are afforded a glimpse of Ottokar at the height of his career—the theme of Act I of Grillparzer's tragedy. Rudolf is reluctant to accept the imperial crown, and has misgivings with regard to his former friend Ottokar:

Als Erbe schon von Böhmen und Mähren reich  
Musst' ihm sein Schwert noch neue Länder schaffen:  
Die Steyermark, das blüh'nde Österreich.  
In Krain und Kärnthen sehn wir ihn gebieten,  
Und siegreich streckt er von der Raab den Speer  
Bis wo die Bayern ihre Gränze hüten,  
Vom Adriat'schen bis an's Balt'sche Meer.

(Act I, sc. vi.)

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Euphoriön*, v. Ergänzungsheft, 1901, p. 168, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Selbstbiographie (Sämtliche Werke, xix)*, pp. 117 f.

<sup>3</sup> The only other dramas on this theme produced on the Viennese stage were Ziegler's *Thekla, die Wienerin*, 1809, and Mynert's *Rudolph von Hapsburg*, 1812. Cp. *Euphoriön*, *ibid.*

a passage which reminds one at once of Ottokar's account of his own power in Grillparzer's drama:

In Böhmen herrsch' ich, bin in Mähren mächtig.  
Zu Östreich hab' ich Steier mir erkämpft,  
Mein Oheim siecht, der Kärnthen nach mir lässt...  
Vom Belt bis fern zum adriat'schen Golf,  
Vom Inn bis zu der Weichsel kaltem Strand  
Ist niemand, der nicht Ottokarn gehorcht.

(Act I, sc. ii<sup>1</sup>.)

The second act of both plays again sets forth a similar phase in Ottokar's career. Grillparzer's king defies the newly-elected emperor and contemptuously dismisses the Burggraf von Nürnberg who has been sent to obtain Ottokar's homage. The scene with the Burggraf in Kotzebue's play is on similar lines; in both plays Ottokar defends himself against the charge of withholding his lands and urges his right of independent conquest. On the other hand, the sentimental and artificial love-plot of Kotzebue's play, in which—an obvious imitation of *Wallenstein*—Rudolf's son Albrecht loves Ottokar's daughter Agnes, can hardly be paralleled with the skilful interweaving of the Zawisch-Kunigunde episode in *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* with the political action.

The pretended submission of Ottokar is the main event of the third act of both plays. With Kotzebue it is Regensburg who induces Ottokar to offer homage to the emperor, his motive being that Ottokar may thereby gain more support for his cause and the emperor be lulled into a state of false security. Regensburg refers to the dearth in the camp and the defections from the king's cause. Ottokar exclaims:

Von Feinden umringt—von meinem Adel verlassen!—  
Auch reisst der Mangel schon im Lager ein!

(Act III, sc. i.)

In Grillparzer it is the Kanzler who urges the king, and from love of humanity and desire for peace. He, too, refers to the distress in the camp:

*Kanzler.*

O Gott!

Die Krankheit herrscht, der Mangel herrscht im Lager.

*Ottokar.* Die Krankheit: Furcht, und Mangel wohl an Muth.

(Act III, sc. i.)

No sooner has Kotzebue's hero sworn the oath of allegiance than he realises to the full his humiliation, and when he passes out of Rudolf's presence he gives vent to his feelings in the most violent threats. Grillparzer's Ottokar is in the same state of mind at the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. notes to pages 459 and 462 above.

fourth act, although this is, with finer poetic restraint, hinted rather than expressed. The act closes with the king tearing off his cloak and casting away his crown; he rushes out uttering the laconic 'Fort!' Here is the beginning of what in both plays is the next stage in the action, Ottokar's revolt, which occupies the greater part of the fourth and fifth acts in Kotzebue and Act IV in Grillparzer. The latter's king is urged to action by the heartless and unsympathetic character of his queen; Kotzebue's Kunigunde is also cold and contemptuous towards Ottokar; but she is at the same time the Amazon who would give battle herself and bewails her husband's lost courage.

The last act in both dramas (in Kotzebue the sixth) brings the catastrophe. The battle scene is introduced in both by a monologue by Rudolf:

Der Morgen graut, die letzten Sterne glimmen.

(Kotzebue, Act VI, sc. i.)

Die Sonne steigt aus Nebeln herrlich auf:

Es wird ein schöner Tag!

(Grillparzer, Act V, sc. iv.)

In the earlier drama Rudolf discovers Ottokar bleeding from a mortal wound and deserted by all; before his death he becomes reconciled to his daughter and repents. This gives Rudolf the opportunity of addressing a moral sermon to his sons on the vanity of human wishes and especially on the cause of Ottokar's downfall—his feverish thirst for glory. Grillparzer's hero also repents on the day of his death and begs Margaretha's forgiveness of the wrong he has done her. In both plays Rudolf meets the dead king's relations at his bier; in both, Ottokar's last care is for his people:

Den Meinen Schonung—

(Kotzebue, Act VI, sc. ix.)

So triff mich, aber schone meines Volks!

(Grillparzer, Act V, sc. v.)

The sententious pointing of the moral with which Rudolf closes Grillparzer's tragedy makes us inclined to think that Grillparzer had borrowed a little more from his predecessor than was consistent with his own finer art.

In the deeper matter of characterisation Grillparzer had nothing to learn from Kotzebue; his Ottokar is incomparably finer than the essentially 'bürgerliche' hero of the latter's play. One sees, however, in Kotzebue's portrait of Rudolf the clearly marked tradition and something of this has undoubtedly been accepted by Grillparzer. Rudolf's



sense of justice, his generosity—in the 'Bürgerscenen' of both dramas, for instance—his religious nature, are all similarly emphasised by both poets. Both dramatists make use of two incidents in Rudolf's career which shed light on his character: the escort he gave the Bishop of Mainz across the Alps (Kotzebue, Act I, sc. iv; Grillparzer, Act I, sc. ii, 370 ff.), and his assistance to a priest who was bringing the holy communion to a dying man (Kotzebue, Act III, sc. iv; Grillparzer, Act I, sc. ii, 365 ff.). It was thus only a turn of the action, a suggestion here and there for which Grillparzer was indebted to Kotzebue. The Austrian dramatist's work is Shakespearean in its structure, shows fine, psychological insight and contains passages of great poetic beauty. Kotzebue's treatment of the same theme is merely a 'comédie larmoyante' where the *dramatis personae* are royalties only in name, the whole being filled with the sentimentality that gave his 'lumbering loads' such a European reputation.

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## FIFTEENTH CENTURY CAROLS BY JOHN AUDELAY.

ALL that is known of John Audelay is derived from the solitary and mutilated manuscript of his poems which forms MS. Douce 302. The facts have been set out by J. O. Halliwell in the preface to the selected *Poems of John Audelay* edited by him for the Percy Society in 1844, and by Dr J. E. Wülfing of Bonn in a very full article on 'Der Dichter John Audelay und sein Werk' in *Anglia*, XVIII (1896), 175. Audelay frequently names himself at the close of a poem, with a view to obtaining the prayers of his hearers or readers, and generally describes himself as 'Ion þe blynde Awdlay.' The spelling of his name preferred by the scribe appears to be 'Awdlay,' but 'Audlay,' 'Audley' and 'Awdelay' are also found. It will avoid an invidious choice if we follow Halliwell and Dr Wülfing in writing 'Audelay,' a form which apparently the scribe does not use. At two places in the manuscript fuller details are preserved. At the close of what was once the twenty-seventh and has now, owing to the loss of the first part of the manuscript, become the eighteenth section, Audelay writes:

As I lay seke in my langure  
In an abbay here be west,  
þis boke I made with gret dolour,  
When I myst not slep ne haue no rest.

Thereafter comes the following colophon:

Finito libro : sit laus & gloria Christo | liber vocatur : concilium concieencie  
sic nominatur | Aut scala celi : & vita salutis eterni | Iste liber fuit compositus per  
Iohannem Awdelay | capellanum. qui fuit secus & surdus in sua | Visitacione. Ad  
honorem domini nostri Iesu Christi. | & ad exemplum aliorum in monasterio de  
haghmon. Anno domini millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup> | visecimo. vi<sup>to</sup> cuius anime propicietur  
deus Amen.

Thus we get the definite date of 1426 for the completion of the first division of the manuscript, containing a series of elaborate theological and moral pieces, evidently intended to form a single treatise. The final poem of this division opens with the words:

Here I conclud al my makyng.

But clearly Audelay lived to write more, for eleven more sections follow in the manuscript, under some of which several short poems

are grouped together. Thus the twenty-five carols here printed have the common number XXXV in the manuscript. At the close of the whole book comes another bit of autobiography:

No mon þis book he take away  
 Ny kutt owte noo leef—y say forwhy—  
 For hit ys sacrelege, sirus, y ȝow say,  
 Beþ acursed in þe dede truly.  
 ȝef ȝe wil haue any copi,  
 Askus leeuē & ȝe shul haue;  
 To pray for hym specialy  
 That hyt made ȝour soules to saue,  
     Ion þe blynde Awdelay;  
     The furst prest to þe lord Strange he was  
     Of þys chauntre her in þis place,  
     That made þis bok by goddus grace,  
     Deeff, siek, blynd as he lay.  
 Cuius anime propicietur deus.

Probably the second division of the poems does not differ widely in date from the first. One of the carols (xii) is on Henry VI, who is described as 'ful ȝong tender of age,' and was probably written quite early in the reign, which began in 1422. The manuscript itself may well be contemporary. It is not likely to be in Audelay's own hand, as he was blind. Moreover a marginal note blames 'þe defawte of þe wrytere' for an error. Dr Wülfing thinks that it was taken down from dictation and that the numerous interlineations and corrections, which still leave certain passages unintelligible, represent a revision left incomplete at the author's death. The whole of the poems may have been composed on Audelay's sick-bed in Haghmond Abbey, a house of Augustinian canons four miles north-east of Shrewsbury. But Halliwell and others can hardly be right in calling Audelay a 'canon,' and even a 'monk.' He may have sought the abbey as a hospital, but he was evidently himself a secular *capellanus* or chantry priest, probably serving a chantry in the immediate neighbourhood of Haghmond. The Lord Strange whom he mentions as patron of the chantry was probably Richard Lestrangle, Lord Strange of Knockin, who died c. 1449. Audelay calls himself not only the 'blynd' but also sometimes the 'synful' Audelay, and his laments over his past life seem to have more than mere convention behind them. Here is an *apologia* which, with slight changes of expression, he often repeats:

Meruel ȝe not of þis makyng,  
     Fore I me excuse hit is not I,  
 Þis was þe hole gost wercheng,  
     Þat sayd þese wordis so fayþfully;  
     Fore I quop neuer bot hye foly;  
 God haþ me chastyst fore my leuyng.

One is tempted to conjecture that in his youth John Audelay had been a Goliard, an errant clerk, one more acquainted with mundane than with spiritual song.

Indeed, the whole interest of Audelay lies for us in the appearance amongst his verse, at an ascertainable and early date, of 'caroles in cristemas' belonging to precisely that type of pious and festive song to which the name of 'Christmas carol' has traditionally adhered, and in the probable relation of such pious carols to the secular *caroles* or dance-songs from which they must, in some sense, have inherited their name. One can hardly doubt that this relation is an example of the process, extremely familiar in the history of lyric, by which religion has attempted to sanctify to its own uses habits of song, of far other than religious origin, upon which it was bound to look with disfavour, but which proved so deeply rooted in the holiday instincts, even of Christianized peoples, as to be quite incapable of direct eradication. It is not necessary to repeat the evidence for the transfer to Christmas and the persistence there of the world-old customs belonging to the heathen winter feast, or for the inclusion amongst those customs of songs to dancing measures, the wanton *cantica* or *ballationes* or *caraulae* of so many ecclesiastical prohibitions. M. Jeanroy and others have traced the filiation between the *caraulae* of the farming folk and the *caroles* of courtly hall and bower, which have left a few complete *chansons* and many burdens or *refrains* embedded in the strata of mediaeval French literature. The burden was of the essence of the *carole*, representing the share in its activity taken by the company of dancers as they leaped hand-in-hand in a riotous ring. Naturally, therefore, it was repetitive, for it had to be in the mouths of all; and between the repetitions it was the function of the leader who controlled the movements of the throng to advance the story or sentiment of the *chanson* with his *couplets*, and at the end of each to give the signal which should start once more the exultant outcry. The derivation of John Audelay's 'caroles in cristemas' from the *chansons de carole* is apparent in the fact that they have precisely the structure which is required by such an organization of the dance. This is a little obscured by the arrangement of the manuscript, but it seems clear that the greater length of the first stanza of each carol is due to the prefixing of a burden. This was not improbably sung through at the beginning of the performance, in order to fix it in the minds of the company; but it was certainly also meant to be repeated after each stanza. In twenty-one out of the twenty-five carols the burden consists of two lines on a single rhyme; in two cases



(Nos. xi, xxiii) of two lines which do not rhyme with each other; in one case (No. xvii) of four lines on two rhymes; and in one case (No. xv) of the Christmas jubilation 'Nowell.' The stanzas themselves vary in complexity, but the great majority of them belong to one or other of two normal types. The first of these, of which there are eleven examples (Nos. vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xii, xiv, xix, xx, xxi, xxv), is very simple, consisting of a triplet on a single rhyme, followed by a single line which rhymes with the burden. This arrangement suggests itself as the primitive one, not only because it is the commonest of all, but because of the easy and natural way in which the change of rhyme rings a bell, as it were, to warn the chorus that their turn is come<sup>1</sup>. And it is in fact to be found in some of the earliest French *chansons de carole* (K. Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles*, I, 22, 23, 24, 25; II, 82, 83, 91; cf. A. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France*, 398), where it perhaps represents an advance upon a still more primitive arrangement by which the stanza and the burden were each on a single and different rhyme. Here is the French example which comes nearest to Audelay's plan; it also serves to illustrate why he wanted to sanctify the *caroles*.

Soufres, maris, et si ne vos anuit,  
Demain m'ares et mes amis anuit.

Je vous deffenc k'un seul mot n'en parles :  
Soufres, maris, et si ne vous mouves,  
La nuis est courte, a par mains me rares  
Qant mes amis ara fait sen deduit.

Soufres, maris, et si ne vous anuit,  
Demain m'ares et mes amis anuit.

In most of the French parallels, however, the burden is on two rhymes, of which only one rhymes with the *couplet*.

Audelay's second normal type, of which there are eight examples (Nos. i, ii, iii, iv, v, xiii, xvi, xxii) is a little more elaborate. The stanza is a quatrain on two alternating rhymes, followed by a fifth line rhyming with the burden. This fifth line is a shortened one or *cauda*, and insignificant in content, clearly intended as a mere introduction to the burden. The two normal types account for nineteen out of Audelay's twenty-five carols. In the other six they are slightly modified in various directions. But the fundamental distinction between the leader's part

<sup>1</sup> While passing these pages for press, we cull an illustration of the need for a signal from a description of a tap-room ditty in an article on 'The Real Rustic at Home' by Mr T. A. Higginson in the *Westminster Gazette* for 17 September, 1910, 'To call his neighbour to his aid in the chorus, he gave him, at the end of each verse, a violent thump in the ribs, still looking straight in front of him, but finding the same spot every time.'

and the uniform burden assigned to the chorus is maintained throughout. The most elaborate essay of Audelay's art is to be found in No. xi, in which the chorus is brought in twice during each stanza, and the poem therefore assumes a dialogue form. A little reconstruction of the manuscript text is required to make the arrangement quite clear; it is apparently intended to be the same in each stanza, but is differently abbreviated.

- Leader* What tyþyngis bryngst vs, messangere,  
*and Chorus.* Of cristis borþ þis new eris day?  
*Leader.* A babe is borne of hye natewre,  
 A prynce of pese þat euer schal be;  
 Off heuen & erþe he haþ þe cewre;  
 His lordship is eternete.  
*Chorus.* Seche wonder tyþyngis 3e may here.  
*Chorus.* What tyþyngis bryngst vs, messangere?  
*Leader.* Þat god & mon is hon in fere,  
 Hour syn had mad bot fyndis pray.  
*Chorus.* What tyþyngis bryngst vs, messangere,  
 Of cristis borþ þis new eris day!

It must not be assumed, from the accident that John Audelay's is the only name attached to a collection of religious carols that he was necessarily an innovator as regards this particular way of writing. One at least of the anonymous collections, that in MS. Sloane 2593, is equally early, and contains one poem whose allusions suggest the middle of the fourteenth century. This manuscript repeats Audelay's No. vi, while his Nos. xvii and xviii appear in the sixteenth century MS. Balliol 354, and carols resembling his No. xi and probably derived either therefrom or from a common source, are set to music by John Dunstable, or some composer of his school, in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 3. 58 and in MS. Selden B. 26, both of the fifteenth century. It is perhaps worth noting that in the Sloane MS. the earliest type of metrical structure found in Audelay still predominates, and that in the later collections it is relatively far less common. It is no doubt unlikely *a priori* that the process of sanctifying a type of song already in existence in the twelfth century should have been deferred to the fifteenth. But if Audelay had predecessors, their carols are lost, and what is perhaps even more regrettable, the secular carols which were their models are lost too. It must not of course be assumed that these were, in any strict sense, folk-song, although the festival customs to which they belonged have their obvious origin in folk-ritual. At any rate English folk-song must have undergone a good deal of transformation before it put on the French dress of a *carole*, and

learnt to pin its success upon the device of rhyme, which formed an integral part of the invading alien metres.

The twenty-five carols are here printed for the first time in their entirety from MS. Douce 302, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript consists of ii + 36 leaves of parchment,  $10\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$  in., written in double columns and in a clear hand, but with a good many corrections. At least twelve leaves have been lost at the beginning of the manuscript<sup>2</sup>. The carols occupy ff. 27<sup>v</sup>—32, ff. 30 and 31 being interchanged by a binder's error. The titles are rubricated in the manuscript. The manuscript may be dated 1426–49; 'about the second quarter of the fifteenth century,' as Madan says. Notes in the manuscript itself state that it passed through the hands of 'William Vyott,' a minstrel of Coventry, and was given by 'on Wyatt a mynstral' to 'Jhon Barkre...a chanon of Lawnd,' during the fifteenth century. Afterwards it belonged to Dr Richard Farmer. In 1844, shortly after Douce's collection had been deposited in the Bodleian, J. O. Halliwell printed for the Percy Society<sup>3</sup> a selection from this manuscript: 'only a small portion of it; for the MS. is scarcely worthy of being published entire, and is, indeed, principally valuable as exhibiting a faithful specimen of the Salopian dialect at so early a period.' None of the carols, curiously enough, were deemed worthy of being published by Halliwell, with the exception of that on Henry VI, which he included in his introductory remarks.

The Audelay version of the carol beginning 'Welcum zole' (f. 28) was printed in 1852 by W. Sandys in his *Christmastide*; in his *Christmas Carols* (1833) Sandys had printed the variant from MS. Sloane 2593. In *Early English Lyrics* (1907) the present editors printed Audelay's 'There is a floure sprung of a tre' (f. 30<sup>v</sup>)<sup>4</sup> in preference to the later version in MS. Balliol 354. Dr Wülfing has long had a complete edition of the manuscript in hand for the Early English Text Society, who were good enough to assent through the late Dr Furnivall to our partial anticipation of their enterprise.

<sup>1</sup> The Bodleian serial number is 21876. See Madan's *Catalogue*, iv, 585—6, whence our description is for the most part taken.

<sup>2</sup> A list of the contents is given in the 1840 *Catalogue* of the Douce bequest, 50—52, and a full analysis by J. E. Wülfing in *Anglia*, xviii, 175.

<sup>3</sup> *The Poems of John Audelay. A Specimen of the Shropshire Dialect in the Fifteenth Century* (Percy Society, xlvii).

<sup>4</sup> Misnumbered f. 31<sup>v</sup> in the MS.

f. 27<sup>v</sup> col. 2 I pray 3ow syrus boothe moore *and* las  
syng þese caroles in cristemas.

. . . . .

[I] hic incipiunt decem precepta in modum cantalene.

A mon 3if þu wold sauȳd be  
ffore sake þi syn or hit do þe

& loue þi god ouer al þyng

þi neȳbore as þi selfe I say

5 let be 3our hoȳ 3our false sweryng

In clannes kepe 3our haleday

leue 3e me

þi fader þi moder þu worchip ay

sle no mon ffore wordle þyng

10 Bacbyte noman nyȳt ne day

ffore þis is godis est & his bidyng

leue 3e me

ffalse witnes loke þu non bere

Dissayte ne þeft loke þu do non

15 lechere þu most foreswere

here beȳ comawndmentis euerechon

leue 3e me

þaȳ þu be kyng & were þe croune

Mon haue mynd of þyn endyng

20 þe wele of forteune wil cust þe doune

when þu art cald to þi rekenyng

leue þoue me

þu schalt acownt ful sekyrly

ffore al þe goodis þat god þe send

25 howe þu hast geten hem in wat degre

how þu hast heldyn hou þu hast spend

leue 3e me



[II]

## de septem peccatis mortalibus

**I**n wele be ware ore þu be woo  
þenke wens þu come wheder to goo

ffore sake þi pride & þyn enuy  
þu schalt fynd hit fore þe best

5 Couetyse wraþ & lechory  
ʒif þu wilt set þi soule in rest  
I say þe so

Glotery slouþ al beþ acurst  
þai ben þe brondis in hel brenyng

10 Be ware be tyme or þu be lost  
þai bryng mon soule to euel endyng  
I sai þe so

aʒayns pride take buxumnes  
aʒayns wraþ take charite

15 aʒayns couetys take largenes  
aʒayns enuy humelete  
I sai þe so

aʒayns glotory take abstenens  
aʒayns lechore take chastite

20 aʒayns slouþ take besenes  
f. 28 col. 1 here is a gracious remede  
I say þe so

ffore his loue þat ʒoue dere boʒt  
lerne þis lesson I ʒoue pray

25 haue þis in mynd fore ʒete hit noʒt  
ffore to heuen þer is no noþer way  
I say þe so

[III]

## de septem opera misericordie

**W**ele is him & wele schal be  
þat doþ þe .vii. werkis of merce

ffede þe hungere þe þirste ʒif drenke  
cloþ þe nakid as y ʒoue say

5 vesid þe pore in prisun lyng  
Bere þe ded now I þe pray  
I counsel þe

- herber þe pore þat goþ be þe way  
 Teche þe vnwyse of þi conyng
- 10 Do þese dedis nyȝt & day  
 þi soule to heuen hit wil þe bryng  
 I counsel þe  
 & euer haue pete on þe pore  
 & part with him þat god þe send
- 15 þu hast no noþer tresoure  
 aȝayns þe day of Iugement  
 I counsel þe  
 þe pore schul be mad domus men  
 Vpon þe ryche at domysday
- 20 loke houe þai con onswere þen  
 ffore al here reuerens here ryal aray  
 I counsel þe  
 In hongyr in þurst in myschif wellay  
 after here almus ay waytyng
- 25 þay wold noȝt vs vesete nyȝt ne day  
 þus wil þai playn ham to heuen kyng  
 I counsel þe

[IV]

## de quinque sensus

- Thy .v. wittis loke þat þu wel spende  
 & þonke þat lord þat ham þe sende  
 þe furst hit is þi heryng  
 loke þu turne away þyne ere
- 5 ffro ydil wordis vntrew talkyng  
 þe loue of god loke þat þu lere  
 lest þu be chent  
 þe ij hit is þi seyng  
 þu hast fre choys & frewil
- 10 To behold al wonder þyng  
 þe good to chese to leue þe ille  
 lest þu be chent  
 þe .iij. hit is þi towchyng  
 worche no worke vnlawfully
- f.28col.2 15 Goueren þi fete in þi walkyng  
 To ward heuen & fle folý  
 lest þu be chent

- þe forþ hit is þi smellyng  
 To sauer þi sustinans sote of smelle  
 20 let resun þe rewle in þyne etyng  
 Be ware fore sorfet hit may þe spille  
 lest þu be chent
- þe .v. hit is þi tung taſtyng  
 þi mete þi drynke holsu<sup>m</sup> & clene  
 25 ȝif hit be luste to þi lykyng  
 þen mesuere hit is a mary mene

[v]

## de septem dona spiritus sancti

- God haþ ȝeuen of myȝtis most  
 þe .vij. ȝiftis of þe hole gost  
 Mynd resun vertu & grace  
 humelete chast & charete  
 5 þese .vij. ȝiftis god ȝeuen has  
 be þe vertu of þe hole gost to mon onle  
 Ellis were we lost
- Mynd make a mon him selue to know  
 & resun him reulis in his workis alle  
 10 & vertu makis his goodnes y know  
 & grace is grownde of hem alle  
 Ellis were we lost
- humelete pride he doþ downe falle  
 chast kepis þe clene in þi leuyng  
 15 þen charete is chef of hem alle  
 Mon soule to blis he doþe hem breng  
 Ellis were we lost
- haue fayþe hope & charete  
 þese be þe grownd of þi beleue  
 20 Ellis sauȝd þu myȝt not be  
 þus poule in his pistil he doþ preue  
 Ellis were we lost
- þi fayþe is þi beleue of hole cherche  
 Onle in hope god haþe hordent þe  
 25 Good werkis þat þu schuld werche  
 & be rewardid in heuen on hye  
 hellis were we lost

þen charete chef callid is he  
 he counselis vche mon þat is leuyng  
 30 To do as þu woldist me did be þe  
 & kepe godis est & his bidyng  
 Ellis were we lost

[VI]

## In die natalis domini

**W**welcum 3ole in glad aray  
 In worchip of þe holeday  
 f. 28<sup>v</sup> col. 1 welcum be þu heuen kyng  
 welcum bore in hon mornyng  
 5 welcum to þe now wil we syng  
 welcum 3ole for euer & ay  
 welcum be þu mare myld  
 welcum be þu & þi child  
 welcum fro þe fynd þu vs schilde  
 10 welcum 3ole fore euer & ay  
 welcum be 3e steuen & ione  
 welcum children euerechone  
 wellcum thomas marter alle on  
 welcum 3ole for euer & ay  
 15 welcum be þu good new 3ere  
 welcum þe .xii. days efere  
 welcum be 3e alle þat bene here  
 welcum 3ole for euer & ay  
 welcum be 3e lord & lady  
 20 welcum be 3e al þis cumpane  
 ffore 3olis loue now makis mere  
 welcum 3ole fore euer & ay

[VII]

## In die sancti stephani

**I**n reuerens of oure lord in heuen  
 worchip þis marter swete sent steuen  
 Saynt steuen þe first martere  
 he ched his blod in herþ here  
 5 ffore þe loue of his lord so dere  
 he sofird payn & passion



- he was stonyd *with* stons ful cruelle  
 & sofird his payn ful pasiently  
 lord of myn enmes þu haue merce  
 10 þat wot not what þai done
- he be held *in* to houen on he  
 & se ihesu stonde *in* his maieste  
 & sayd my soule lord take to þe  
 & forejif myn ennys euerechon
- 15 þen when þat word he had sayd  
 God þerof was wel apayd  
 his hede mekele to slep he layd  
 his sowle was takyn to heuen anon
- Swete saynt steuen fore vs þu pray  
 20 To þat lord þat best may  
 whan our soule schal wynd away  
 he grawntus al remyssion

[VIII] In die *sancti* lohannis apopstole & ewangeliste

- I pray 3oue broder euerechon  
 worchip þis postil swete saynt ion
- Synt Ion is *cristis* derlyng dere  
 he lenyd on his brest at his sopere  
 5 & þer he mad hym wonderful chere  
 To fore his postilis euerechon
- Saynt ion he said my dere derlyng  
 Take my moder *in* to þi kepyng  
 heo is my ioy my hert swetyng  
 10 loke þu leue not here anon
- f. 28<sup>v</sup> col. 2 Ion I pray þe make here good chere  
 with al þi hert & þi powere  
 loke 3e to part not *in* fere  
 In wat cuntre þat euer 3e goon
- 15 I comawnd 3oue my postilis alle  
 when my moder doþ on 3oue calle  
 anon on kynes þat 3e down falle  
 & do here worchip þer with anon

- I pray 3oue al on my blessyng  
 20 kepe 3e charete fore one þyng  
 þenke what I said in 3our waschyng  
 knelyng to fore 3oue on a stone
- ffare wel now I wynd 3oue fro  
 To ierusalem I most goo  
 25 To be betrayd of my fo  
 & sofir payn & passiown
- A my sun my heuen kyng  
 Oure lady þer with felle downe sonyng  
 þis was a dolful departyng  
 30 þai toke here vp with gret mon
- A my moder my dere derlyng  
 let be þi wo & þi wepyng  
 ffore I most do my fader bidyng  
 Ellis redempcion were þer non
- 35 ffare wel my fader fare wel my chylde  
 ffare wel moder & maid mylde  
 ffro þe fynd I wil þe childe  
 & crowne þe quene in heuen trone
- Swete saynt ion to þe we pray  
 40 Be seche þat lord þat best may  
 when our soulis schal wynd away  
 he grawnt vs al remysson

[IX]

In die *sanctorum* Innocencium

With al þe reuer[en]s þat we may  
 worchip we childermasday

- Crist crid in cradil moder baba  
 þe childer of iral cridyn wa wa  
 5 ffore here merþ hit was aga  
 when erod fersly cowþ hem fray
- al knaue childer with .ij. 3ere  
 Of age in bedlem fere or nere  
 þai chedyn here blod with swerd & spere  
 10 alas þer was a rewfyl aray

an hunderd & fourte þousand þer were  
 crist ham cristynd al in fere  
 In eorblod & were martere  
 al clene *virgyns* hit is no nay

- 15 þe *crisum* childer to crist con cry  
 we beþ slayne fore gret enuy  
 lord venge *our* blod fore þi *mercy*  
 & take *our* soulis to þe we pray

- An heuenle voys answerd aȝayn  
 20 Abyde awyle & sofer ȝour payn  
 hent þe nowmbir be eslayn  
 Of ȝour breder as I ȝou say

- f. 29 col. 1 ffore ȝe han sofird marterdom  
 for *cristis* sake al & sum  
 25 he wil ȝoue crowne in his kyngdam  
 & folou þe lomb in ioy for ay

[x] de sancto Thome archiepiscopo cantuarienci

- I pra ȝou sers al in fere  
 worchip seynt thomas þe hole marter  
 ffor on a tewsday thomas was borne  
 & on a tuysday he was prest schorne  
 5 & on a tuysday his lyue was lorne  
 & sofyrd martyrdom *with* myld chere  
 ffore hole cherche ryȝt al hit was  
 Ellis we had þen songyn alas  
 & þe child þat vnborne was  
 10 Schul haue boȝt his lyue ful dere  
 þer prestis were þral he mad hem fre  
 þat no clerke hongid schuld be  
 Bot eretyk or fore traytre  
 ȝif one soche case fel þer were  
 15 þe[n] no child *criston* schuld be  
 Ne clerke take ordere in no degre  
 [N]e mayde mared in no cuntre  
*With* out trebeut in þe kyng dangere

- þus hole cherche he mad fre  
 20 ffore fyfte poyntis he dyed truly  
 In heuen worchipt mot he be  
 & fader & moder him gete & bere

[XI]

## In die circu[m]cicionis domini

What tyþyngis bryngst vs messangere  
 Of cristis borþ þis new eris day

- A babe is borne of hye natewre  
 A prynce of pese þat euer schal be  
 5 Off heuen & erþe he haþ þe cewre  
 his lordchip is eternete  
 Seche wonder tyþyngis 3e may here  
 what tyþyngis bryngis þe messangere  
 þat god & mon is hon in fere  
 10 hour syn had mad bot fyndis pray  
 A semle selcouþ hit is to se  
 þe burd þat had þis berne i borne  
 þis child conseuyd in he degre  
 & maydyn is as was be forne  
 15 Seche wonder tydyngus 3e mow here  
 þat maydon & modur ys won y[n] fere  
 and lady ys of hye a ray

- f. 29 col. 2 A wonder þyng is now be fall  
 þat lord þat mad boþ se & sun  
 20 heuen & erþ & angelis al  
 In mon kynde ys now be cumme  
 What tydyngus bryngi[s] vt supra  
 A faunt þat is bot of on 3ere  
 euer as ben & schal be ay  
 25 What tyþyngis bryngis þu vt supra  
 þise louele lade con grete here chylde  
 hayle sun haile broder haile fader dere  
 haile doȝter haile suster haile moder myld  
 þis haylsing was on coynt manere  
 30 Seche wo[n]der tyþyngis vt supra  
 þis gretyng was of so[c]he chere  
 þat mans pyne hit turnyd to play



- þat lord þat alpyng mad of noȝt  
 is mon be cum fore mons loue  
 35 ffore *with* his blood he schul be boȝt  
 ffro bale to blys þat is aboue  
 Seche wonder tyþyngis vt supra  
 þat lord vs grawnt now *our* prayoure  
 To twel in heuen þat we may  
 40 Seche wonder tyþyngis vt supra

[XII]

de rege nostro henrico sexto

- A perles pryns to þe we pray  
 Saue *our* kyng boþ nyȝt & day  
 ffore he is ful ȝong tender of age  
 Semele to se o bold corage  
 5 louele & lofte of *his* lenage  
 Boþ perles prince & kyng veray  
 his gracious granseres & his grawndame  
 his fader & moderis of kyngis þay came  
 was neuer a worþear prynce of name  
 10 So exelent in al *our* day  
 his fader fore loue of mayd katern  
 In fraunce he wroȝt turment & tene  
 his loue hee sayd hit schuld not ben  
 & send him ballis him *with* to play  
 15 þen was he wyse in wars *with* alle  
 & tazt franchemen to plai at þe balle  
*with* tenes hold he ferd ham halle  
 To castelles & setis þi floyn away  
 To harflete a sege he layd anon  
 20 & cast a bal vn to þe towne  
 þe frenchemen swere be se & sun  
 hit was þe fynd þat mad þat fray  
 Anon þai toke ham to counsele  
 Oure gracious kyng þai wold asayle  
 25 At agyncowrt at þat patayle  
 þe floure of frawnce he fel þat day

- f. 29<sup>v</sup> col. 1 þe kyng of frawns þen was agast  
 Mesagers to him send in hast  
 ffore wele he west hit was bot wast  
 30 hem to witstond in hone way  
 & prayd hym to sese of his outrage  
 & take katern to mareage  
 Al frawnce to him schuld do homage  
 & croune him kyng afftyr his day
- 35 Of frawnce he mad him anon regent  
 & wedid kateren in his present  
 In to Englund anon he went  
 & cround our quene in ryal aray  
 Of quen katern our kyng was borne  
 40 To saue our ryzt þat was fore lorne  
 Oure faders in frawns had won befor[n]e  
 þai han hit hold mone a day  
 þus was his fader a conqueroure  
 & wan his moder with gret onoure  
 45 Now may þe kyng bere þe floure  
 Of kyngis & kyngdams in vche cuntre  
 On him schal fal þe prophece  
 þat haþ ben sayd of kyng herre  
 þe hole cros wyn or he dye  
 50 þat crist habud on goodfryday  
 Al wo & werres he schal acese  
 & set alle al reams in rest & pese  
 & turne to cristyndam al heþynes  
 Now grawnt him hit so be may
- 55 Pray we þat lord is lord of alle  
 To saue our kyng his reme ryal  
 & let neuer myschip vppon him falle  
 Ne false traytoure him to betray  
 I pray ȝoue seris of ȝour gentre  
 60 Syng þis carol reuerently  
 ffore hit is mad of kyng herre  
 Gret ned fore him we han to pray

jif he fare wele wele schul we be  
 Or ellis we may be ful sore  
 65 ffore him schal wepe mone an e  
 þus prophecis þe blynd awdlay

(To be concluded)

## NOTES

- f. 27'. I pray þow syrus] This couplet is rubricated, and written in the top margin of the second column. The first line of the column, here marked with dots, consists of the last line of a collect carried over from the first column.
- [i] 1. The opening couplet of each carol is given in the MS. as part of the first stanza.  
 þu] This word is written throughout with superscript 'u' and ought perhaps to be expanded as 'þou.'
- [ii] 26. no] inserted superscript.
- [iii] 14. & part with him] the MS. is rubbed and the reading uncertain here. For 'with' the MS. regularly has 'w' with 't' superscript. Perhaps 'wit,' cp. xii, 30.  
 15. Before 'tresoure' a word has apparently been deleted in the MS.  
 18. domus men] i.e. doom's-men, judges.
- [iv] 20. þyne etyng] the last letter of 'þyne' is inserted superscript.  
 26. MS. 'amary,' perhaps for 'a mery.' The refrain is omitted in the MS.
- [vi] Previously printed by W. Sandys, *Christmastide*, p. 218. Another version, from MS. Sloane 2593, was printed by Ritson in 1790, etc., and by T. Wright. See *Early English Lyrics*, cxxiv.
- [vii] 22. us] written in a superscript contraction; in the last line of the next poem it is written out fully.
- [viii] 17. kynes] i.e. knees.  
 37. childe] i.e. shield.  
 42. grawnt vs] see note on last poem, l. 22.
- [ix] 1. reuer[en]s] written reuers.  
 13. eorblod] so written quite clearly in one word: perhaps read 'heor blod,' i.e. their blood.  
 21. hent] i.e. until.  
 23. This line is written also at the foot of f. 28 as a catch-line.
- [x] 15-17. The first word in each line should perhaps be 'Ne'; but the initial in ll. 15 and 17 is clearly a 'thorn.' In l. 17 we should certainly read 'Ne.'
- [xi] Another version in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O. 3. 58, is printed therefrom by Fuller Maitland, *English Carols of the Fifteenth Century*, 1891. 8, 22, 25, 35. The arrangement of the refrain is not clear in Audelay's version. A suggestion for its reconstruction is made in our introductory remarks, but in the Trinity text, which is subjoined for comparison, the burden is only repeated once for each stanza.

Qwat tydyngis bryngyst thou massager ;  
Of cristys berthe this 3olys day.

A babe is born of hey nature.  
the prince of pees that euere xal be :  
Of heuene & erthe he hath þe cure.  
his lordschepe is eternyte.

Swich wunder tydyngis 3e may here.  
That man is mad now goddis pere.  
qwom synne had mad but feyndys pray.

A wundyr thing is now befallē.  
that kyng that formyd sterre & sunne  
heuene & erthe & aungelys alle.  
now in mankend is newe begunne.  
Swich wunder tydyngis 3e may here.  
a faunt is now of o 3ere.  
that hath ben euere & xal ben ay.

That semlyest selkouth to se.  
this berde that hath this babe I born  
and lord conceyuyd of hey degre  
a maydyn is as was beforē.  
Swich wunder tydyngis 3e may here.  
That maydyn & moder is on in fere.  
& sche a lady of greth aray.

That louelyest gan grete here child.  
heyl sone heyl brother heyl fader dere  
heyl dowter he seyth heyl suster heyl moder myld  
this heylyng was on qweynt manere.  
Swich wunder tydyngis 3e may here.  
That heylyng was of so good chere.  
that manys peyne is turnyd to play.

9. hon] i.e. one.

22. Inserted (wrongly) in the margin.

[xii] Printed by Halliwell in his introduction, Percy Society, vol. xiv, 1844.

9. worþear] the 'a' is superscript.

41. MS. 'before.'

50. habud] probably for 'abod,' i.e. endured.

53. heþynes] Halliwell wrongly gives 'hevinesse.'

65. an e] MS. 'ane,' i.e. an eye.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

F. SIDGWICK.

LONDON.



## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### JOHN DONNE, DIPLOMATIST AND SOLDIER.

I have taken the following entries, which throw light upon an obscure period in the life of John Donne, from the accounts of Sir John Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber, for the year 1597-8 (*Pipe Office Declared Accounts*, Roll 543, mm. 26-27<sup>v</sup>).

'To John Donne vpon a warr<sup>t</sup> signed by m<sup>i</sup> Secretarie dated at whitehall iiij<sup>to</sup> die februar<sup>o</sup> 1597 for bringing l<sup>r</sup>es for her ma<sup>t</sup>e service from the Towne of St Vallory in Pickerdie sent by S<sup>r</sup> Henrye Poore knight one of her ma<sup>t</sup>e colonell<sup>e</sup> for the forces of those p<sup>tes</sup> iiij<sup>li</sup>.'

'To John Donne vpon the counsellis warr<sup>t</sup> dated at whitehall xix<sup>mo</sup> die februar<sup>o</sup> 1597 for bringing l<sup>r</sup>es to her ma<sup>t</sup>e from the Governo<sup>r</sup> of Depe and for bringing from thence to the courte two prisoners Spainardes sent by the saide Governo<sup>r</sup> viij<sup>li</sup>.'

The issue of the second warrant is recorded in the Privy Council register (Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxviii, 321):

'To John Donne vpon a warr<sup>t</sup> signed by m<sup>i</sup> Secretarie dated at Angiers xix<sup>mo</sup> martij 1597 for carrieing l<sup>r</sup>es for her ma<sup>t</sup>e speciall service to the saide m<sup>r</sup> Secretarie her ma<sup>t</sup>e Ambassado<sup>r</sup> there xx<sup>li</sup>.'

'To Capten John Donne vpon a warr<sup>t</sup> signed by m<sup>i</sup> Secretarie dated xxv<sup>to</sup> maii 1598 being sent with l<sup>r</sup>es for her ma<sup>t</sup>e speciall service from the citie of Nantes in Brittain to the courte at Grenwich xij<sup>li</sup>.'

All the entries belong, of course, to the year 1598 of the modern reckoning. The troops in Picardy were the residue of those which had been sent during 1596 and 1597 to assist Henry IV against the Spanish. Some of these had been withdrawn when Henry, after recovering Amiens on 24 September 1597, entered into negotiations for peace with Spain. But others, under Sir Henry Poore, second in command of the expedition, were left at St Valery, waiting for transport. At the end of November it was decided to send them to Waterford, as a Spanish descent in Ireland was anticipated. But it was found that the transports could not get to St Valery, and on 25 January 1598, the Privy Council sent Poore orders to march

to Dieppe. Meanwhile 'Mr Secretarie,' Sir Robert Cecil, had started on an embassy to France in the hope of preventing the proposed peace. He left Dover on 17 January, and found Henry at Angiers on 17 March. At about this date, letters from England, probably those carried by John Donne, were received (*Sydney Papers*, ii, 96). On 28 March Cecil followed Henry to Nantes, and remained here until he started for England on 15 April. A despatch sent by him on 5 April, of which Donne was presumably the bearer, is printed in T. Birch, *An Historical View of the Relations between England, France, and Brussels* (1749), 141.

There is no reason to suppose that any other John Donne than the poet is referred to in these entries. It becomes clear that he must have been directly employed by Cecil, in the minor diplomatic capacity of a Queen's messenger, for a few months after his return from the Island Voyage on 27 November 1597, and before his entry into the service of Sir Thomas Egerton. The description of him as 'Captain' John Donne in the last entry suggests that he may for a short time have had charge of a company under Sir Henry Poore, but of this I have no direct evidence.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

GERRARD'S CROSS.

#### GILES FLETCHER AND 'THE FAERIE QUEENE.'

Giles Fletcher is usually described as the link between Spenser and Milton, but up to the present, while the parallels between *Christs Victorie and Triumph* and Milton's work, especially in the *Nativity Ode* and *Paradise Regained*, have been carefully indicated, the study of Giles Fletcher's relations with Spenser has not proceeded very far. It is of course clearly recognised on all hands that the two Fletchers belong to the Spenserian school, but no one appears to have seen that Giles, at any rate, was not merely a close imitator but a direct plagiarist of his master.

I cannot profess to have carried out any close comparison between the *Faerie Queene* and *Christs Victorie and Triumph*; but a few very striking parallels, noticed in a somewhat cursory reading of the latter poem, may be interesting to students of Jacobean verse, if indeed they have not already observed them for themselves. It is not perhaps strange that they nearly all occur in the second book, *Christs Victorie on Earth*, since the theme of that book is Temptation, a subject with

which Spenser is largely occupied in the first two books of the *Faerie Queene*.

(a) The first parallel is between Spenser's Archimago (*Faerie Queene*, I, i, 29, 30) and Fletcher's Satan (*Christs Victorie*, II, 15—19). Both are 'aged syres' and hermits. Both appear praying and telling their beads. Both 'lout low' when they meet their intended victim. A comparison of the two passages can leave no doubt upon the reader's mind that Fletcher was here copying his predecessor.

(b) More remarkable still is the identity (for it is nothing less) of Fletcher's 'Balefull Bowre' (II, 23—29) with Spenser's 'Cave of Despair' (I, ix, 33—37).

The first stanza of Fletcher's description at once suggests its source :

Ere long they came neere to a balefull bowre,  
Much like the mouth of that infernall cave,  
That gaping stood all Commers to deuoure,  
Darke, dolefull, dreary, like a greedy grave,  
That still for carrion carkasses doth crave.

The whole passage in Fletcher is a mere paraphrase of Spenser, except where it is a verbatim copy.

(c) Passing over Fletcher's figure of Presumption, who is obviously own sister to Lucifera, we come to his garden of Panglorie (II, 39—62), which is again merely a revised edition of the Bower of Bliss (*Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 42—87). The picture of the fountain (II, 46—49), though not identical with Spenser's exquisite creation, is but an inferior article from the same workshop. Finally, Spenser's wonderful stanza which follows hard upon the description of the fountain (*Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 71), seems to have run in Fletcher's mind, as it has run in the mind of countless readers since his day. Thus does he attempt to reproduce it in the final stanza of this second part.

The birds sweet notes, to sonnet out their joyes,  
Attemper'd to the layes Angelicall,  
And to the birds, the winds attune their noyse,  
And to the winds, the waters hoarcely call,  
And Echo back againe revoiced all,  
That the whole valley rung with victorie.  
But now our Lord to rest doth homewards fie :  
See how the Night comes stealing from the mountains high.

The poet's poet has had many disciples, but surely none so devoted as Giles Fletcher.

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

LONDON.

## JOHN LYLY'S RELATIONS BY MARRIAGE.

The name of Lyly's wife is not the least interesting of the many discoveries which Professor Feuillerat has made in his recently published monograph on the euphuist. Beatrice Browne was, as he points out, closely connected on her mother's side with the Rokebys and the Danbys, two important Yorkshire families. What Professor Feuillerat has not seen is that her father's family was probably from Lyly's point of view far more interesting. For Richard Browne of Mexborough, Lyly's father-in-law, was, as I shall now show, nearly related by marriage to the great Lord Burghley, while he was uncle to another famous man of the age, though one who could hardly have been a *persona grata* to the author of *Pappe with an Hatchet*; I mean Robert Browne the separatist.

The family of Browne, of which Robert was so distinguished or so notorious a member, held a considerable amount of property on the borders of Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire, and had since the days of Edward III played a very prominent part in the affairs of the town of Stamford. But for our purpose we need not go further back than Christopher Browne 'of Stamford and Toilethorpe,' who died in the year 1519. Among other children this man had a son Francis and a son Edmund. The second of these married Joan Cecil, a lady from the neighbouring village of Burghley, who was aunt to Lyly's patron the great minister of Elizabeth. It was from the other son, Francis, that Robert and Beatrice Browne were descended. There is no difficulty whatever in proving this in the case of Robert. The pedigree of the Brownes of Stamford, to be found on p. 93 of Blore's *Rutlandshire*, tells us that Francis married Margaret Mathew, that by her he had two sons, Anthony and William, and that Anthony in his turn had a family of five sons: Francis, who succeeded to his Toilethorpe estate, Philip a clergyman, Robert, Thomas, and John Browne of Bourne Park, alderman of Stamford 1607-8. Robert the third son is the famous Nonconformist. But when we turn and ask ourselves how Beatrice and her father Richard Browne of Mexborough in Yorkshire were related to Francis Browne of Stamford and his descendants our task is not so easy. Blore gives us no help whatever. The proof of the relationship rests upon a document printed, unfortunately only in part, among the *Pièces Justificatives* at the end of Prof. Feuillerat's book. This relates to the will of Richard Browne and frequently refers to a John Browne, whom it describes as Richard's 'nephewe.' If we can



identify this John Browne with any one in Blore's pedigree, it will be possible to see what the relationship between Lyly's father-in-law and the Brownes of Stamford actually was. The only John Browne whose age and standing at all fit the circumstances of the case is the fifth son of Anthony and younger brother of Robert, already referred to. But this man is described by Blore as 'of Bourne Park in the county of Lincoln,' while the John Browne of Prof. Feuillerat's document is 'of Burye in the county of Lincoln.' I have examined the original document and the word is clearly and unmistakeably 'Burye.' And yet, though there are several Burys in England, there is none, as far as I know, in the county of Lincoln. The lawyer's clerk or whoever it may have been that wrote the document has evidently made a mistake and has transcribed the word 'Burne' as 'Burye.' He had only to lengthen the second stroke of the 'n' to do so.

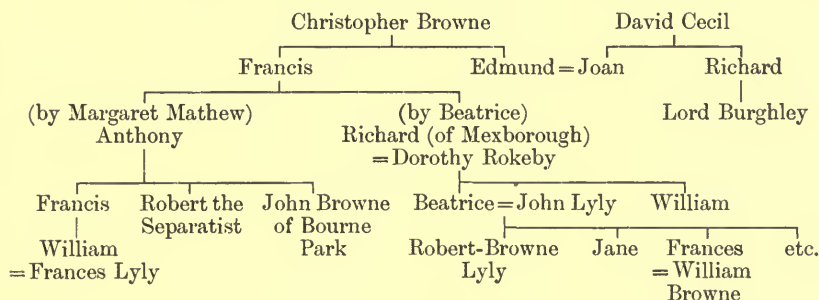
If then, as I believe, Richard Browne of Mexborough was uncle to John Browne of Bourne or Burne, a village quite close to Stamford, his daughter Beatrice was the first cousin of John Browne and consequently also of Robert the separatist. Furthermore, Richard Browne must have been the son of Francis, who married Margaret Mathew. Fortunately we possess a copy of the said Francis's will, printed by Mr Justin Simpson in some notes upon Blore's pedigree, which he published in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. 7, Vol. iv, p. 464). From this will it is clear that Francis married three times. His third wife, whom he left a widow, and against whom he seems to have harboured a grudge, seeing that he expressly excludes her from inheriting his estates, is described as 'Beatrys.' Moreover the will mentions that she had two sons. Those who have followed the argument up to this point will, I believe, have no hesitation in assuming that one of these two boys was Richard Browne, who later gave the name of Beatrice to his own daughter. Disinherited by his father's will he would naturally drift away from the ancestral home at Stamford, and it is probable that his possessions at Mexborough came to him through his wife Dorothy, granddaughter of Sir James Danby of Thorpe and widow of Ralph Rokeby of Skiers.

The significance of all this for the biographer of John Lyly is that the euphuist, when he married Beatrice Browne at St Clement Danes, London, on November 22, 1583, made a much better match than even Prof. Feuillerat has claimed. Possibly the alliance, as was not infrequently the case in those days, had been arranged by the respective families while the partners were still children. And such an arrange-

ment is rendered the more probable by the fact that Lyly's mother was Jane Burgh of Burgh Hall, Yorkshire, whose family had intermarried with the Rokebys<sup>1</sup>. If this was the case, the friendly interest that Lord Burghley took in the young Lyly's career is at once explained.

It remains to add that Lyly's own children seem to have settled down at Mexborough in Yorkshire. Prof. Feuillerat declares that Richard Browne disinherited the Lyllys before he died. A son was certainly born to him in his old age and was christened at Mexborough in 1601, but the actual disinheriting of his daughter Beatrice does not seem to have taken place until after Lyly's death, when she appears to have brought discredit upon the family name by marrying a citizen of London. In any case, her children by John Lyly were amply provided for. Robert-Browne Lyly, the eldest, settled at Mexborough and married into a good family, Frances married a Browne of Toilethorpe, and the present incumbent of Mexborough, Mr W. H. F. Bateman, to whom I owe several interesting entries from the Mexborough Registers, which lack of space forbids me to deal with here, informs me that there is still standing a house in the district known as Lilly Hall.

I may be permitted in conclusion to subjoin a brief genealogical table of the Brownes by way of summing up the argument.



JOHN DOVER WILSON.

LONDON.

SUCKLING AND DESPORTES.

In the review of Mr Tilley's *From Montaigne to Molière* (*Mod. Lang. Review*, April 1910, p. 251) it is said that Suckling 'a imité et même fréquemment traduit Desportes.' I am afraid the reviewer is mistaken, though of course I am open to correction. As far as I know, Suckling has not imitated or translated any of Desportes' verse.

<sup>1</sup> Feuillerat, *John Lyly*, pp. 15, 16.

This is what one would expect; all Ronsard's followers, without exception, including those of the 'seconde volée' (save perhaps Bertaut, for whom Malherbe had some regard), were forgotten when the Cavalier poet began to write. Even Desportes, who as the most fashionable and not the least gifted had the best chance of surviving, had been too severely damaged by Malherbe to be able to hold his ground for any length of time. The last edition of his works bears the date 1611, and only a few stray poems of his appear in the 'recueils collectifs' published from 1636 to 1661.

One piece in Suckling's poems, entitled 'Proffered Love Rejected' (ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, I, 59—60), consisting of five stanzas, each of four short lines, in all probability accounts for the mistake. This same piece, in a somewhat different form, figures among the poems of Charles Cotton, the translator of Montaigne (Chalmers, *English Poets*, VI, 722), under the rubric: 'Epigramme de Monsieur Desportes.' There is ground apparently for the belief that the poem in question does not belong to Suckling, but that it was included among his works at a later date because its subject and substance are in keeping with much of his erotic verse. In any case, even if it be assumed that Cotton followed Suckling, or that they both worked independently on the same pattern, that pattern was not Desportes. I have searched Desportes, both in Michiels' edition and in the collections of miscellaneous pieces published throughout the seventeenth century, but can find no lines of Desportes which could have served as a model for Suckling's or for Cotton's composition.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

#### ENGLISH 'CA(U)LK,' FRENCH 'CALFATER.'

Almost every European language, except English, has adopted some form of the verb represented by French *calfater* (see Jal). We find *calfret* in English (see *N.E.D.*), but only as a loan-word in restricted use. Hence it seems likely that *caulk* represents the original sense of *calfater* very closely. On the origin of the latter word much has been written (see Körting, 7594), but no theory seems to meet with general acceptance. The accepted derivation for *caulk* is M.E. 'cauken, to tread, copulate as a cock' (*Piers Plowman*), Picard 'cauquer, cauquier, to treade a hen, as a cock doth; also, to tent a wound' (Cotgrave), L. 'calcare, to tread, trample'; with which cf. also Rouchi 'cauquer, coquer, action du coq sur la poule' (Hécart), Mod.F. 'côcher, cocher, en

parlant des oiseaux, couvrir (la femelle)' (*Dict. Gén.*). We find also M.L. *calcare*, *calchare* in the sense of 'caulk,' and etymologists refer all the words ultimately to L. '*calx*, heel.' There are three objections to this origin for *caulk*. The change of meaning of the M.E. *cauken* seems most unnatural. *Caulkers* can never have 'trodden in' the oakum. These two objections may be unimportant, but the third appears to me more serious, viz. the object of *caulk* (and of *calfater*, etc.) is always the ship, never the oakum. The earliest example in Jal for M.L. *calcare* is 'Statuimus quod patroni navium debeant dare naves suas bene corzatas et *calcatas* de fori et paredas' (1255). For another example see Du Cange (*calchare*). The oldest example for *caulk* in the *N.E.D.* is 'The shippe for to *caulke* and pitche' (c. 1500). Now the words for all outward applications to ships are taken from the matter applied. In E. we have to *bray* (Hakluyt), *pitch*, *tar*, *grave* (i.e. grease), *pay*, etc., in F. '*braier*, *brayer*, to grave, picke, or pitche, a ship' (Cotgrave) and F. '*brai*, *pitch*,' '*suiver*, *suiffer*, to grave or pay' (Boyer) and F. '*suif*, tallow,' A.F. '*peier*, O.F. *poier* (*picare*), to pay, pitch,' O.Du. *braauwen*, now *breeuwen*, from F. *braier* (Franck), explained by Kilian as '*kallefaten*, *kalfateren*, commissuras navium ferruminare musci coma interjecta' (Pliny). Cf. also G. *teeren*, *pichen*, etc. 'Caulking' consists in driving oakum, etc. into the seams of ships and then pouring on hot pitch, but it seems possible that the word may have been applied earlier to more rudimentary methods of making the vessel watertight and that the word goes back to '*calx*, lime' and not '*calx*, heel.' I imagine that primitive man stopped the interstices in his canoe with clay. Falconer (*Marine Dict.*, 1772) s.v. *caulk* says, 'The Poles at this time use a sort of unctuous clay for the same purpose on their navigable rivers.' 'To *lute*' is thus used in E. (*N.E.D.*). Jal, s.v. *espalmer*, denies Furetière's statement that bitumen from the Dead Sea was used by the ancients for 'caulking.' I think he is probably wrong. The earliest 'caulker' in history was Noah who 'pitched' his ark. The Vulgate has *bitumine*. The mother of Moses daubed the ark of bulrushes 'with slime and with pitch,' '*bitumine* et pice' in the Vulgate. This 'slime,' also mentioned twice in Genesis, is described by Biblical commentators as 'mineral pitch.' Cf. G. '*Juden-leim*, bitumen; a sort of slime naturally clammy like pitch' (Ludwig, 1711). See also Kilian, *Joden-lijm*. I am rather vague as to the nature of bitumen, but I find that the term is used very loosely by early chemists. Kilian (1620) renders it by *kalck-lijm* and has also '*lijm*, viscus, viscum, gluten, glutinum, colla; *ger. leym*, *ang.*



*autem lyme*, viscus, calx, bitumen dicitur.' 'Lime, calx,' and 'lime, viscus' are the same word (see *N.E.D.* and cf. G. 'Leim, glue,' L. 'limus, slime,' see also Kluge, *Lehm*) and in M.E. 'to lime' is used for 'to caulk,' e.g. 'ðat arche was a feteles good, set and *limed* agen ðe flood' (c. 1250, *N.E.D.*) and 'lyme it with cleye and pitche within and without' (1483, Caxton). L. *calx* penetrated into the Germanic languages at a very early period (see Kluge, *Kalk*, and cf. O.E. *cealc*) with other builders' terms. In E. it has taken the special meaning 'chalk' and it is doubtful how far M.E. *calke*, *cauk* is applied to 'lime'; in the Prompt. Parv. it is glossed both *calx* and *creta*. If E. *caulk* is derived from it, it may be a nautical use of an unrecorded builders' term, or it may have come through O.F. or Du. Sewel (1727) has '*kalken*, to daub with lime, to plaister' and M.H.G. '*kelken*, *kelchen*, cementare' is recorded by Grimm. The L. word most nearly corresponding to *caulk* appears to be *ferruminare*, glossed *calk* in Gouldman (1669), and Adrianus Junius (1611) has '*calx*, ferrumen cementorum,' from Pliny. The M.L. *calcare* is, I suggest, for *calicare*, recorded in the sense of 'to plaister with lime' (see the German Thesaurus), of which Cooper (1573) gives the p.p. as *calcatus*. O.F. '*cauchier*, réparer' (Godefroy) may be this word, as the sense 'repair' would easily grow out of the original meaning.

The territorial exclusiveness of *caulk* and *calfater* points to very close identity of meaning. Even in the non-nautical sense Ben Jonson has 'the windores close shut and *calk'd*,' with which cf. F. '*calfeutrer*, une fenêtre, une porte, etc., garnir de bourrelets, de lisières, pour empêcher le froid d'entrer' (*Dict. Gén.*). If the derivation I propose for *caulk* is right, it suggests one more possible conjecture for *calfater*, viz. Sp. or Port. '*cal*, lime' and '*afeitar*, to adorn, accoutre.' I do not know whether the Sp. (or Port.) word has the earlier sense of 'prepare,' 'repair,' but O.F. *afaitier* occurs commonly with this meaning. For the formation cf. F. *maintenir*, *saupoudrer*, etc., Sp. *mantener*, Port. *manter*, Sp. and Port. *salpimentar*, etc.

ERNEST WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

### 'BOZZIMACU,' 'ESBAT.'

'Bozzimacu' is a local word which I do not find recorded in any dialect word-list or dictionary. Pronounced with the main stress on the last syllable and the secondary on the first, it represents the French *Baisez mon cul*. It is, or at least was until recently, commonly flung as a term

of abuse at Italian organ-grinders by gamins in the streets of Birmingham, and possibly—but I have no evidence—in other parts of Warwickshire or of the midlands. It may well be the direct descendant of the 'Basimecu' which Shakespeare (2nd Part of *Henry VI*, iv, vii, 31) puts into the mouth of Jack Cade:—'What canst thou answer to my majesty for giving up Normandy unto Monsieur Basimecu, the Dauphin of France?' In spite of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, there is every probability that it has been for centuries an abusive epithet for foreigners of Latin race.

'Esbat' is another provincialism, which I believe I am putting on record for the first time. It is known to me only as jocularly used by my father, a Warwickshire man born and bred. I recollect it being applied to the carrying on of idle conversation, for instance at the end of a meal, when people should be about their business again; 'sit esbating' was a frequent phrase. The word bears the stress on the first syllable, with *s* unvoiced. Its origin must be the Old French *esbatre* (now *ébattre*); Cotgrave's synonyms for *s'Esbatre* are to the point:—'To sport, play, dally, jeast, pass away the time in mirth, and recreation.' The fact that the introduction of the verb into English can hardly be of later date than the fifteenth century makes it the more remarkable that it has remained hitherto unrecorded. The derivative *esbatement* (modern French *ébattement*), 'amusement, diversion,' is given in the Oxford Dictionary from Caxton (two instances) and Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*.

C. TALBUT ONIONS.

OXFORD.

'SPEAK WITHIN DOOR,' *Othello*, iv, ii, 144.

The right explanation of this phrase is given by Johnson: 'Do not clamour so as to be heard beyond the house,' i.e., Lower your tone, Don't speak so loud; and the interpretation receives striking corroboration from the use in my own family of a similar synonymous phrase, 'Speak within the house.' Another idiom, like 'bozzimacu' (see above), traceable—at present—only in Shakespeare and modern Warwickshire usage. It is possible, of course, that Johnson, being a midlander, knew the expression in current use.

C. TALBUT ONIONS.

OXFORD.

## DISCUSSIONS.

### ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS.

IN an article entitled 'Italian Courtesy-Books of the Sixteenth Century,' in the April number of this *Review*, Mr James W. Holme, in estimating the literary value of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, lays emphasis on the absence of native forerunners in this branch of didactic literature. He says, for example: 'The supremacy of the *Cortegiano* is more striking when we realise the dearth of native models and the crude nature of those existing'; and again: 'The native forerunners of the sixteenth century Italian courtesy-books are few and of little mark.' By thus depreciating its antecedents, Mr Holme brings the Italian work into strong relief. But it appears to me that he has overlooked two important points: the proofs which we have of the existence at that time of poems of this nature no longer extant; and the existence of similar works in Provençal. It need hardly be added that a close intercourse existed between the Italian and Provençal authors of the Middle Ages.

The popularity of this form of didactic literature in other European countries should make us reluctant to lay much stress on the dearth of similar works in a country so closely in touch with the intellectual movements of the day as Italy was from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Similar books must have existed in Italian. We know, for instance, that Thomasin von Zirclaeria, an Italian by birth, the author of the German poem, *Der welsche Gast*, wrote a work in Italian on the same lines. He says:

und waer sîn zît ich wold doch  
von rîtern und von vrouwen noch  
sagen wie si solden leben,  
ob si nach êren wollen streben,  
als ich hân hie vor geseit  
an mîm buoch von der hüffcheit  
daz ich<sup>1</sup> *welhschen* hân gemacht.

(*Der welsche Gast*, ll. 1167 f.)

<sup>1</sup> Rückert in his edition of *Der welsche Gast* (*Bibl. der gesamt. d. Nat. Lit.*, Vol. 30, Introd.) translates *welsch* by 'nord-französisch,' but there can be no doubt that *welsch* here signifies Italian (cf. Schönbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 62).

Curiously enough, Thomasin's German poem presents many points of similarity with *Il Cortegiano*. Schönbach has pointed out (*Anfänge des deutschen Minnesanges*, Graz, 1898) that *Der welsche Gast* was not written for the 'bürger,' but is 'ein Stück adeliger Standespoesie.' He starts from the aristocratic standpoint that noble birth is necessary for moral perfection (e.g., ll. 3855, 3881, 4401 etc.). Mr Holme points out the same fact with regard to *Il Cortegiano*, and all that he says (p. 149) about the 'perfect courtier' would fit Thomasin's ideal just as well as Castiglione's. And yet in *Der welsche Gast*, Thomasin was obliged to go off on to many side-issues. Judging however, from the tenor of his words quoted above, we may fairly assume that the Italian poem (for which Schönbach suggests the possible title *Della cortesia*) was devoted more exclusively to the fashioning of his ideal than the German one. Castiglione may, or may not, have been acquainted with this Italian Courtesy Book of the thirteenth century—it is merely mentioned here as being a sample in the vulgar tongue of what, during the days of chivalry and knighthood, was a popular form of didactic literature.

Thomasin's *Hofzucht*, although written in German and for Germans, shews a decidedly greater affinity with the productions of the Provençal literature of his time than with the works of his German contemporaries. This is not surprising, as the author, being a native of northern Italy, was probably well versed in the Provençal literature.

From the latter part of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth a constant stream of Provençal poets flowed into the northern provinces of Italy. They were well received at the Italian courts and the ideals and literary forms of Provence were freely imported into Italy, where they became the fashion amongst the Italian writers. These latter not only copied the poetry of the Provençal poets, but they themselves frequently wrote in Provençal, and the consequence was that a kind of school of Provençal poetry was formed in the north of Italy (see Casini in Gröber's *Grundriss* [1901], II, 3, pp. 13 f.; also Gaspary, *Geschichte der ital. Literatur*, Vol. I, p. 51 f.).

A favourite form with the Provençal didactic poets was that of the *Ensenhamen*, i.e., a series of instructions for the behaviour of individuals in different ranks of society, but in the majority of cases destined for the youth of a noble house. They are generally (like *Il Cortegiano*) furnished with an epic introduction—some confine themselves to rules for one special occasion (e.g., table-manners), others are specially destined for ladies—others again (like that of Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan) aim at teaching a noble youth how to become a perfect courtier. And these Provençal courtesy-books were not always the work of Provençal poets, but of Italians (e.g., Sordel of Mantua), so familiar had the Italians become with the language and literature of the south of France. It was inevitable that these works in Provençal should be exploited and imitated by the later Italian poets. Francesco da Barberino, for instance (whom Mr Holme allows to have been a forerunner of Castiglione), quotes frequently from an otherwise unknown Provençal poet Raimon d'Anjou, the author of a work on similar lines.



Indeed, he cites several authors whose works are no longer extant (see A. Thomas, *Francesco da Barberino*, Livre 2, Ch. 2, 'Auteurs provençaux inconnus cités par Barberino'). Everything points to the fact that the *ensenhamen* was a common form of literature both in Southern France and Northern Italy during the Middle Ages and the period following, and that the *Cortegiano* was by no means 'almost the first of its kind,' although it may possibly have been 'the finest.'

Moreover, besides the forerunners in the vulgar tongue, there is another large class of similar poems which Mr Holme ignores when speaking of the sources of Baldassare's work. He speaks of his classic models, admits a debt to Cicero and Ovid, and, as regards the form of the poem, says 'its precedents are the dialogues of Plato, Cicero and Lucian.' But he entirely omits to mention the numerous Latin treatises dealing with the same subject in the twelfth and following centuries. From the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsus (also in dialogue form) to the *Morum puerilium* of Erasmus of Rotterdam there exists an unbroken series of similar works, including treatises bearing such well known names as John of Garlandia and Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus. The latter was himself a native of Central Italy, but his work was widely known and frequently translated—twice into French during the sixteenth century (see A. Franklin, *La civilité, l'étiquette, la mode... du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*).

Besides these there was the well-known *Facetus* which also underwent frequent translation into various languages. Its contents are thus indicated in a French translation of the fifteenth century:

Cist ung livre moult petitet  
Le quel nous appelons *facet*<sup>1</sup>  
Qui parle bien de courtoisie  
De noblesse et de seignourie  
Comment on doit se maintenir  
Pour saige et courtois devenir, etc.

(MS. fr. 25434 Bibl. Nat.)

In fact, instructions of the kind contained in *Il Cortegiano* might almost be said to have been 'in the air' in most European countries during the Middle Ages, and the period immediately following.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> 'Fasset, ou plus correctement *Facet*, renvoie a *facetus* qui, en bas latin, on le sait, ne signifie pas seulement "plaisant, facétieux," mais "courtois, bien élevé"; c'est fort souvent, au moyen âge, un synonyme de *curialis* et d'*urbanus*' (cf. *Romania*, xv, *Mélanges de littérature catalane*, p. 192).

## SYLLABLES IN VERSE AND SPEECH.

The contribution made to this argument by Mr Williams is full of interest, and I entirely agree with him that prosody must consent to be interpreted by phonetics, the appeal of verse being primarily to the ear. But, though 'no specialist in such matters,' I do not find that the view of syllable-structure, quoted by him from Sievers, is universally accepted; it does not, for example, commend itself to Jespersen (*Modern English Grammar*, 4. 12). Leaving phonetic scholars to fight out their own battles, I offer a few remarks on the question from the prosodist's point of view.

It is suggested that when two vowels are not 'separated by another sound of less sonority than either' they may coalesce into a diphthong. This, if true, would go but a short way to explain Milton's metre, in which words like *reason*, *pillar*, *azure*, *river*, *eaten* take the place of monosyllables, words like *manifest*, *capital*, *populous*, *resonant*, *insolence* take the place of dissyllables. A 'sound of less sonority' does, I presume, separate the vowels in these and very many similar words as ordinarily pronounced, so that the diphthongal explanation is manifestly inapplicable here.

Even when vowels are contiguous, need they form actual diphthongs? Is there no syllabic difference between rapid utterance of consecutive vowels and veritable blending—between 'rapture so oft' and 'rapture soft'? If there be a difference, why should we ignore it? To define a syllable is undoubtedly difficult, but do we lessen the difficulty by shutting our eyes to obvious distinctions? Can we call 'slayer' a monosyllable in quite the same sense as 'slay'? That either can be used in certain forms of verse certainly does not foreclose the issue.

We do, without doubt, modify the utterance of words like 'to atone,' and prosody takes note of the fact. It recognises that these words may occupy either the normal time of three syllables, as in trisyllabic metre, or the normal time of two, as often in blank verse. But it does not require us to say that in the latter case the actual sound is dissyllabic. If there be the slightest fraction of extra sound, the slightest amount of 'trisyllabic ripple,' prosody is ready to acknowledge it. This does not involve recognition of a trisyllabic *foot*, such as occurs in the former case. I am as far from supposing that Milton alters his fundamental time, as from denying that he uses contractions more freely than we do, or from imagining that we are entitled to read his verse in the light of twentieth century pronunciation. That he 'must have accepted many elisions which are foreign to modern speakers' I quite believe; I also believe that he accepted in theory many which he did not use in speech. But it is hard to believe that he, a classical scholar, could regard 'Adria' as a dissyllable; and I am still unable to conceive how the last two vowels of that word can be sounded as an actual diphthong.

When we separate sounds by an interval, they doubtless take longer to utter than when continuous. But *time* in prosody does not mean merely pace of utterance, or duration of sound. A passage of music can be taken faster or slower without altering its essential time, and there seems no reason to doubt that the same thing can happen in verse.

While, therefore, willing to accept the proposed eirenicon—even if it somewhat recalls the Rainbow landlord in *Silas Marner* with his ‘you’re both right and both wrong, as I allays says’—and fully persuaded that Mr Williams and I have the same facts in view, I cannot see that attaching a Pickwickian sense to ‘dissyllable’ helps us in analysis. Take but this one line from *Comus* (636):

And yet more med’cinal is it than that Moly.

The contraction of ‘medicinal’ to *med’cinal* is a patent fact; but to call *med’cinal* a dissyllable in actual sound is surely improper.

I need not dwell on ‘the idea(r) of,’ or on the difference between hiatus and elision. To mere hiatus Southern English seems to have no great repugnance, since it is quite common to hear both ‘the fear of’ and ‘the idea of’ pronounced without a final *r* in either clause. The phonetician can but record this as a fact; prosodists may be allowed to lament that this and other vagaries of modern utterance deprive English verse of much intended sound-value.

T. S. OMOND.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

## REVIEWS.

*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. III. Renascence and Reformation. Cambridge: University Press. 1909. 8vo. xii + 587 pp.

There is no need in this *Review* to explain the merits of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. The third volume is full of instruction; if the chapters are not all of the same kind, and if the various writers have different aims and policies, that is only what might be expected from the form and matter of the book. The impartiality which was Lord Acton's ideal for the other Cambridge history—'so that no one should guess without turning to the index whether Dr Fairbairn or Father Gasquet held the pen'—that indifference is not required in a history of literature, which must, to a great extent, be a judgment of values as well as a record. In many of these chapters it is fairly easy to guess who holds the pen. At the same time, it may be said, the virtue of impartiality, of considerate and sober history, is exemplified in those parts of the book where there might possibly have been temptations to excess and extravagance and party spirit—if the writers had been other than they are. Nothing could be better or fairer than the temper of Dr Lindsay's account of Colet and More, or of Dr Foakes-Jackson on the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Possibly Mr Wilson in his excellent description of the Marprelate controversy may seem to favour Martin too much; Martin is a little overpraised when he is made a fore-runner of Swift. In this connexion we would have liked a little more than is given regarding Bacon's paper on the *Controversies of the Church of England*. In the earlier chapter, by Professor Whitney, on Reformation literature in England, there might have been mention of Tindale's opinion about images and relics. This is an historical fact of the greatest importance, that Tindale with all his reforming zeal was not utterly an iconoclast. 'And to knele before the crosse unto the word of God which the crosse preacheth is not evill. Neither to knele downe before an image in a man's meditations to call the livyng of the saint to mynde for to desire God of lyke grace to folow the example, is not evill.' I take these sentences from a copy of Daye's edition of Tyndall, Frith and Barnes, 1573 (p. 271 a) where a later and severer hand than Tindale's has tried to blot them out—another fact of some interest in the history of Christendom, and which is not without



significance for the history of literature. Dr Hume Brown's chapter on the Reformation in Scotland is admirable; the passages on Knox, on Pitscottie, on the *Complaynt of Scotland*, will prove as much to any intelligent reader. In the bibliography, two omissions may be noted; nothing is said of the mutilation of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* in the Scottish Text Society's edition—an outrage which still cries for reparation; and Mr James Melville's *Diary* is only noted in the Bannatyne Club edition, the later edition for the Wodrow Society being ignored. Popular literature (testaments, like those of Villon, riddles, jest-books, etc.) is well treated by Mr Harold V. Routh; this is just the sort of thing where a composite work like the Cambridge History has room to supplement the more purely literary histories written by single authors. The bibliography, too, is large and attractive. The *Exempla* might have received more notice, and it is not right to date their beginning from the use of apologues in the sermons of the friars, though the friars were the most liberal employers of this kind of illustration. Mr A. G. Little's edition of the Durham *Exempla* for the Society of Franciscan Studies had probably not reached Mr Routh by the time his article was printed. But Mrs Banks's *Alphabet of Tales* (E. E. T. S.) should have been mentioned. The bibliography of Riddles should include Kemble's *Solomon and Saturn*; that of *Fabliaux* ought not to have left out M. Bédier's great work on the subject.

Naturally, the history of poetry takes up a large part of the volume. Here we may regret that so few of the writers have seen as clearly as Mr Courthope in his description of Spenser, or Mr Lee on the Elizabethan Sonnet, that it is Barmecidal to talk about poetry without quoting it—except in the very few cases where every reader may be trusted to have the poem in his head. The history of literature is not like political history, where the matter is generally distant, vast, unattainable and incomprehensible, and where the historian is obliged to talk about things which no one knows at first hand. The historian of poetry is a guide to things that exist and are accessible, and for him to spend much time reporting indirectly of things that might be put before the eyes of the spectators is surely bad economy. Mr Henderson's chapter on Sir David Lyndsay, Scott, Montgomerie and other Scottish poets is the worst in this respect—23 pages, with one sole quotation of two lines—a strange abstinence, more especially where the poetical merit, as in Scott and Montgomerie, is so largely dependent upon the patterns of stanza. What does Mr Henderson mean by saying that Lyndsay's *History of Squire Meldrum* is 'modelled after the *Squire's Tale* of Chaucer'? There were other more probable things to be said about this work; the likeness to the *Squire's Tale* is not obvious, but as a romance of contemporary life *Squire Meldrum* deserves consideration; there are not many poems like it. The want of quotations is felt again in Mr Harold H. Child's account of Tusser. Mr Child knows his subject, but he has not taken the only satisfactory way of explaining it. Tusser is all by himself in the history of poetry; a thorough proser, with a skill in forms of verse such as many of his contemporary poets might

have been pleased to learn from him—a skill much wanted in those days, particularly in the trisyllabic metres which Tusser understood. All this is fairly described by Mr Child—but at what expense! How comparatively dull is ‘7776 rhyming *aaab* with double-rimes at *a*,’ compared with the thing itself!

My tree or book thus framed  
 With title already namèd  
 I trust goes forth unblamèd  
 In your good Lordship's name;  
 As my good Lord I take you  
 And never will forsake you  
 So now I crave to make you  
 Defender of the same.

It is one of the tunes of Walther von der Vogelweide, reappearing thus suddenly among the points of good husbandry. The interest of this poetical and critical business is spoilt when the interpreters spend hours explaining the realities which they keep to themselves with their 7776 and their *aaab*, instead of simply quoting.

Some further cavilling notes are added here. They will do little to impair the respect which every reader must feel for this book. On p. 171 Melin de Saint-Gelais is taken as Wyatt's original for the well-known sonnet ‘Lyke unto these unmesurable mountaines’; nothing is said either here or in the bibliography of the Italian sonnet of Sannazaro, from which it is actually derived, or of the discussion about it<sup>1</sup>. On p. 177 one is prompted to ask whether ‘poulter's measure’ ought not to be prohibited, except in quotation from Gascoigne. Is it true that the verse, so-called in a joke by Gascoigne, was commonly so called? It is certainly not, as Mr Child here says it is, the ‘common time’ of the hymn-books.

Mr Lee writing on Sidney's sonnets ought to have noticed Sidney's alexandrine sonnets. By an oversight he has allowed the printer to make a whole prodigious line of Sidney's ‘With new-born sighs and denizen'd wit’—spelling it ‘denizenèd wit.’ And how could Mr Lee bear to speak calmly of Sir John Davies's ‘gulling sonnets’ and never quote the unsurpassable and quintessential verse:

Into the middle temple of my heart!

On p. 364 ‘The Spanish rogue-novel was the outcome of a widespread beggary brought about by the growth of militarism and the decline of industry, by the increase of gypsies and the indiscriminate charity of an all-powerful church.’ There is matter for thought in this historical sentence. One is asked to believe that without ‘the growth of militarism’ and concomitant variations there would not have been beggars enough in Spain to account for Lazarillo de Tormes. It is a question for a philosopher, as well as an historian. So also is the

<sup>1</sup> See Mr Tilley's *History of the French Renaissance*, p. 147, where reference is made to F. Torraca, *Gli imitatori stranieri di J. Sannazaro*, 1882, p. 31. See also *Modern Language Review*, III, p. 274.

statement on p. 485 (in the bibliography of 'Social Literature') 'Contempt for female character is primarily monastic.'

It would take a long time to make a proper estimate of all the good things in the volume. Fortunately it is not necessary in this review to try anything so impossible. The book does not need to be commended, and the readers of the *Modern Language Review* will have found out for themselves what they want in this third volume—Mr Courthope's deliberate and admiring study of Spenser, Mr Saintsbury's judgment of Elizabethan criticism, Mr Whibley's *Chroniclers and Antiquaries* (a delightful story), Mr Cunliffe's *Mirror for Magistrates*, with the bibliography of the same, and many more passages of sound history and criticism.

W. P. KER.

LONDON.

*Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth.* Edited by ALBERT FEUILLERAT. (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, Band XXI.) Louvain: A. Uystpruyst. 1908. 8vo. xviii + 513 pp.

It is a matter for congratulation that during the first decade of this century a number of the manuscript materials necessary for the study of Elizabethan stage-history have been made accessible to scholars in more complete and accurate form than heretofore. Mr W. W. Greg's edition of Henslowe's Diary and the related papers; Mr E. K. Chambers' *Notes of the History of the Revels Office under the Tudors* and his articles in the *Modern Language Review* on Court Performances before Queen Elizabeth and James I (Vol. II, pp. 1—13, and Vol. IV, pp. 153—166); Professor C. W. Wallace's monograph, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, and his more recent articles in *The Times* and in *Harper's Magazine* (whatever views be taken of some of his theories); Mrs C. C. Stopes' publications embodying the results of her researches among the Records; and the selected documents printed in the Malone Society's *Collections* from the City Remembrancia and the Lansdowne MSS. have, in different ways, widened and deepened the bases upon which the historian of the Tudor drama must henceforth build.

The present volume, edited by the Professor of English Literature at Rennes, and produced in the series of *Materialien* which we owe to the public spirit of Professor Bang of Louvain, proves authoritatively that the labour of scientific investigation into the annals of the English stage is not being prosecuted in Teutonic lands alone. Monumental as the work is in itself, it is, as Professor Feuillerat tells us in his preface, only part of a great design:

'This volume is but the first of a series which will be the fulfilment of a wish I have long cherished: to bring together, as in a sort of *Corpus*, all the documents relating to the history of the English Court drama, as well such as have been already printed as those which still remain un-

published in public or private archives. A second volume relating to the Revels in the time of Edward VI and Mary, chiefly from the Loseley MSS. is ready.... A third volume on the Court Festivities in Henry VIII's time is in preparation, and will be followed later on by a fourth on the Revels in the days of the Stuarts. If I succeed in bringing this ambitious undertaking to an end, I trust I shall have rendered some service to the historians of the English stage.'

In welcoming the splendid first-fruits of his labours all students will wish Professor Feuillerat as early a completion of his labours as their magnitude will allow. If it did not sound ungracious, one would be inclined to wish that he had begun at the beginning, and given us first his volumes on the periods of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. Our documents for the earlier half of the sixteenth century are so scanty, that the additions to them which Professor Feuillerat promises will be eagerly awaited. Should they help to determine more clearly the position of Heywood or of Udall in the development of Tudor drama, they will be of inestimable service. But, as the editor explains in his Preface, he had to 'collect these later documents before the others for literary researches' of his own, and it was therefore convenient to publish them first. 'Besides, they cover the most important period in the history of the Court drama, and most of them have been published by Cunningham or used by Collier. Both of these editors are discredited, though constantly, if reluctantly, quoted for want of more reliable sources. It was most urgent, therefore, that somebody should dispel the mist of suspicion which has for long paralyzed the efforts of many scholars, when it has not led them into dangerous pitfalls.'

It is very satisfactory to find that Professor Feuillerat bears emphatic testimony to the honesty and the accuracy of Cunningham. In his *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (1842), so far as they bear on the reign of Elizabeth, the later investigator has 'found no forgery; on the contrary, it is but just to say that his publication is most accurate.' So convinced is Professor Feuillerat of Cunningham's good faith that, when he finds in his volume at the beginning of an account-book (*Revels No. 3*), a couple of paragraphs which no longer exist in the MS., he prints these paragraphs in his Notes, and points out that 'the book is in a very bad state, and a folio or more may very well have disappeared since the publication of Cunningham's work.' Another investigator to whom Professor Feuillerat pays a warm tribute is George Chalmers, the author of *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* (1797). Even J. P. Collier gets his fully deserved praise as an 'indefatigable searcher,' though in the Notes to this volume, as will be shown more fully below, some of the reckless and misleading statements in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1835) are corrected.

Professor Feuillerat's work is divided into two Parts, and has in addition a chronological list of the plays and masques mentioned in the volume, together with detailed notes and indexes. The list of plays and masques, which immediately follows the Preface, is very useful. But it



is not made sufficiently clear why some of the masques named in the 'Inventory of the Stuff of the Revels taken in 1560' (described below) are included and others not. Has Professor Feuillerat only entered the names of the masques of which he is able to give the approximate date? Or has he evidence that those omitted, e.g., 'a Maske of Moores' (p. 20, l. 21) and a 'maske of Irishemen' (p. 21, l. 1) were acted in the reign of Mary and not of Elizabeth? Some explanation on this point would have been helpful. And it seems to me doubtful whether he is right in entering a 'Maske of Market Wives' as a separate show on Shrove Tuesday, 1558. I think that the market wives may have appeared in the same masque as the 'fysshwyves' with whom they are named (p. 28, ll. 15—16, and p. 45).

Part I deals with 'The Office and Officers.' The first document, an anonymous memorandum to Burleigh in 1573, on the history of the Revels Office and on its proposed reorganisation, has been printed by Mr Chambers in his *Tudor Revels*. In his notes upon it, however, Professor Feuillerat proves from new documentary evidence that Sir Thomas Benger, who had been Master since 18 Jan. 1559, must have died before June, 1573, probably in the latter part of 1572. As his will, though made on 25 June 1572, was not proved till 27 March 1577, it has hitherto been supposed that he lived till the latter date, and various hypotheses of a more or less unfavourable kind have been suggested to account for his supposed discontinuance of his duties during his lifetime. These are now shown to be baseless.

The second document, the 'platte' of orders to be observed for the better management of the Revels Office, from the pen of Blagrave the Clerk, has also been printed by Mr Chambers, but with the ampler space at his command Professor Feuillerat has been able to reproduce the curious columnar arrangement of the first sheet of the original document. It is not apparent why he has relegated to the appendix the short but interesting memorandum printed by Mr Chambers from Lansdowne MS. 83, f. 149, dealing *inter alia* with the ruinous state of the rooms in which garments and 'hed peces and suche lyke' were kept. Professor Feuillerat contends that the document does not 'belong to the plan of reform of 1573,' but is to be dated between 11 March and 5 August 1576. Even if his view be accepted—I do not think that the evidence (see p. 474) is quite conclusive—the memorandum is admittedly by a Yeoman of the Revels, and would fittingly have had a place after the first two documents. Another official report which Professor Feuillerat dates later than Collier and Mr Chambers, is the survey of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, which had become the seat of the Revels on or about 10 June 1560. In spite of the fact that the Lord Treasurer is styled Sir William Cecil, and not Lord Burghley, the editor's arguments for placing the Survey between April 1586 and March 1587 seem to be conclusive. In his notes on the warrants of appointment of the Revels Officers under Elizabeth—Masters, Clerk-Controllers, Clerks, and Yeomen—he adds further to our knowledge of the history of the office and clears up several doubtful points.

But the main contribution in Part I to Tudor stage annals is the remarkable inventory found by Professor Feuillerat among the Loseley archives, and now for the first time printed. It gives a survey of 'all the Stuff and Store' in the Revels Office on 26 March 1555, and of their later employment; an account of all the stuff received out of the Great Wardrobe for use in the Revels; and an inventory of the masquing garments taken in April or May 1560, shortly after Benger's appointment as Master. This document records the names and dates of performance of a number of hitherto unknown masques on the most varied themes, classical, romantic, and pastoral, and introducing very diverse national figures, Venetian senators, Turkish magistrates, Irish kerns, and 'Almaynes,' torchbearers to 'the Rutters.' We gain from it too a novel insight into the way in which costumes were altered and used again in successive entertainments till they were past service. Thus the 'viii longe streighte gownes' worn by Venetian senators were translated into 'viii Almayne Jerkins' and again into 'vi garmentes of A womans maske,' while the sleeves and undersleeves of these gowns were 'translated into hed peeces and undersleeves for Turkes and ageyne from thence in to Shoes.' The document gives us a heightened sense of the variety and splendour of the 'masques and triumphs' at the Court of Elizabeth and her predecessor, and testifies to the care exercised over the details of organisation.

Part II of the volume, which is devoted to the Revels Accounts, opens with another important document from the Loseley MSS. It is the latter half of Ledger XIII in the Loseley collection, and contains a list of expenses on the Revels from 11 December 1558 to 30 September 1559. It thus for the first time gives us details about the Court performances in the year after Elizabeth's accession, for, as Professor Feuillerat points out, Lansdowne MS. 5, No. 40, which Collier quoted as bearing on the 'setting forth of the revels' in this year, has no connection with the Revels and is purely a wardrobe account. From the newly printed document we learn that there was a 'Maske shewen the morrow after the Coronacion' (16 Jan. 1558<sup>9</sup>) and another on 'the sondaye seven nighte after the Coronacion' (22 Jan. 1558<sup>9</sup>). The names unfortunately are not recorded, and the only title preserved in this document, and not mentioned in the Loseley 'Inventory of Stuff' seems to be 'A Maske of Shypmenn and maydes of the cuntrye,' performed at Horsley in August or September 1559.

For the period between this date and February 1579, Professor Feuillerat has printed a number of short documents from the State Papers and from British Museum MSS. These are already familiar, and do not add materially to our knowledge, though the editor proves conclusively, I think, from S. P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. XLII, No. 47, and Vol. XXI, No. 23, printed on pp. 109 and 113 of his work that Collier (followed by Mr Chambers in *Tudor Revels*, p. 21) is mistaken in considering Lansdowne MSS. 5, No. 1, as a Revels Book. The large sum of £3209. 10s. 8d. there mentioned as having been spent between April and September 1561, appears to have been incurred in the Office of

the Works and not in connection with the Revels. But for positive additions to our knowledge of the Court drama during this period of nearly twelve years we must go to Mr Chambers' extracts from the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber published in this *Review* in October 1906. Professor Feuillerat often refers appreciatively to these in his notes, and it will be a reproach to English scholarship if the Declared Accounts are not printed in full at an early date, as Mr Chambers has suggested should be done.

For the period from February 157 $\frac{9}{10}$ , till the beginning of November 1588, Professor Feuillerat reprints the eleven Revels account-books already familiar in Cunningham's publication, with the addition of a few documents, mainly Warrants for the delivery of stuff, or Declared Accounts of the Master of the Revels. Another account-book, Lansdowne MSS. 59, No. 21, covers an additional year, till 31 October 1589, and thenceforward till the end of the reign the documents are very meagre.

But though in this large section of his work Professor Feuillerat is mainly treading in Cunningham's footsteps, his services are not limited to confirming the results of his predecessor's researches. By various typographical devices he reproduces the form of the original documents with a fidelity which Cunningham did not attempt. Moreover, he includes certain detailed lists which the earlier editor omitted. Thus in the Revels Account-book from Shrove Tuesday 157 $\frac{9}{10}$  to Shrove Tuesday 157 $\frac{1}{2}$ , on f. 2<sup>v</sup>, there is an entry 'Alowed ffor: Taylers & Attendants working & attending on the premisses together with the Travellers & attendantes that followed the Master of this office in the progresse on the Busynesse & affaires of the same office.' Cunningham merely prints the total expenses, xxxix<sup>li</sup> xix<sup>s</sup>. Professor Feuillerat reproduces the full list of those employed, with the number of days and nights that they served, and their individual wages. (Cunningham, p. 2, Feuillerat, p. 130.) Other similar lists omitted by Cunningham, without any indication to that effect, are now for the first time made accessible. And apart from the fuller texts which he thus puts before us, Professor Feuillerat adds in his notes some interesting illustrative matter from various MS. sources. These notes, it should be said, have frequently a vivacity and sparkle which help to remind us that, though written in excellent English, they are from a Frenchman's hand.

With regard to the plays and other entertainments mentioned in the volume (apart, of course, from the masques now first made known from the Loseley archives) Professor Feuillerat has not found it possible to add much to the results already achieved by the industry and ingenuity of Collier, Cunningham, Fleay, Hazlitt, and others. He suggests (p. 448) that *The Paynfull Pillgrimage*, acted during the Christmas or Shrovetide festivities, 156 $\frac{1}{2}$ , may have been *Everyman*, where this phrase is used in l. 565. The sources suggested for *The Irishe Knyght* and *The Rape of the Second Helene* (pp. 461 and 462) are also, I believe, novel. In his notes on *Effigia* and *Narcisses* (p. 451) Professor Feuillerat might have referred to Lady Lumley's prose translation of



Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and to *Narcissus*, the Twelfth-Night 'merriment' produced at St John's College, Oxford, in 1602.

One of the most valuable features of the present volume is the admirably full indexes of proper names and of subjects with which it concludes. These are all the more welcome because Cunningham merely has a list of the plays mentioned, and Mr Chambers in his *Tudor Revels* has no index at all. For the index of proper names we have to thank Mme. Feuillerat, who has been her husband's fellow-worker throughout his labours.

I have attempted in these remarks to trace the relation of Professor Feuillerat's volume to earlier works dealing with the same subject, and to indicate the directions in which he adds to our store of *pièces justificatives* for a reconstruction of Elizabethan stage-annals. To discuss the bearing of the volume upon the more general problems of the Tudor theatre and drama is outside the scope of this notice. Ample opportunity for the discussion of Professor Feuillerat's deductions upon some of these problems will be afforded by his critical study of John Lyly and his monograph, *Le Bureau des Menus-Plaisirs et la Mise en Scène à la Cour d'Elizabeth*, which have recently appeared, and which will doubtless be commented upon in the columns of this *Review*. I will therefore end with a renewed expression of thanks to Professor Feuillerat and Professor Bang, and with an earnest petition. Cannot they arrange for their next volume of documents to be somewhat less massive and ponderous? Students of our earlier drama have already to go through a somewhat severe preparatory discipline; if they are to wrestle with a succession of such gigantic tomes as this, they will have to add to their other qualifications a course of training at the Sandow Institute.

F. S. BOAS.

LONDON.

*The Chronicle History of King Leir: the Original of Shakespeare's 'King Lear.'* Edited by SIDNEY LEE. (The Shakespeare Classics.) London: Chatto and Windus. 1909. 16mo. xliii + 131 pp.

This edition of the old play of *King Leir*, the first of any critical pretensions, consists of a modernized text accompanied by an introduction, notes, and a glossary. In the first of these Mr Lee has collected a considerable amount of information concerning the play and the legend of which it treats, and has presented it with the agreeable ease which habitually marks his work. The student anxious for instruction will find here the fullest banquet available, neatly served up in a readily digestible form. It is to be regretted that the material is not invariably on a level with the cooking.

Mr Lee begins his introduction with the words: 'The British legend, of which King Lear is the hero, was first turned to purposes of drama in the spring of 1594.' What are the facts? On 6 April 1594, 'kinge



leare,' the first *recorded* play on the subject, was performed at the Rose theatre during the tenancy of the Queen's and Sussex' men. It is not marked by Henslowe as a new play. Since it does not appear when Sussex' men alone occupied the house during the previous winter, it presumably belonged to the Queen's men. Their conjunction with Sussex' does not suggest a very flourishing condition: they did not act at court between 1591 and 1594: we know they were travelling in the provinces in 1592. They are not, therefore, very likely to have been buying new plays. *Leir* may, of course, have been a new piece acquired for the court performance on 6 Jan. 1593/4, but it is at least equally possible that it was an old play dating from before the plague of 1592-3. At any rate the assertion that the piece was written in the spring of 1594 is unwarranted. In his second sentence Mr Lee states that the play in question was performed on 6 April 'and, again, two days later,' i.e., on 8 April. So Henslowe's accounts indicate: but this is one of the many instances in which his dates are almost certainly wrong. For between the two performances of *Leir* he inserts one of the *Jew of Malta*, dated 7 April. But this was a Sunday and the evidence is against Sunday performances at Henslowe's houses. It is therefore practically certain that in this list the figures 7 and 8 should be 8 and 9. Mr Lee's third sentence informs us, as regards the Queen's and Sussex' men, that these 'Two distinguished companies of the day were acting in combination.' The 'combination' very likely consisted merely in an arrangement to use the same house on different days, and the epithet is certainly inappropriate. Sussex' was a most obscure company, which gave one solitary performance at court on 2 Jan. 1591/2: the Queen's had ceased to be of any account; the performance of 6 Jan. 1593/4 was their last at court, and they finally disappear from London records soon after this date.

*King Leir* was entered in the Stationers' Register by Edward White on 14 May 1594 (six days after the Queen's men had left for the provinces), but no publication is known to have been made under this licence, though the right in the play passed to White's heirs, his son's widow transferring it to Edward Aldee on 29 June 1624. Not only, however, is no edition by White known, but it is admittedly improbable that one ever existed. Mr Lee thinks that this improbability arises from the fact that apparently no copy survives; but that fact would hardly establish any improbability at all. It follows from the far more significant fact that when an edition did appear it appeared in pursuance of a fresh entry. Had an earlier edition existed, John Wright, who published the quarto of 1605, would never have entered the play a second time on the register. If he had acquired the right in the copy (which he had not, seeing it passed to White's son) he would have registered a transfer from White; if he had obtained leave to print a single edition he would have published it under the original licence; if he was indulging in piracy he would not have advertized the company's officers of the fact. The entry of 1605 practically proves that that of 1594 had been inoperative.

The second entry, dated 8 (not 18) May 1605, is, as Mr Lee says, 'of somewhat unusual character.' It consists of an ordinary licence in favour of Simon Stafford, together with a transfer to John Wright conditionally upon Stafford having the printing of the book. Now, there is nothing strange, as Mr Lee seems to imply, in this conditional transfer by itself; what is remarkable is that it follows immediately upon the original entry. There is, however, an almost classic parallel to this, and it is rather strange that Mr Lee should not have called attention to it. The *Merry Wives of Windsor*, namely, was entered on 8 Jan. 1601/2 to John Busby and transferred the same day to Arthur Johnson. This is a notorious instance of piracy, and there is every reason to suppose that Mr Pollard is correct in suggesting that Johnson may have refused to have anything to do with the wares of Master Busby (already notorious for the pirated *Henry V*) unless he took the responsibility of entering them under his own name. The same sort of thing may have happened in the case of *Leir*. In any case the entry forces us to regard Stafford as the 'begetter' (in Mr Lee's sense) of the copy, so that the early connection between John Wright and Edward White, the true owner of the rights in the play, becomes irrelevant. At least it altogether fails to support Mr Lee's contention that 'Wright's issue of *King Leir* in 1605 was doubtless the fruit of some friendly negotiation with his old master.' At most a vague recollection of having seen the manuscript at White's house may have suggested caution in acquiring the copy offered by Stafford.

Mr Lee has avoided, and one can only suppose has purposely avoided, mentioning the most important manner in which the old *Leir* bears upon the history of Shakespeare's play. But surely the question is one for discussion at least. Shakespeare's play we know was acted at court on 26 Dec. 1606. Mr Lee further informs us that 'Shakespeare in all probability penned his own play within a few months of its representation at Whitehall.' (This is stated as positive fact in his *Life of Shakespeare*.) But round this question a controversy, into which it is impossible to enter here, has long been raging. It is true that one side has seen in the publication of *Leir* the occasion of Shakespeare's turning his attention to the theme; but greater plausibility seems to attach to the opposite suggestion that *Leir* was published in the hope of catching a little of the popularity of *Lear*. The belated publication of the old play apart from any particular occasion would seem to demand explanation; the statement that it had 'been diuers and sundry times lately acted,' if taken strictly to apply to *Leir*, is highly improbable; while, most significant of all, the 1605 entry describes the play as a 'Tragecall historie,' though, as is well known, Shakespeare was the first to give it a tragical ending. These considerations cannot be dismissed, and although I am perfectly aware that arguments can be advanced on the other side, I do not think that Mr Lee has performed the duty of an editor in passing the whole question over in silence.

Turning to the play itself, Mr Lee writes: 'The statement on the title page of the 1605 edition that the piece "hath been diuers and

sundry times lately acted" is amply confirmed by the abundance of stage directions scattered through the text.' Surely this is a most remarkable suggestion? To begin with, while Mr Lee has repeatedly asserted that abundance of stage directions indicates that a play was printed from a copy used in actual presentation, neither he nor anyone else has ever attempted to prove the point. In many cases, indeed, the opposite seems a fair inference. But be this as it may, what stage directions have to do with the frequency or the recentness of representation even Mr Lee's most devoted followers may be gravelled to explain.

Questions of personal judgment are involved in Mr Lee's suggestion of the possibility 'that *King Leir* was a first attempt in drama by the author of *Locrine*.' Of course it is easy to discover points of resemblance between the two plays, but I do not think they have ever before been held to indicate community of authorship. If we reject the charitable hypothesis (which has been advanced with some plausibility, though it does not appear to have come under Mr Lee's notice) that *Locrine* is intentionally burlesque, the play must be set down as one of the very worst in the language, a mere flood, so far as the ostensibly serious portions are concerned, of dreary bombast. To suppose that this came from the same hand as the respectable if uninspired *King Leir*, seems to me gratuitous; to suppose it to represent the work of the author's maturer days, after he had served his apprenticeship on *Leir*, seems to me perverse. If the two plays are to be ascribed to the same hand, then surely *Leir* must bear to *Locrine* much the same relationship as, on a very different plane, *Edward II* bears to *Tamburlaine*. Moreover, Mr Lee has critical opinion decidedly against him in making *Leir* older than *Locrine*, which it is usual to regard as a work of the 'eighties. In conclusion Mr Lee remarks that 'plausible grounds have...been advanced in favour of Greene's responsibility for *Locrine*,' which is true, though Peele is certainly the favourite candidate at the moment.

Who then was the author of *Leir*? I am quite of Mr Lee's opinion that speculation is rather futile, and that no very cogent arguments can be adduced in favour of any of the names suggested. Far less cogent, however, is Mr Lee's argument against them. 'It seems,' he says, 'hardly rational to seek the anonymous author of *King Leir* among writers in whose publications anonymity was habitually eschewed.' And again, 'Were Greene or Peele, Kyd or Lodge responsible for *King Leir*, the publisher is not likely to have proved false to his habitual practice, and to have withheld all key to the dramatist's name from the title-page.' To begin with, this argument obviously moves in a vicious circle, for till we know all the works of an author we cannot know whether anonymity was or was not his practice. Further its particular application is erroneous. In the case of Lodge, it is true, no anonymous play is by common consent allowed to be his: but then we know only one unassisted dramatic effort of his pen. Of Greene's acknowledged works (I am, of course, speaking of dramatic works, as alone relevant) two bear his name on the title-page, one his initials, and one is anonymous.



Of Peele's, two are fully acknowledged, one bears his initials, two are anonymous. Of Kyd's, one bears his name (and that is only a translation), while two, if not three, are anonymous. Be it further observed that the only plays by Greene or Peele for whose authorship there is good independent evidence, namely *Orlando Furioso* and the *Arraignment of Paris*, are alike anonymous; while the unsigned output of Kyd includes the only work by which he is, or ever has been, widely known. In saying that these writers habitually eschewed anonymity Mr Lee has entirely disregarded the facts.

But while properly sceptical of such claims to the authorship of *King Leir* as have been advanced by others, Mr Lee does not refrain from himself making a suggestion 'at any rate worth parenthetic notice.' It is far from being a happy one. Mr Lee thinks that the author of *Leir* may possibly have been William Rankins, a playwright who produced a drama on early British history, entitled *Mulmutius Dunwallow*, for the Admiral's men in the autumn of 1598. This is, indeed, nearly five years later than *Leir*, but Mr Lee is equal to the occasion. 'It should be added,' he observes, 'that Rankins and a friend in the same literary category as himself, Richard Hathway, were joint authors of that lost piece about John of Gaunt's Conquest of Spain, which was licensed to Edward White, for publication, at the same date in 1594 as *King Leir*, and that this historic drama was undergoing revision by the two authors, at Henslowe's expense, early in 1601.' Now the fact that Rankins and Hathway were revising an old play, would be no sort of evidence that they were the original authors of it. But Mr Lee has not even this amount of justification for the definite and elaborate statement I have just quoted. For the work upon which the playwrights were engaged in 1601 was not ostensibly revision at all, but original composition, and we happen to know that the undertaking was dropped. That the play bore some relation to the work entered by White in 1594 seems probable, but what evidence is there that this was anything more dramatic than a chapbook? Mr Lee will have to find better evidence than this for supposing that Rankins was at work in 1594 before his suggestion that he was the author of *Leir* will deserve even 'parenthetic notice.'

The most satisfactory as well as the longest portion of Mr Lee's introduction is that dealing with the history of the legend of the British king in English literature from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare. In this he had the advantage of consulting Dr Perrett's elaborate study in *Palaestra*, to which he acknowledges his debt.

W. W. GREG.



*Shakespeare's Plutarch.* Edited by C. F. TUCKER BROOKE. (The Shakespeare Library.) London: Chatto and Windus. 1909. 2 vols. 8vo. xxiv + 211, xix + 230 pp.

The earlier volume contains the main sources of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, viz., North's translations of Plutarch's Lives of Julius Caesar and of Marcus Brutus: the later volume the main sources of *Antony and Cleopatra* and of *Coriolanus*, the Lives of Marcus Antonius and Caius Martius Coriolanus. Each volume contains a satisfactory and pleasantly written Introduction; and Notes, partly of a textual kind, partly explanatory of Elizabethan forms and idioms. The latter are designed for the general reader, and might perhaps have been put in a short glossary by themselves.

Mr Tucker Brooke's text follows North's first edition, that of 1579. We share his regret that his publishers obliged him to modernise the spelling. This obligation has put him in some difficulty in regard to the treatment of proper names, and in dealing with them he does not seem to have followed any very consistent rule. Sometimes he substitutes classical forms for those used by North. Thus he alters Miletum, Callæcians, Oceanum, Arax, Hedui, Gomphes, Sallutius, Circees, Philippes, Hala, Buthrotus, Cyzicum, Piræa, Philippides, Cytheride, Phraortes, Falerna, Manchus, Getes, Hales, Leuctres, Corioles, Pyle, to Miletus, Calaicans (no very correct equivalent of *Καλλαϊκούς*), Oceanus, Arar, Aedui, Gomphi, Sallution, Circeii, Philippi, Ahala, Buthrotum, Cyzicus, Piræus, Philippics, Cytheris, Phraates, Falernus, Malchus (though Shakespeare borrows the form Manchus), Getae, Halae, Leuctra, Corioli (incorrectly asserting that this is Shakespeare's form of the word), Pylos. Although, on I, p. 32, he keeps 'Nervians' in the text and 'Nervii' in the margin, on p. 33 he alters 'Luke' of the text to agree with 'Luca' in the margin. He alters 'Faonius,' though this is the form used both by Amyot and Plutarch, to the Latin 'Favonius.' On I, p. 88, where 'Persians' stands wrongly for 'Parthians,' our editor keeps the word: on II, p. 57, he alters 'Persia' to 'Parthia.' He keeps the form Brutes without altering it to Bruti, Decius where Amyot and Plutarch have Decimus, Luke where Amyot has Lucanie (Lucania), Thyreus where Plutarch has *Θύρσος*, Vicanians where the classical form would be Lavicanians, Volsces (Amyot, Volsques). It seems to me that it would have been better to keep North's forms throughout and to give their classical equivalents in the notes. In changing 'scrat' to 'scratch' and 'besides himself' to 'beside himself,' Mr Brooke seems to go beyond what is meant by modernization of spelling. He might well feel uncertain what to do with North's 'at toe side,' 'atoside,' but I think the form he has adopted 'at o' side' is not at all satisfactory. The word 'o' at once suggests 'of,' not 'one.' On I, p. 170, Mr Brooke takes 'I trust' as 'the present of continued action.' It seems to me to be a syncopated form of 'I trusted.'

The two volumes are tastefully printed and light in the hand. Passages of North which were apparently used by Shakespeare are marked

by an asterisk at the end of each line, lines of which the actual wording was borrowed are marked by a dagger. The edition is therefore eminently useful as well as elegant, and is another obligation conferred upon us by an editor who has already done a great deal in a short time and from whom we have reason to expect a long series of scholarly works in the future.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

*A History of English Prosody.* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vol. III. London: Macmillan. 1910. 8vo. xiv + 562 pp.

With this third volume, covering the period from 1783 (the date of the publication of Blake's *Poetical Sketches*) to the present time, Professor Saintsbury completes his *History of English Prosody*. His appreciation of what is good in poetry is always cordial, but never is it more spontaneous or more enthusiastic than with regard to the poets whose work belongs to his own lifetime, Tennyson, Browning, Morris, Rossetti and Swinburne. This volume, like the preceding ones, is very readable, and all the more so because of the strong vein of egotism which runs through it. The author lets us know very definitely what he admires and what he dislikes, and though his admiration is sometimes determined by controversial interests, yet on the whole the reader can agree with him in his verdicts and can find pleasure in going through the gallery of English poets of the nineteenth century under his guidance. The personal and individual note is always there, and it shews itself, among other things, in the proportion of space assigned by the author to the subjects of which he has to treat. He gives to Coleridge, Shelley and Keats thirteen or fourteen pages each, to Tennyson thirty-two, to Browning twenty-four, and to William Morris eighteen. This is not because the latter are more important for the prosody of the nineteenth century than the former, but apparently because it pleases him better to talk at length about the poets who come within his living memory, and whose work supplies a greater variety of lyrical stanzas; for Professor Saintsbury throughout shews himself more keenly interested in stanza than in line. Similarly, if it pleases him to give the reasons for his admiration he does so; and if not, he leaves us to find out for ourselves. There are many happy and illuminating observations, as this of *The Lady of Shalott*, 'The river that springs in the first line floats us down to the end with its own quiet restlessness—a mirror in general smoothness, dinted with eddying swirls of rhythm' (p. 194), but almost everywhere there is a want of systematic analysis.

The author appreciates metrical and rhythmical effects, but he is no prosodist in the proper sense of the word. If he is to justify his claim to that title, he must not be satisfied to tell us that the blank verse of *Alastor* is good, and that it gives him great pleasure to read it and to scan it, or even that it has a certain breathlessness, plenty of

trissyllabic feet, and a tendency to strong pauses at or near the middle of the line (p. 105). We ought to have had an analysis of the verse, illustrated fully by examples, and shewing what are its really characteristic and original features,

Of wave ruining on wave, and blast on blast  
Descending.

And similarly with Shelley's lyrics. Nothing of any consequence is said about them, though we are told that the *Lines written among the Euganean Hills* shew an absolute mastery of the trochaic heptasyllable, sometimes but not often varied by the full iambic dimeter, and of *The Cloud* and *The Skylark* that 'the one is of the capital examples of triple, the other of the capital examples of common time in our prosody' (p. 115). The poet may be unconscious of the manner in which his rhythmical effects are produced, and this was no doubt the case with Shelley, but it is the business of the critic to shew clearly on what conditions they depend, and Professor Saintsbury hardly even attempts the task in this instance. With Keats, whose metrical development is more readily traced, he is more successful, though here too there are some very marked omissions. What, for example, is to be said of an account of the prosody of Keats which says nothing whatever about vowel-music?

On Tennyson and Browning, and afterwards on Morris and Swinburne, the author is more satisfactory, and the air has by this time been cleared to some extent by the disappearance of the trissyllabic foot question, which has played so large a part in previous discussions that the author has sometimes been unable to attend to anything else. The great prosodic revolution has now been accomplished: Substitution and Equivalence have now been admitted to their proper position, and it is even hinted that Tennyson in his blank verse called in the aid of these prosodic nymphs, side by side with the yet more dangerous Epanaphora and Epanorthosis, a trifle too often. There can be no doubt about the author's appreciation of the above-named poets, and he often succeeds in communicating his feeling to the reader. The prosodic importance of William Morris is strongly but not unduly emphasised, and in the case of Swinburne it is pleasant to see the enthusiasm with which he was greeted by his early readers reproduced now for a generation which has rather tired of his lyric tunes. Here, too, there are curious gaps, and it will hardly be believed that in the eighteen pages which deal with Swinburne's prosody not a single reference is made to that use and abuse of alliteration which is perhaps the most striking and characteristic feature of his verse. Among the minor poets Kingsley is duly appreciated in the earlier generation and Christina Rossetti in the later. On the other hand the author is rather hard on Mrs Browning, chiefly because of her bad rhymes, and on Matthew Arnold, probably on the score of his irregular rhymeless lyrics after the German fashion. In any case less than justice is done to his blank verse and to his elegiac quatrains, though the prosodic merits of *The Forsaken Merman*, *The Scholar-Gipsy* and *Westminster Abbey* are allowed.



Towards the end of his work the author seems to have become partly conscious that in the survey of English poets which he has chosen to call a history of English prosody most of the important matters with which prosody is concerned have been omitted; and he endeavours accordingly to supply what is missing in a series of appendices. After using the blessed word 'foot' as a solution of all difficulties throughout the three volumes, he comes at last to consider the question, 'What is a foot?' in an appendix to the third volume; but it can hardly be said that he supplies a satisfactory answer to this question. Again, the subject of 'Alliteration and Vowel-music, 1600—1900' is disposed of in an appendix of less than three pages, having been almost entirely neglected in the preceding three volumes. There is another appendix of about the same length on 'Rhyme, 1600—1900,' enunciating the great principle, duly emphasised by italics, that 'any letter or combination of letters, may, for rhyming purposes, take in one word the sound that it bears in another.' We are expected, apparently, to believe that Dryden rhymes 'travellers' to 'stars' because 'er' has the sound of 'ar' in 'clerk,' that when a poet rhymes 'love' with 'move,' one of these words takes 'for rhyming purposes' the sound of the other, that Pope rhymes 'tea' and 'obey' together, not because 'tea' was frequently pronounced 'tay,' but because 'ea' is so pronounced in such words as 'break,' and presumably also 'oblig'd' with 'besieg'd' because 'i' in 'machine' had what Professor Saintsbury would call the 'ee' sound. We have seldom heard anything more preposterous than the suggestion that poets have ever followed any such rule; and if Professor Saintsbury does not mean to suggest this, he has expressed himself very unfortunately.

Suspensions have been raised from the first by this history of English prosody that the author has no real grasp of the principles of English metre, and they are confirmed in this third volume by the discussions of metrical theories which it contains, as well as by the appendix, 'What is a Foot?' Professor Saintsbury assumes that there is a fundamental opposition in prosodic theory between 'foot' and 'accent' (or, as he prefers to express it, between 'foot-men' and 'accent-men'). 'A man who really goes by feet can never really go by accents' (p. 453); but the really fundamental opposition, as the author seems in one place to admit (p. 398), is between accent and quantity, and the question is whether the English foot or unit of metre is dependent on the one or on the other. From the first a confusion between accent and quantity has been visible in this work; and it is hardly necessary to say that where such confusion exists, there can be no sound metrical theory. At first the author boldly laid down the principle that accent and quantity are practically the same thing; but he has gradually modified this view under the influence of criticism. He nowhere defines accent, however, and he does not believe that quantity rests or ever rested solely on time, though he does not tell us on what else it depends; so that these terms practically mean nothing in his mouth. This want of proper distinction and definition is made positively ludicrous by the



fact that in the chapter which discusses the English hexameter even Professor Saintsbury is compelled to use the word 'accentual' definitely in opposition to 'quantitative,' and thereby to admit the fact that accent may be the basis of a foot just as well as quantity; and it is abundantly clear that in English verse generally not quantity but accent supplies the metrical basis. In the word 'presence' the first syllable is obviously short and the second long: nevertheless the fact that the accent is upon the first determines that in English verse of the ordinary kind this is a trochaic and not an iambic foot. (There is no objection to the use of these terms, if it be remembered that they are transferred.) The accent does not in the least lengthen the syllable in this instance, rather perhaps tends to shorten it; it is in fact, I think, somewhat shorter in this word than in the verb 'present,' where the accent is thrown on the second syllable, though it is true that in some cases the accent has a tendency to lengthen the syllable on which it falls. The whole chapter on the English hexameter in this book is one series of indications that the author either cannot or will not distinguish the length from the accentual value of a syllable.

I am told that 'banners,' 'föllow,' 'yëllow' are short, judging not by accent but by time in pronunciation and quantity of vowel.

Bānners, yëllow, glorious, golden,

*short!* Why to any one with a poetical ear and tongue 'banners' and 'yellow' must here be doubly or trebly 'longed' trochees, the first syllable being the equivalent of that of the undoubted long-short 'glōrī' and 'göldēn.'...I am very well aware that this notion of prolongation is called a delusion by some worthy persons. But time is time, and length of time is length of time. With Pickwickian-fictitious uses of these words, *je n'ai que faire* (p. 428 f.).

He adds very confidently that a man who pronounces 'better' and 'atom' in the same time pronounces wrong.

Can there be more complete evidence of confusion of mind, than is afforded by the above passage? The first syllables of 'Banner' and 'yellow' must be long, the author argues, because the words are equivalent in the metre to 'glorious' (that is what he must mean, not 'glōrī') and 'golden.' Equivalent in what sense? Those against whom he is arguing say that these are all accent-trochees and therefore equivalent in an accent verse, though in quantity, that is in length of time taken by the pronunciation, some have the first syllable long and others short. Professor Saintsbury assumes the very position that he has to prove, namely that the metre requires equivalence in quantity, and thence argues that because the first syllable of 'golden' is long, therefore the first syllable of 'yellow' must be long. But 'time is time and length of time is length of time,' as he himself says, and it might easily be shewn by experiment that 'yellow,' 'atom,' 'batter' are pronounced practically in the same time, and 'glorious,' 'golden' in a different and longer time: there is no question here of 'Pickwickian-fictitious' uses of words. This is a specimen of the kind of reasoning used by one who proceeds a few pages later to complain of the 'extraordinary

confusion of mind with which nearly all English writers have approached, and even still continue to approach, the subjects of Accent and Quantity in our language' (p. 434).

Professor Saintsbury will probably say that accent is not a safe basis for English or any other verse; and he will recall the familiar fact that the five-measure line, for example, has not always five natural accents, that such lines as

Left him at large to his own dark designs,

or

To slumber here as in the vales of Heav'n,

are metrically unexceptionable, though they have only four natural accents<sup>1</sup>. But, as Professor Saintsbury very properly observes, the ear is the true judge, and what the ear admits will pass; so that, the norm of the verse being established for the ear, there is a certain latitude allowed in the acceptance of a combination of syllables which do not contain a true natural accent, as equivalent to an accent foot. These then are fictitious or conventional accents, and Professor Saintsbury will no doubt refuse to have anything to do with them; but nevertheless, if 'to his' and 'as in' are to be admitted as feet in any sense, it must be by some kind of convention, for however we may define a foot, they are not really equivalent to the other feet in the line, and can be made equivalent only by a metrical fiction of some kind, the ear, accustomed to the normal rhythm, consenting to accept them<sup>2</sup>.

It is not suggested, of course, that Professor Saintsbury scans by quantity, though he seems at one time to accept the expression 'isochronous interval' as his definition of a foot. The complaint that we have to make is that he has no principle of scansion at all, and that the confusion between accent and quantity, two things which it is essential to distinguish, hopelessly vitiates all the theoretical part of his work. The position becomes most absurd, as I have said, in the discussion on the English hexameter, where Professor Saintsbury, who has been all along denouncing those who scan English verse by accent, comes near to enunciating the theory that Classical hexameters are not to be scanned by quantity, and actually declares that the English accentual hexameter is '*in form* a fairly adequate equivalent of the verse of Virgil' (p. 399). To this it is a sufficient answer to point out that in English a purely accentual hexameter, that is one in which quantity is

<sup>1</sup> It is surprising that the author should say (p. 525) that he has never met with a pyrrhic in an English verse. It will be noted that in Milton's lines a pyrrhic is often compensated, as in the first-quoted verse, by additional weight in a neighbouring foot, 'own dark' in this case, and the use of the pyrrhic is contributory to emphasis of other parts of the line.

<sup>2</sup> Here I may be allowed to remark, that when Coleridge in his note on the metre of *Christabel* said that though the syllables might vary from seven to twelve, yet in each line the accents would be found to be only four, he probably meant that the number of accents in the line would never exceed four, not that he intended to deprive himself of the licences which convention allowed in the case of the line of ordinary syllable length. It may be noted that where the normal number of syllables is exceeded, the accents are usually well marked, and the metre is thus saved from disorganisation.

not taken into account at all, must necessarily be mainly dactylic,—the supply of accentual spondees is quite insufficient, and trochees cannot be accepted to any great extent as spondees except at the end of the line,—whereas the rhythm of the Virgilian hexameter essentially depends on an approximately even balance of dactyl and spondee. Naturally he is quite unable to understand the quantitative hexameter in English, and being accustomed, as he says, to pronounce in Latin verse *cāno* with the accent on the last syllable, so as to coincide with the quantity (p. 417), he insists of course that the same thing shall be done in English quantitative verse, and then exclaims with horror at the result. Of course, if English quantitative hexameters are to have a Virgilian effect, care must be taken that accent and quantity do not too frequently coincide, and above all the accent must never be forced so as to make them coincide. The objection to such verses is not that they are not beautiful when well written, as occasionally by Spedding, but that they are hardly possible to write. No one, so far as I know, has yet succeeded in writing ten successive lines without a false quantity; and this is a sufficient objection. It was worth while, however, to attempt them, if only to shew how little the popular accentual hexameter does really produce the effect of the classical metre, and to bring out the important relation between accent and quantity, upon which much of the harmony both of classical and of English verse depends<sup>1</sup>. W. J. Stone quotes 'The breezy call of incense-breathing Morn,' where the unaccented second syllable of 'incense' is the longest syllable in the line, and 'pleases the ear just because it is long and with its length combats the accent.' Perhaps 'combats' is not a very happy word to use as descriptive of an element of harmony, but the principle is sound, and may be illustrated from any page of Milton. The same writer justly defines the difference between ancient and modern metres thus: 'in the one the verse scans by quantity alone, the accent being used only as an ornament, to avoid monotony, and in the other the functions are exactly reversed, the accent deciding scansion, the quantity giving variety.' We may add that the later Latin accent metres, in which the modern principle is fully adopted, are very instructive as to this difference; as

Apparebit repentina magna dies domini,  
 Fur obscura velut nocte improvisos occupans,  
 Brevis totus tum parebit prisci luxus saeculi,  
 Totum simul cum clarebit praeterisse saeculum.

The want of sound and consistent principles vitiates much of Professor Saintsbury's discussion in this volume of the theories of other prosodists: but it is pleasant to observe that he does justice here to the work of his arch-enemy Guest (whom, however, he still calls Master of Sidney).

<sup>1</sup> Professor Saintsbury says, or seems to say (p. 426), that in Homer accent and length of syllable coincide, 'unless the Alexandrians were wrong.' He bids us glance at the first open page for a proof of this. I do so, and light upon

ὡς Δαναοὶ εἰως μὲν ὀμιλᾶδὸν αἰὲν ἔποντο  
 νύσσοντες ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἐγχέσιν ἀμφιγύουσι.

What can he mean?

For though Guest's principles were hopelessly wrong, his method (which, if man were not the most inconsistent of animals, ought to have taken his principles and wrung their necks) is almost perfectly right. It is, except when the principles interfere, purely historical; and the history is so pervading that it automatically points out the errors of the principles themselves. Here you have arranged, in chronological order for the most part, examples of almost all English lines and of a very large number of line-combinations. You could not have found them out for yourself (*crede experto!*) without years of labour and trouble. Here all, or most of it, is done to your hand; and you have only got to supplement it with a similar historical conspectus of later movements and tendencies, to have all your necessary materials before you. (p. 290.)

Professor Saintsbury in one passage wittily compares himself to Hippocleides in Herodotus, who stood on his head upon the table and performed unseemly antics with his legs; and it is to be feared that, like Hippocleides, he has 'danced away his marriage'; in other words that having chosen to amuse himself with the subject of prosody rather than to deal with it thoroughly and systematically, he has failed to produce a book which can take its place as a standard authority. But for this he perhaps cares as little as his prototype. It may be remarked that several times in the course of this volume he hints at a history of English prose rhythms as his next work, and we shall look forward to it with interest. He will here be on comparatively fresh ground, and will at least have less temptation to spend his time in tilting at supposed opponents, while the subject will lend itself better to the unsystematic mode of treatment which in the history of verse rhythms we find unsatisfactory.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Confision del Amante por Joan Goer.* Spanische Übersetzung von John Gowers *Confessio Amantis*. Herausgegeben von A. BIRCH-HIRSCHFELD. Leipzig: Seele & Co. 1909. 8vo. xxxiv + 553 pp.

The existence of an early fifteenth century translation into Spanish prose of the *Confessio Amantis* is rather a remarkable phenomenon. No other instance occurs, probably, of the contemporary translation of a Middle English book into any other European language. I called attention to the manuscript of this version some ten years ago in my edition of Gower, having been informed of it first by Mr Fitzmaurice Kelly, and having obtained some details with regard to it from the Librarian of the Escorial. It has now been printed from a transcript made by the late Hermann Knust, with a short Introduction by the editor, followed by a summary of the contents of the book itself. The manuscript is said to belong to the early years of the fifteenth century, and it purports to be a Castilian version made by one Juan de Cuenca from a Portuguese translation by an Englishman, Robert Paym (probably Payne), an ecclesiastic resident at Lisbon. 'Este libro es llamado confisyon del amante, el qual compuso Juan Goer natural del rreyno de Ynglaterra. E fue tornado en lenguaje portogues por Rroberto Paym



natural del dicho Reyno e canonigo de la çibdad de Lixboa. E despues fue sacado en lenguaje castellano por Juan de Cuenca vesino de la çibdad de Huete.'

No doubt the large collection of stories from various sources, with a more or less moral bearing, which is to be found in the *Confessio Amantis* proved useful to preachers, and probably the book owed to this fact the unique honour of translation. The translation is made, as I formerly pointed out, from the earliest form of the text, with the dedication to Richard II and the conclusion which belongs to this recension, and, of course, with omission of the passages in the fifth and seventh books which are characteristic of the intermediate text.

The translation is tolerably faithful. There is an omission of about 420 lines in the fourth book (ll. 1813—2233), but this almost certainly proceeds from the loss of two leaves in the manuscript used, an explanation which is indicated both by the amount of the loss and by the absence of proper connexion. Another supposed omission which is mentioned by the editor, viz., VII, 3207\*—3360\* is concerned with one of the passages which did not occur in the text that the translator followed. There is also some expansion of the tale of Constantine (after II, 3329), where a short reflection is enlarged into a speech of some length.

As an example of the style of translation we may take a passage from the tale of Rosiphilee (*Conf. Am.*, IV, 1329—1385):

La fija del rrey que esto veyá, tirose a fuera con pura verguença e ascondiose debaxo de los rramos por tal de las dexar pasar, commo aquella que penso en su voluntad que non era digna de preguntar a dueñas de tan alto estado, no embargante que ella saber quisiera quien eran mas que a ser señora de todo el mundo. E algo un poco la cabeça fuera del bosque mirando en derredor e vido venir una muger detras de las otras ençima de un cavallo morsillo magro, los quadriles de fuera e coxqueava commo si toviese enclavadura de que la muger mucho se quexava, porque esto cavallo estava en punto de se perder, e tenia en la frente una estrella blanca commo quier que el freno que traja de piedras preçiosas era muy rrico, e la su silla mala e su brial muy desharrapado; e traya alderredor de si de cabestros mas de quatro çientos. E tanto que lleço açerca de la ynfanta, mirola e vido commo era muger hermosa e de buen pareçer, aunque de otra parte le menguase la graçia: e asi penso que esta le diria nuevas de las otras que antes viera. E salio entonçes fuera rrogandole que esperase e dixo: desid, hermana, que mugeres son aquellas que van aca adelante tan riccamente apostadas. La muger que vinia asas llena de pesar, rrespondio muy mansamente disiendo: señora, estas son de aquellas que verdaderamente sirvieron al amor en su tienpo, e donde tenian sus coraçones, sienpre mantovieron verdad. Agora, señora, quedad con dios que no puedo mas aqui aguardar porque a mi conviene de yr a servir mi ofiçio, por ende dadme liçençia que no puedo mas aqui estar.

This is a close translation (though the rendering is not quite accurate throughout), and at the same time it is quite readable and idiomatic. Probably the version profited by its passage through two hands, the one that of an Englishman, who understood the original fairly well, and the other that of a native of Castile, who wrote in good Spanish.

The editorial work seems to be competently done; but it is to be

regretted that no account is given of the manuscript except from the catalogue of the Library. It would be interesting to know whether the date 1400, which is there confidently assigned to it, rests on any substantial grounds. It must be a rather remarkable book in appearance, very small and very thick, for it is written in double columns containing each only about a hundred and twenty words, and it has no fewer than four hundred and eleven leaves. It is difficult to say why the original table of contents should be printed at the end instead of the beginning of the book, as in the manuscript, unless to make way for the editor's full account of the contents of the *Confessio Amantis*, which we might well have dispensed with. We owe thanks, however, in any case, to those who have placed within our reach this most interesting literary document.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Peacock's Memoirs of Shelley, with Shelley's Letters to Peacock.* Edited by H. F. B. BRETT-SMITH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 8vo. xxviii + 219 pp.

Mr Brett-Smith has done good service in reprinting Peacock's *Memoirs of Shelley*, together with Shelley's letters to Peacock, in a small and convenient volume. The *Memoirs* are too much neglected now that so many longer and more careful studies of Shelley and his work have appeared, but however careful and critical later biographers may be, nothing can have the same vivid interest as an account of the poet from one of his most intimate friends, especially when, as in this case, intimacy does not lead to indiscriminate admiration. The frankness with which Peacock disbelieves all Shelley's tales of mysterious adventure and midnight alarm, is as delightful as the naivety with which the poet accepts his incredulity, and the fact that this put no strain upon their friendship says much for their power of understanding each other. Most important of all, from a biographical point of view, the *Memoirs* give us the true picture of Harriet. The tall, graceful woman, 'her speech the essence of frankness and cordiality; her spirits always cheerful; her laugh spontaneous, hearty, and joyous,' has little in common with the Dora Copperfields amongst whom she is usually classed.

The letters also are of great interest. Not only are the descriptive passages which they contain fine in themselves, but they not unfrequently shew the inception of some thought or phrase which later finds a place in Shelley's poetry. Mr Brett-Smith points out several striking instances of this in comparing the letter of March 23rd, 1819, describing the arch of Constantine, with Act II, sc. iv, ll. 135—9 of *Prometheus Unbound*.

The volume has been edited in scholarly fashion. It is not overloaded with notes, and what comments there are, are interesting and to

the point. The introduction is thoughtful and suggestive; we may be inclined to quarrel with the statement that Shelley's 'instant and joyful recognition of the identity of Scythrop,' was probably due to his feeling 'flattered by the implied compliment,' but Mr Brett-Smith's criticisms are for the most part sound and well-reasoned, and his thumb-nail sketch of the relations between the two friends is so clearly drawn that we are left regretting that the exigences of space apparently forbade its being on a larger scale.

G. E. HADOW.

CIRENCESTER.

*Tennyson.* By HENRY JONES. (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. IV.) London: Henry Frowde. 1909. 8vo.

*Tennyson.* By W. P. KER. (The Leslie Stephen Lecture for 1909.) Cambridge: University Press. 1909. 8vo. 31 pp.

'The Devil's advocate,' says Professor Ker, 'is always worth listening to, and not always easy to refute.' There is something pathetic in the fact that both these lectures on the most popular English poet of the last century, have a note of half-defiant apology, that they take it for granted that the Devil's advocate will have been busy with the audiences who listen to them. In his own day, the majority of people looked upon Tennyson's poems in much the same light as they regarded the Sistine Madonna: their consummate artistic skill was sufficiently obvious to delight even the uninitiated, and the religious feeling embodied in so exquisite a form was simple enough to appeal to that easily awakened sentimentality which underlies the apparent coldness of the average Englishman, and deep enough to stir a truer and more profound emotion in the hearts of those 'whose very life,' as Professor Jones says, 'rests on moral convictions and religious beliefs which they cannot defend by conscious reasoning.' To many people a statement becomes an axiom as soon as it is put into verse, and men and women who were pained and bewildered by the conflict and turmoil which surrounded the Oxford Movement and the controversy on 'Darwinism,' turned with relief to the sweet and placid morality of King Arthur, or the faith which conquers the pain of *In Memoriam*. And Tennyson has paid the penalty of a popularity founded on sentiment rather than on genuine appreciation. His thoughts are no longer our thoughts, and it is the fashion to speak of him with a certain cheap contempt. No doubt the greatest poets can never become out of date; as Professor Jones puts it, 'No one now believes in the theology of Homer, but still we offer sweet sacrifice to his gods and goddesses.' 'The nobler kind [of thought],' says Professor Ker, 'is not discourse but vision. It does not lend itself to discussion; if it is once apprehended, there is no more to be said.' And both these champions of Tennyson have to admit that he does not as a rule possess this unclouded vision. 'Much of his reasoning,'

says Professor Ker, 'is opinion, as good as that of other thinkers, but not founded, as most of Wordsworth's is, on certain and irrefragable knowledge.' But never have the current thoughts of an age been put into more exquisite words, never was there an artist who gave the world a richer gallery of jewelled pictures, a wider range of perfect melodies: 'Whatever may be the compass of the voice, there can be no question of the uniqueness of its quality.' It is upon this unique beauty of form that both lecturers lay stress. Professor Jones, with characteristic modesty, professes to represent the point of view of 'the common mind,' and makes it clear how much 'the multitudes of simple men and women' owe to 'the last undisputed national poet of England.' Professor Ker touches on the deeper questions of poetic thought and expression, and uses his wide knowledge of the literature of many countries to illustrate and enrich what he says. Both lectures, though necessarily slight, are full of interest and suggestion, and will be welcomed by all lovers and students of Tennyson.

G. E. HADOW.

CIRENCESTER.

*Der altenglische Junius-Psalter.* Die Interlinear-Glosse der Handschrift Junius 27 der Bodleiana zu Oxford. Herausgegeben von EDUARD BRENNER. Heidelberg: Winter. 1909. 8vo. xlii + 194 pp.

An attempt to place within reach of all the so-called Junius Psalter, hitherto accessible to the majority of students only in the extracts printed by Lindelöf, will meet with general approval. Recent events have excited a fresh interest in this Psalter, and the appearance of what is primarily a plain and complete reprint of the text is most opportune.

In this part of his work the editor, whose labours were materially lightened by the work of Lindelöf and Sweet, may fairly claim to have succeeded. His text of the English and Latin versions shews that he has spared himself no pains, and his industry has enabled him to correct not a few mistakes in the work of his predecessors. Dr Brenner's treatment of his text is on the whole satisfactory. With the exception of the Latin headings, which, being unglossed, are without interest in the present case, the text is reproduced in its entirety, and with very few deviations from the manuscript. One of these consists in the very convenient division of the text into verses, in conformity with the system adopted in the Vespasian Psalter. This will greatly facilitate reference. The contractions occurring in the English glosses (except the regular form for *and*) are expanded; those in the Latin text are similarly treated, except in the case of a few commonly recurring words. In printing the text, the editor has carried out a normalised system in the division of words, which he justifies as being in accordance with the ordinary practice of the scribe. This has led him into occasional inconsistencies and into some positive mistakes; thus we have *awegadrife* 41<sup>10</sup>,



42<sup>2</sup>, *aweq adrife* 43<sup>10</sup>, *negesawon* 57<sup>9</sup>, *ad adaudiendum* 102<sup>20</sup>, *abste* 83<sup>6</sup>, *bene fecit* 114<sup>7</sup>. The editor has occasionally supplied in the Latin version missing portions of words, but he has not carried out this practice with any degree of consistency; thus in the same psalm (41) *itivit* 3 is emended, but *exprobaverunt* 11, is left unaltered. Nor is the method of indicating an emendation satisfactory; occasionally brackets are used (e.g., 90<sup>2</sup>), but more usually Roman type is employed (e.g., 40<sup>3</sup>); sometimes the emendation is recorded in a footnote (e.g., 31<sup>2</sup>), sometimes not (e.g., 131<sup>2</sup>). On the other hand, Dr Brenner has not scrupled to insert an asterisk, where, as he says somewhat boldly, 'ich unzweifelhaft annehmen konnte, dass der Glossator bezw. Schreiber etwas anderes hat schreiben wollen, als er geschrieben hat.' The advantages of this plan are obvious, but it is doubtful if much is gained by the retention of such monstrosities as *gfher* 16<sup>1</sup>, *gestibtode* 72<sup>15</sup>, *geswiworlice* 82<sup>3</sup> in the text. Dr Brenner's use of the asterisk is also open to question in several cases. For example, *qui* 9<sup>18</sup>, *universi* 24<sup>10</sup> (for *quae*, *universae*), *gedrofde* 45<sup>7</sup>, *wibed* 117<sup>27</sup> (for genitive), are all unnoticed; while *soð* 30<sup>7</sup>, 58<sup>16</sup> (= *autem*, *vero*), *deaðe* 57<sup>5</sup> (= *surdus*) are marked. The footnotes, which are few in number, are devoted to matters of palaeographic interest, to the correction of former misreadings, and to the elucidation of points of difficulty in the text. In certain of these the editor has used a somewhat clumsy method of expression; thus (118<sup>145</sup>) 'Handschrift C <mavi und reqirā'; or again (9<sup>5</sup>) *intingan* 'sieht ungefähr wie intingbn aus.' There is also a confusion of terms here, as in the Introduction, in the use of the word 'Vorlage' as synonymous with 'Vespasian Psalter.' It would have been well if Dr Brenner had given us a few more footnotes on passages where the reading of the MS. seems to require additional confirmation—a practice he has adopted in 46<sup>6</sup>, 118<sup>131</sup>. This would have been particularly welcome in cases where a word remains unglossed (e.g., 17<sup>30</sup>, 36<sup>7</sup>, 117<sup>3</sup>), or in cases where *d* and *ð* seem to have been confused (e.g., 95<sup>10</sup>, 102<sup>14, 15</sup>). A few additional notes of this kind would have added considerably to the value of the book, especially since the text is not entirely free from misprints; e.g., *obdormian* 4<sup>9</sup>, *dilalatasti* 17<sup>37</sup>, *admuntiavernut* 63<sup>10</sup>, *pungwangum* 131<sup>5</sup>.

The pages preceding the text contain an Introduction and an Appendix, the latter being a list, alphabetically arranged, of the cases in which the English rendering of the present version differs from that of the Vespasian Psalter. In the former, Dr Brenner first gives a description of the manuscript, together with an account of the work of his predecessors. This is adequate, although it seems questionable whether the reasons given admit of the manuscript being dated within a period of twenty-five years. The palaeographic evidence, which Dr Brenner passes over, would point to a later date than that claimed. The remainder of the Introduction suffers from a confusion of aims. Dr Brenner's chief concern is evidently to discuss the relationship of the two psalters, and with this object in view he first gives a list of parallel passages and then devotes seventeen pages to an investigation of the

‘Lautstand der Juniusglosse im Vergleich zu dem der Vespasianglosse.’ It is a matter of regret that Dr Brenner has not carried this investigation further; it would have been useful, for instance, if he had gone beyond the province of Phonology and given us some particulars concerning the inflexional endings. But instead, the editor next proceeds to draw conclusions relative to the dialect of the Junius Psalter, although, as he informs us himself, his material is insufficient. The final results, therefore, are hardly convincing. ‘Der Dialekt der Glosse ist ein (vielleicht dem Englischen benachbartes) “sächsisches Patois”’—the inverted commas are placed here by Dr Brenner, who thus evidently shares our suspicions of this elastic dialect. How far this confusion of aims will affect the value of the book must be left to future workers in the same field to decide; but it will probably be agreed that the whole subject would have been more advanced, if Dr Brenner had followed out one plan consistently and given us either a complete ‘Darstellung der Sprache’ or a more exhaustive comparison with the language of the Vespasian Psalter. Probably the former alternative would have been the more useful, because it would have led to a glossary, the omission of which is greatly to be deplored, because Dr Brenner gives provokingly few references to the text.

A few points in the Introduction may be singled out for comment. It is surely too much to describe (§ 9) *gemiclode*, the rendering of *mirificavit* 30<sup>22</sup>, as an ‘Übersetzungsfehler.’ To say (§ 9) that ‘*wundorlic* würde dem Dialekt des Glossators entsprechen’ is hardly convincing in view of *wundur* 39<sup>6</sup>. Unless his reference is wrong, Dr Brenner is guilty (§ 9) of mistaking a nom. plur. fem. for a voc. masc. sing. in 44<sup>6</sup>. To speak about ‘Neubildungen’ (§ 18) after saying that ‘(wg)ā vor Nasal ist in der Regel >ō geworden,’ argues a confusion of thought. Dr Brenner’s new explanation of O.E. *sm̃ec*, *sm̃ēc*, is rendered untenable by the form of O.E. *smoca*, and he does not seem to realise the full difficulty of the question. The statement (§ 37) that the digraph (æ) is consistently used in the present text for O.E. æ, needs modification in view of *ondraedende* 102<sup>11</sup>; it is further extremely unlikely that the rare word *a-ieldan* should have been used, where the other psalters have the uncompounded form. In the remarks on the *o*, *a* umlaut (§ 46) the influence of different classes of consonants should have been noticed.

In the Appendix it is difficult to see why cases like *frox* (Junius) = *forsc* (Vespasian) can be described as ‘Varianten im Wortgebrauch’; or why there should have been included here cases in which Junius and Vespasian have glosses for different Latin words (e.g., *wel don* = *bledsian*, from *beneficere* and *benedicere* respectively). Nor does it seem logical to have included here under the same heading three cases where Vespasian has no English word to shew. Lastly, in the bibliography, Sweet’s edition of the Vespasian Psalter is entered twice under different headings.

A. O. BELFOUR.

*Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary* (c. 1380—1844).

By PAGET TOYNBEE. 2 vols. London: Methuen and Co. 1909.  
Svo. li + 683, 757 pp.

Surely no book in the world except the Bible (and perhaps some definitely 'sacred' Books of other religions) has ever been treated like the *Divina Commedia*! Has any work of man, poet or prose-writer, been commented so frequently and so variously? Has any been so ploughed and harrowed and harrowed again, 'tested' for this and that as the chemist tests a liquid in his tube—tested for Scripture, for Aristotle, for Aquinas, for archaeology, for art, for natural history, for botany, for cookery, for everything under the sun? Has any been so copiously furnished with special dictionaries, vocabularies, concordances, *rimari*, not to speak of translations good and bad, in prose and verse? An unsympathetic critic will ask ironically whether a monograph has yet appeared 'On the use of *e* and *la* in the *Divina Commedia*' or 'On the possible problems in change-ringing suggested by a given number of *terzine*,' or 'On the cryptic meaning of the square-root of the total number of words used in the *Inferno*.' To such an one Dr Toynbee's 1500 pages will appear a monument of misplaced industry. He will accept with the utmost seriousness the learned writer's playful description of his own work: 'simile mostro visto ancor non fue.'

But the initiated will be of a different mind. The minute analysis of which Dante's works have been made the subject, with its niceties of classification and its ramifications of specialised research may look sometimes like niggling, but it is in reality a tribute to the genuine uniqueness of the 'Divino Poeta.'

If no one (outside the Bible) has ever received such elaborate homage of this kind as Dante has done, may it not be because none has merited it in the same way? The shrewd remark of fifteenth century Florio in his comparison of Dante with 'Bocace' and 'Petrarche'—'Dante hardest, but commented. Some doubt if all aright'—appeals to us all; but it is far from condemning the practice of commenting on Dante. It is no mere accident that Dante became the subject of lectures almost before he was cold in his grave. It is no mere accident that the cult of him has revived of late, not only in Italy but in Europe generally, and notably in Germany, England and America. A wider outlook upon the field of literature, a sounder and more scientific critical taste and tendency was bound to recognise his greatness, the uniqueness of his genius, the undying interest of his handling of themes which, in themselves, will never grow old.

The present appreciation of Dante is less surprising than the previous neglect of him, a neglect that seems strangely conspicuous in the Elizabethan era. That Spenser, Shakespeare and Francis Bacon should none of them quote Dante is certainly a strange thing. Yet we are assured that even the assumed parallels to the *Divina Commedia* in the 'Faerie Queene' are uncertain, and Dr Toynbee accepts Dr Furnivall's



judgement about Shakespeare, that 'if he had known Dante, he would have so used him, and so often, as to leave no doubt on the point.'

Surprising again, at first sight, is the general neglect of Dante alike in England and in Italy during a large part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Milton and Gray are the only very prominent English writers of those two centuries who really loved him and sat at his feet. Addison and his contemporaries were, from our point of view, very limited in their tastes and interests; and Addison's neglect of Dante and of Italian literature in general is paralleled by his utter failure to appreciate the beauties of Gothic architecture. When near the middle of the eighteenth century English critics (as Dr Toynbee shews us) began at last to take account of Dante, and to realise his place among the world's great poets, the influence of the 'flippant and contemptuous criticisms' of Voltaire turned the scale, and a chorus of abuse was heaped upon the *Divina Commedia*. Lord Chesterfield's expressed conviction that Dante 'was not worth the pains necessary to understand him' is followed by Goldsmith's judgement that he 'addressed a barbarous people in a method suited to their apprehensions,' and 'owes most of his reputation to the obscurity of the times in which he lived.' Thomas Warton goes further in attributing to the poet 'disgusting fooleries' and 'gross improprieties,' and Horace Walpole in characterising him as 'extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short, a Methodist parson in Bedlam'; while Martin Sherlock crowns all with his decisive and comprehensive judgement to the effect that the *Commedia* is 'the worst poem in any language'! But even hostile and unintelligent criticism was better than utter neglect. Dante was now a subject of discussion in intellectual and quasi-intellectual circles: Italians resident in England, like Baretto, took up the cudgels against Voltaire and his following, and Cary, whose literary life linked the eighteenth century to the nineteenth caught the torch of true Dantism from his favourite Gray, and handed it on to succeeding generations.

Among the most vivid impressions that these volumes leave upon us is that of the importance of Baretto in preparing a public opinion which should be ready to appreciate Cary's work, and of the greatness of the debt acknowledged by us all, which English lovers of Dante owe to Cary. Another is that of the immensely increased interest concentrated upon Dante in the last century. Of two equal volumes the first covers the period from 1380 to 1804, the second, the following 40 years.

But the most vivid impression of all is that of a patience and an industry almost inconceivable in the compiler of the book. To have sifted and sorted practically the whole of English literature from 1380 to 1844 (including a number of anonymous periodicals) is no light task: more especially as, over a large part of the field, Dr Toynbee had no previous pioneers to guide him. The method of arrangement is admirable, and the careful biographical notice of each author named will be a great help to those who desire to make this work the basis of specialisation, of a serious study of Dante's actual influence on this or



that school of English literature. That task the author has not attempted here, though he has supplied well-ordered material for it, and in his very readable introduction has sketched for us the thermometric chart of the appreciation of the poet in England, from Chaucer onwards. If not worthy to be ranked with the great *Dante Dictionary* in general usefulness, this book is worthy of the author's high reputation. It is a delightful book to browse upon, open it where you will. It fills the reader with a double envy, envy of the capacity of the compiler, and an equal envy of the leisure which must have been so generously expended on the task, in days when leisure is almost a forgotten thing.

LONSDALE RAGG.

TICKENCOTE, STAMFORD.

*L'Œuvre de Rabelais (Sources, Invention et Composition)*. Par JEAN PLATTARD. Paris: H. Champion. 1910. 8vo. xxxi + 374 pp.

M. Plattard's learned volume, which has deservedly earned for him the degree of doctor *avec mention très honorable*, is an elaborate inquiry into the sources of Rabelais's immortal composition. How much of it is due to literary and especially to humanistic sources, how much to oral tradition, how much to personal experience, all this is duly investigated with thoroughness and caution. Perhaps on the question of personal experience the caution is excessive. It is of course possible that Pantagruel's residence at Paris may have been suggested by the *Grandes Chroniques*—M. Plattard ignores the view of some critics that Rabelais was the author of this work—but is it not practically certain that it is also founded on Rabelais's own experience? Where else in France could Rabelais have carried his medical studies to such a point that he was permitted to take his bachelor's degree at Montpellier six weeks after his matriculation? Moreover his connexion with the University of Paris is confirmed by M. Lefranc's happy discovery that the Hôtel Saint-Denis, where Pantagruel lodged, served as a college for Benedictine students. Again, M. Plattard says that the war between Picrochole and Grandgousier was *perhaps* suggested by the dispute between Rabelais's father and a neighbouring proprietor, Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe. But have not M. Lefranc's detailed investigations made this abundantly clear? The fact is that circumstantial evidence is sometimes as convincing as direct evidence. It may, indeed, be more so, as is instanced by Rabelais's signature to a purchase made by the Franciscans of Fontenay-le-Comte, which M. Clouzot has now shewn to be a forgery. The failure of this document, however, does not necessarily limit Rabelais's residence in a convent to the years 1520 to 1523, for he may have entered the convent some years before October, 1520, the earliest date at which we *know* him to have been there. Moreover, 1523 is a slip for 1524, as Rabelais did not leave the convent till early in the latter year, as M. Plattard himself recognises.

With regard to chapters III to V, which deal respectively with Rabelais's relations to mediaeval learning ('*Respublica scholastica*'), jurisprudence, and medical science, there is little to be said except to commend their thoroughness. The two latter chapters indeed are of too special a character to appeal to any but ardent Rabelaisians, or those who are interested in the history of jurisprudence or medicine. I will only note that 'Alber. de Ros.' (pp. 95 and 124) stands for Albericus de Rosata—Rabelais writes the name in full in his catalogue of the library of Saint-Victor—and that it is preferable to speak of the great German botanist as Fuchs, rather than by the gallicised form of his name, Fousch.

The longest and most important chapter of the book is that which deals with Rabelais as a humanist (c. VI). Here we have for the first time, arranged in a convenient alphabetical order, the list of Rabelais's debts to all the various humanistic sources, that is to say, not only to the ancient writers themselves, but to the numerous collections of excerpts which the Renaissance humanists made from these writers. As M. Plattard says, the inquiry is one which demands great caution, for in many cases it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine from which kind of source Rabelais has derived his knowledge, whether from the living stream or from the artificial reservoir. But though the inquiry may be imperfect and incomplete as regards details, M. Plattard is quite justified in claiming for it that it enables us to determine the character of Rabelais's humanism.

In the first place, then, it is clear that, though Rabelais had a competent knowledge of both Greek and Latin, he was not a philologist. He could not have edited a classical text. Secondly, he was very far from appreciating the beauties of the great writers of antiquity. It is significant that neither Pindar nor Aeschylus, those two great masters of lofty poetical style, are never cited by him. The name of Sophocles is equally absent from his pages. Even his knowledge of Aristophanes, with whom he has so much affinity, is, as M. Plattard shews, slight and vague. On the other hand, his references to Homer, whom he calls, oddly enough, 'the father of all philosophy,' and 'the paragon of philologists,' are fairly numerous, especially in the Third Book. Many of these, however, are at second-hand. M. Plattard does not discuss the question how far Rabelais is indebted to the *Odyssey* for inspiration as to some of the episodes of Pantagruel's voyage.

It is much the same with regard to the Latin masters of style. M. Plattard has only found ten references to Cicero, none of any importance, and all taken from his moral treatises. When Rabelais tries to imitate his style in French, as in certain letters and harangues, he produces a mere caricature. Virgil's name is often on his lips, but the great majority of his references to him are taken at second-hand from Servius and others. Indeed, if M. Plattard had made more use of Mr W. F. Smith's paper on *Rabelais and Servius* (*Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, IV, 349 ff.) he might have added considerably to the list of borrowings from Servius. By an apparent oversight M. Plattard has

omitted Livy from his purview; he seems to have been very little used by Rabelais, possibly not at all at first-hand.

Another omission is Sir Thomas More, who had a great reputation in France throughout the sixteenth century. His identification with Thaumaste, the learned Englishman, is highly probable, especially as immediately after the incident in which he figures Pantagruel receives the news that the city of the Amaurots in Utopia has been besieged by the Dipsodes. Besides this, there are other obvious reminiscences of the *Utopia*. For Budé and Erasmus M. Plattard has had the advantage of following in the footsteps of M. Delaruelle—he doubts some of his parallels and adduces two new ones—and (for Erasmus only) Mr W. F. Smith. He is, however, mistaken in supposing that the latter has not included the *Praise of Folly* in his investigation. He gives, in fact, two instances of that work, but refers at least half of those adduced by M. Plattard to the *Adagia*. It was very likely Erasmus, who with More translated some of Lucian's dialogues, that led the author of *Pantagruel* to the Greek satirist. In any case he recognised in him a kindred spirit; the appellation of a 'French Lucian' which he received from his contemporaries was a just one. M. Plattard devotes several pages to Lucian's influence, discussing it with acuteness and good sense, though I should have expected him to say more about the relationship of Pantagruel's voyage to the *Vera Historia*.

'I delight in reading the moral treatises of Plutarch, the fine dialogues of Plato, the monuments of Pausanias and the antiquities of Athenaeus.' So writes Gargantua in his famous letter to Pantagruel, and M. Plattard quotes the passage as an indication of Rabelais's preferences. In so grave a letter we should hardly expect to find the name of Lucian: but Plutarch and Plato were certainly among Rabelais's *livres de chevet*. His copy of Plato is at Montpellier, and that of Plutarch's *Moralia* is at Rome. But M. Plattard is right in pointing out that he did not go to them for ideas. His ideas were his own, or at any rate those of his age: he loved to illustrate them from his favourite authors, but that was all. The point is of some importance, for modern critics, unaccustomed to the ways of sixteenth century humanists, are apt to regard the copious borrowings of Rabelais and Montaigne as detracting from their originality. It was not their ideas, their general philosophy of life, that they got at second-hand, but their learning.

For the short-cuts to the learning of the ancients were numerous. Besides Erasmus's *Adagia* and Budé's *De Asse* there were the various compilations known as *Lectiones antiquae* and for the most part bearing that title. Those from which Rabelais drew most largely were the *Lectiones antiquae* of Coelius Rhodiginus (Venice, 1516), who resided for some years in France in the reign of Charles VIII, the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor (Basle, 1503; Paris, 1520), the *De dictis factisque memorabilibus* of Baptista Fulgosus (Milan, 1509; Paris, 1518), and the writings of Coelius Calcagninus (Basle, 1544). Others mentioned by M. Plattard, whom Rabelais may or may not have consulted, were the *De honesta disciplina* of Petrus Crinitus (Florence, 1504; Paris,



1508), which was very popular in France, the *De varia historia* of Nicolaus Leonicus Thomaeus (Basle, 1531; Lyons, 1532), and the *Exempla* of Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus (Venice, 1507; Paris, 1508). Most of these were collections of notable instances or singularities, and one can easily imagine their attraction for men like Rabelais and Montaigne, who were infinitely curious especially about everything which concerned the life of the ancients and human nature in general.

From these Rabelais was drawn to more original sources, to Athenaeus, and Pausanias, to the elder Pliny, to Macrobius and Aulus Gellius, and Suetonius. M. Plattard notes that his borrowings from Ovid's *Fasti* are particularly numerous in the later chapters of the Third Book and the earlier ones of the Fourth. Indeed, in the first three chapters of the Fourth Book as it originally appeared, which were almost certainly written at Metz, the *Fasti* is the only classical work of which any use is made. This brings us to a question which it hardly fell within M. Plattard's scope to discuss. How did Rabelais get access to the very large number of books to which he refers, or from which he has made extracts? He had, of course, a certain number of books of his own. Mr Seymour de Ricci, who is investigating the subject, knows of nineteen which bear his signature. They include a Galen (in the library of Sheffield University), the Aldine *editio princeps* of Plutarch's *Moralia*, and a Plato. But probably his whole library did not amount to many volumes. He had neither the money to buy them, nor the home to house them. He must have borrowed books from his friends—as he does a Plato when he was staying with M. de Saint-Ayl near Orleans in 1542—or he must have consulted them in public or private libraries. His visits to Rome with the Cardinal Du Bellay would have given him many opportunities of this sort, and probably there was a fair library in the Cardinal's palace at Saint-Maur-les-Fossés. If, as I agree with Mr Smith in believing, Rabelais wrote the greater part, if not all, of the Third Book in that 'paradise of salubrity,' it is very probable that he found there a Homer. Possibly too he had access to the royal library at Fontainebleau, of which his friend, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, was custodian. But how did he use the books which he came across only for a time? Did he keep a commonplace book, into which he copied passages for possible use on future occasions? If we knew something of his methods, it might throw some light on the vexed problem of the Fifth Book—a problem which M. Plattard, and rightly from his point of view, leaves severely alone. For instance as regards the *Novus Orbis* and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, from both of which there are borrowings in the Fifth Book, the former is used elsewhere only in *Pantagruel*, and the latter only in *Gargantua*.

In his last chapter M. Plattard discusses the general characters of Rabelais's style, and rightly comes to the conclusion that it is essentially an oral style, the style of a work which is destined to be read aloud. Thus Rabelais is the exact opposite to Montaigne, whose prose, while delightful to read, often falls inharmoniously on the ear.

ARTHUR TILLEY.



## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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- BALDENSPERGER, F., *Études d'histoire littéraire*. 2e. série. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.
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- DOWDEN, E., *Essays, Modern and Elizabethan*. London, Dent. 7s. 6d. net.
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- KURTZ, B. P., *Studies in the Marvellous*. London, F. Unwin. 8s. 6d. net.
- LA GRASSERIE, R. DE, *De l'accent comparé dans les diverses langues*. Paris, P. Geuthner. 3 fr.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### General.

- Bibliotheca romanica. 109. Goldoni, C., *La Locandiera*. 110, 111. Metastasio, P., *Didone abbandonata*. 112—114. Tillier, C., *Belle-Plante et Cornélius*. 115, 116. F. Redi, *Poesie*. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no. 40 pf.
- POUND, E., *The Spirit of Romance*. An attempt to define somewhat the charm of the Pre-Renaissance Literature of Latin Europe. London, Dent. 6s. net.

#### Italian.

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## French.

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Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. XLVI. Jahrgang. Berlin-Schöneberg, Langenscheidt. 11 M.

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